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LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

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Public Law 262--79th Congress

Chapter 580--1st Session

H. R. 4649

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DIGEST OF PUBLIC LAW 262

UNRRA AUTHORIZATION. Authorizes additional appropriation of $1,350,000,000 for U. S. participation in the work of UNRRA.

INDEX AND SUMMARY OF HISTORY ON H. R. 4649

November 12, 1945	Introduced by Mr. Bloom and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.
November 14, 1945	Hearings: House, H. R. 4649.
November 27, 1945	House Committee reported H. R. 4649 without amendment. House Report 1311. Print of the bill as reported.
December 4, 1945	Rules Committee reported H. Res. 444 for the condiseration of H. R. 4649. House Report 1332.
December 5, 1945	House began debate.
December 6, 1945	House continued debate and passed with amendments.
December 7, 1945	Speech of Congressman Lawrence H. Smith. Speech of Congressman A. S. J. Carnahan. Speech of Congressman John M. Robinson. H. R. 4649 referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Print of the bill as referred to the Committee.
December 13, 1945	Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported H. R. 4649 without amendment. Senate Report 856. Print of the bill as reported.
December 17, 1945	Debated and passed Senate without amendment.
December 18, 1945	Approved. Public Law 262.

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FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN WORK OF UNRRA

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. R. 4649

A BILL TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO FURTHER PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

NOVEMBER 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 1945

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs

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FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN WORK OF UNRRA

House of Representatives,
Committee on Foreign Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Sol Bloom (chairman) presiding.

Chairman Bloom. The committee will kindly come to order.

The committee has under consideration H. R. 4649.

(The bill referred to is as follows:)

[H. R. 4649, 79th Cong., 1st sess.]

A BILL To enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the joint resolution of March 28, 1944, entitled "Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization", is amended in the following respect:

(1) The first section is amended by striking out "$1,350,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$2,700,000,000".

(2) Section 9 is amended by striking out "1946" and inserting in lieu thereof "1947".

Chairman Bloom. This bill is to enable the United States to participate further in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Our first witness before the committee this morning is the Assistant Secretary of State, William L. Clayton. He is accompanied by Governor Lehman and Dean Acheson.

Mr. Chiperfield. Mr. Chairman, there is involved in this bill $1,350,000,000. There is not a quorum present. I am willing for the Secretary to proceed now and see if a quorum comes in. If a quorum does not come in, I will make a point later.

Chairman Bloom. The Chair would like to state that we are not going to vote on this this morning, and I do not think there should be any objection to listening to the testimony.

Mr. Chiperfield. I think that it is important enough that a quorum be present later on.

Chairman Bloom. The Chairman agrees with you.

Mr. Chiperfield. I will not raise a point at this time.

Mr. Eaton. The Democratic members seem to be of a retiring disposition this morning.

Chairman Bloom. Do you withdraw your point?

Mr. Chiperfield. I do not make my point. I will not make it at this time.

Chairman Bloom. Proceed, Mr. Secretary.

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM L. CLAYTON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. CLAYTON. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I have here a short prepared statement on this bill which I would like to present. Then if there are any questions that any members of the committee wish to ask, I will do my best to answer them.

The commencement of these hearings on a new authorization by Congress for United States participation in the work of UNRRA is a reminder to me of the support and cooperation which we have received from this committee in attempting to solve this whole vast problem of relief and rehabilitation in the war-devastated areas. I was very gratified when the chairman informed me last July that your subcommittee would participate in the UNRRA Council deliberations. While the members of this group were in London during August, I think they were able to gain for themselve ssome impression of the magnitude of the problems facing the national delegations to the third Council session, and the UNRRA Administration itself. Other members of this committee had an opportunity during the summer to see UNRRA at work in the field as an international relief operation. Therefore, most of us are approaching these deliberations with a sense of the urgency and the importance of the continuance of this country's support for UNRRA.

My own introduction to UNRRA and its problems really occurred in the course of the Council meeting in London. I had been asked by the President to assume the Council membership in June because my responsibilities in the Department for Economic Affairs made it logical for me to replace Mr. Acheson. Preparation for, and attendance at the Potsdam Conference made it practically impossible for me to familiarize myself in any detail with the UNRRA organization, its past progress, or its future plans until I arrived in London late in July. I then had an opportunity to survey all of the operations of UNRRA up to that time and to form an independent judgment of its significance, its performance and its future.

UNRRA has been subject to considerable criticism for delay and administrative bungling in getting started. It had been competing unsuccessfully with military operations and other wartime activities for competent personnel and for the supplies and facilities which were necessary to do its job effectively. So long as total war continued in the Pacific, I knew UNRRA would have to face a continuation of these difficulties. These obstacles, however, were largely removed by the surrender of Japan which occurred in the course of the Council's deliberations.

The end of hostilities in Europe 3 months prior to the Council meeting had already burdened UNRRA with many other problems of relief and rehabilitation. Our armies and those of our allies, which had been carrying the major burden of civilian supply to western Europe and the Mediterranean countries, were quite rightfully eager to shift that responsibility as soon as possible. A similar situation developed in eastern Europe where all supply and transport were necessarily under the control of the Soviet military command until victory over Germany was achieved. Then and then only could civilian governments and agencies begin to undertake their share of the work. We therefore realized that UNRRA, in the course of the

summer, was entering upon the period of full-scale operations. It was the only functioning relief organization able to take over from the military and the only instrument through which all the European countries, as well as the other United Nations, could concert their common interests in helping to restore some semblance of economic order to that continent.

The urgency of the relief and rehabilitation problem in the Far East was equally apparent. The abrupt end of the war with Japan posed the immediate problem of relief for occupied China, a world responsibility for which no agency was sufficiently prepared except UNRRA. Although UNRRA of course had not anticipated beginning actual operations in the Far East on such short notice, it had established many months previously a mission in China which was working closely with the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Agency. Not only had the plans for relief distribution been tentatively agreed upon but also preliminary screening of a target program for China had been completed and was before the Council for consideration. The fact that UNRRA's plans and personnel were so well prepared to assume immediate operating responsibilities made it easy for the Council to agree provisionally on the scope of UNRRA activities and expenditures in China, pending a further review when the mission on the spot could make reports of actual conditions.

The United States delegation to the Council meeting, on which I was fortunate in having broad and competent representation from all the interested agencies of this Government, as well as from the Congress, reached early agreement on several objectives. We decided that the needs of all the liberated areas which were not to be under the continuing control of the military, and which had insufficient foreign exchange resources to purchase essential relief supplies abroad, could best be met through a single channel. The use of any agency other than UNRRA for these new responsibilities would have meant creating a competing unilateral relief organization, which would have immediately indicated to the world that we doubted the feasibility of international cooperation. We therefore agreed to seek extension of UNRRA operations to Italy and Austria in Europe, and to Korea and Formosa in the Far East.

I would also like to mention in this connection the limited program of relief and rehabilitation assistance through UNRRA to the two Soviet Republics of the Ukraine and White Russia. Any invaded country is entitled to seek UNRRA assistance provided that the established procedures and policies for such assistance, as agreed upon among the member nations and embodied in the UNRRA resolutions, are observed. The Soviet Union had made an application for UNRRA aid shortly in advance of the Council meeting in the amount of $700,000,000, which was only enough to cover a part of the minimum supplies essential to relieve their civilian population on terms similar to those of adjacent areas.

In the course of discussing this application with the Soviet delegation, I emphasized that I did not see how such a program could be included in the UNRRA budget without serious penalty to other receiving countries. I also felt the people of America, as well as those of other contributing countries, would not sympathize with relief assistance of this magnitude to a country which had some foreign exchange resources at the expense of countries which had none,

though admittedly the Russian resources were inadequate to meet the necessary rehabilitation and reconstruction supplies which the U. S. S. R. would have to secure from abroad. The Soviet delegation ultimately accepted our point of view and agreed to substitute for their original application one for $250,000,000, to be used exclusively for food and certain other relief articles in White Russia and the Ukraine, the two most devastated Soviet areas. It was understood that UNRRA operations should be carried forward in these two republics just as in any other country receiving UNRRA assistance, with an UNRRA mission establishing the validity of requirements on the spot and observing distribution. This application for limited relief and rehabilitation assistance has already been reviewed under the regular UNRRA procedure for certification of ability to pay, and the two Russian republics have been determined by five UNRRA member governments, including the United States, to require the limited assistance requested.

The delegation was also aware of the concern in many quarters that UNRRA might be undertaking rehabilitation responsibilities for a longer term than that originally envisaged. We concluded that if a cut-off date for UNRRA operations were established, the receiving countries would have a greater incentive to maximize their indigenous production of relief supplies. The delegation therefore agreed to recommend a stoppage of UNRRA shipments to Europe not later than the end of 1946, and a similar stoppage of shipments to the Far East not later than 3 months thereafter.

In reviewing the criticisms which had been leveled at UNRRA in the past and the corrective measures that might be taken to improve participation in UNRRA activities by member nations, the United States delegation felt that the governments concerned should take a more active interest in furnishing supplies, services, and competent personnel to UNRRA. We also decided that it would be desirable for the Director General to have the assistance and advice of the Council, through the Central Committee, in determining equitable distribution of UNRRA's resources among the various receiving countries.

Lastly, my advisers were aware that there remained many unsettled policy questions with regard to UNRRA displaced-persons operations. We knew that several Council members did not feel UNRRA should give any assistance to displaced persons without the consent of the government of origin. Such a restriction would not be acceptable to the American public, and UNRRA would face an impossible task administratively if it could not undertake the care of all categories of displaced persons for which it was responsible without reference to repatriability, or to race, creed, and political belief. Also, in scaling UNRRA demands down to a minimum, we recognized that the administration should not have to advance the cost of supplies needed for the care of displaced persons in enemy territory when such charges were ultimately to be borne by the enemy country itself. The delegation therefore determined to recommend that the occupying authorities should furnish these supplies and be responsible for recovering their cost later from enemy assets.

As the record will show, and as most of you are aware, we succeeded in attaining all of our objectives at the Council meeting in London. In many instances, agreement was not reached with the member

nations without considerable debate and in some instances only after major differences of opinion had been resolved. Nevertheless, agreement was reached on a basis which I believe was in the interests of the United States and also in the interests of UNRRA and all member nations. The very fact that such a meeting of the minds was achieved is a most encouraging sign that international cooperation on matters of common concern is possible.

I feel that the recommendations of the London Council meeting, which are financially embodied in the new legislation being considered by this committee, represent a program which is in our best interests.

The resolutions which were passed by the Council meeting in London, calling upon the contributing nations to contribute an additional 1 percent of their national income as of the year ended June 30, 1943, was introduced by me.

I believe this committee's examination of the problem before us will justify my sincere conviction that we are asking Congress to do what is right and necessary as our share of world relief and rehabilitation.

This committee must reach conclusions on the two major aspects of the relief and rehabilitation problems which the world now faces—the need and the method. I have no doubt of your conclusion as to the need on the basis of the facts which are available and which will be laid before you. Nor have I any doubt as to your acceptance of the urgency, and the necessity that this Government take the promptest possible action to announce to the world by legislative action our willingness to play our part in this great task. I hope also that this committee will reaffirm that in UNRRA we have the proper method of furnishing relief and rehabilitation assistance.

I have recently heard criticisms to the effect that UNRRA is a cumbersome and ineffective mechanism, and that we should substitute for it a national relief agency. I am convinced that such ideas are held by relatively few of our citizens and arise chiefly from a failure to consider all aspects of the problem.

We, as a nation, have committed ourselves to international cooperation and collaboration. UNRRA is the first operating experiment in the implementation of this policy. I have recognized difficulties and weaknesses in the UNRRA administration, which are also recognized by the Director General, Governor Lehman, and I will do all in my power as this Government's representative on the Council to help overcome or correct them. Any alternative method for giving relief and rehabilitation assistance to countries without sufficient foreign-exchange and credit resources to meet the problem themselves is, to my mind, unthinkable and impractical at this late date.

That is all of my prepared statement, Mr. Chairman. If you or members of the committee have questions, I will be glad to try to answer them.

Mr. KEE. Unfortunately, I was delayed this morning and was not here in time to hear the entire statement. I have no questions this morning.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Eaton?

Mr. EATON. I would like to inquire as to the completeness of participation by the other countries with us in this program. How many of those countries have made good, and to what extent?

Mr. CLAYTON. The total contributions have been in the sum of $1,883,268,000, of which there has been paid, or is available, $1,285,601,000.

The remainder to be paid is $597,000,000, of which the United States is expected to make available in accordance with the authorization of Congress $550,000,000. That is before the Congress now, so that there remains outside the United States less than $50,000,000 to be paid of the amounts that have been contributed.

I can give you, Mr. Eaton, if you like, some of the largest contributions of other countries: Australia contributed $38,000,000; Brazil, $30,000,000.

Chairman BLOOM. These are paid in, are they?

Mr. CLAYTON. No; they are contributions. Everything is paid in, Mr. Chairman, except $597,000,000, of which ours is $550,000,000, so that from all countries there is a total outside the United States of $47,000,000 still to be paid.

Mr. EATON. Is that confined to a few countries or is it scattered? I am speaking now of the amount to be paid.

Mr. CLAYTON. It is scattered. There is $20,000,000 still to be paid by Brazil. That is the only large amount. There is $13,000,000 by the Union of South Africa. There is $4,000,000 that has not been paid by Egypt, for example, and $2,000,000 by Colombia. But the United Kingdom contributed $322,000,000, and has paid it all. Canada contributed $69,000,000, and has paid it all. India, $24,000,000, and has paid it all. New Zealand, $8,500,000, and has paid it all.

Mr. JONKMAN. It seems to me that those figures are quite confusing when you leave in there "contributed or available on request." Are you reading from a column that includes "contributed or available on request," or absolute contributions?

Mr. CLAYTON. I am reading from the column of contributions, first, and then when I said that they had paid it all, I mean that it is entirely paid or available.

Mr. JONKMAN. What does that "available on request" mean?

Mr. CLAYTON. I think that I had better ask Governor Lehman to answer that.

Mr. LEHMAN. In the case of the United Kingdom, India, Australia, New Zealand, and the others which have been designated as countries which have paid their contributions in full, the money is actually there to be drawn on at any time by UNRRA, and has to the greatest extent been drawn on by UNRRA.

Mr. JONKMAN. I would like to have a statement for the committee of the money and goods that are absolutely paid in. In other words, where the contribution has been fulfilled, because the original amount was $2,500,000,000.

Mr. CLAYTON. $1,878,000,000 is the total contribution.

Mr. JONKMAN. I thought that the entire fund was to be $2,500,000,000, of which we were to contribute $1,350,000,000.

Mr. CLAYTON. The original fund was $1,878,0000,000, of which we contributed $1,350,000,000, or authorized it, but we have not contributed all yet. But where the money has been made available and not used, it is just the same as paid in because it is in the country subject to use there in the purchase of supplies. You see, our allotment is $1,350,000,000, but we have made only $800,000,000 of it available. There is $550,000,000 that Congress has not yet authorized, or I should say, has not yet appropriated.

Mr. JONKMAN. Speaking in general figures, assume that the total amount is $1,875,000,000. There is only $1,400,000,000 that has been contributed, approximately; is that not true?

Mr. CLAYTON. Paid or available, $1,282,000,000, which leaves $595,000,000 still to be paid, or made available, of which the United States share is $550,000,000.

Mr. JONKMAN. That clears it up. That is all I wanted to know.

Mr. EATON. That is all I have for the present.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Secretary, the key to this situation, is it not, that we have a national responsibility in the field of relief of human suffering?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes.

Mr. RICHARDS. And international cooperation in meeting those needs?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes.

Mr. RICHARDS. What do you think would be the effect on our efforts in the field of international cooperation for peace if we refused to pass the legislation we now have before us?

Mr. CLAYTON. I think that it would be extremely injurious and serious. After all, we started UNRRA, and it was our idea. The first meeting was held in this country. We brought the nations of the world here and sat down and agreed upon a plan sponsored by us. We are just half way through that job. Now, if we abandon it in the middle of the stream, so to speak, it would have a serious effect on our influence throughout the world and on the respect in which other nations hold us and on the prospect of success of any other international undertaking that we might engage in.

Mr. RICHARDS. Now, from the selfish standpoint of the United States, was not one of the objectives of the original legislation to let the world know that other parts of the world had a responsibility in this field as well as the United States?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; I think that certainly was one of the original ideas. We felt that in the First World War most of the relief activities were carried on by the United States and that this time it should be a cooperative action undertaken and engaged in by all the nations of the world who are able to do so. We felt that it was of great benefit in drawing the other nations of the world into an operation of mercy of this kind.

Mr. RICHARDS. Do you feel that it would be injurious to the purposes of this resolution to place restrictions in the bill as to how this relief should be administered?

Mr. CLAYTON. Some restrictions are acceptable, as for example, the time limit, if it is placed right; but I think that it is a great mistake to try to accomplish certain very worthy objectives, diplomatically or otherwise, by putting conditions in this bill which would cause us to withhold our aid to suffering people if the countries in which they live do not conform to the ideas we have as to how they ought to run their internal affairs. After all, the starving women and children of these countries cannot at the present time do very much in the way of making the policy of their government.

Mr. RICHARDS. As a matter of fact, in the administration of this program UNRRA is going to run up against so many conditions and different problems in every corner of the earth that it would be unfortunate to clutter up this bill with directives and prohibitions?

Mr. CLAYTON. It would be extremely difficult. UNRRA's administrative difficulties and problems are so immense on the simplest basis on which it can be set up and permitted to operate that to add to them political objectives, as worthy and as fine as they may be in another setting, would just make the task almost impossible.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is all I have right now.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Rogers.

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Secretary, did you make any survey yourself of the administration of UNRRA in the countries where it is being administered?

Mr. CLAYTON. We have, of course, regular reports from our missions in these countries.

Mrs. ROGERS. I mean personally.

Mr. CLAYTON. Personally, no; I did not visit any of the countries except Germany wherein UNRRA's activities were taking place. Of course, in Germany they have only an activity there or a responsibility in respect of the care and repatriation of the displaced persons.

Mrs. ROGERS. Did you find that was efficiently administered?

Mr. CLAYTON. Oh, there are a lot of kinks and troubles about that. That is a very difficult task. The Army, of course, had administered it up to some time in the summer almost completely while UNRRA was getting ready. The Army repatriated 4,000,000 of the 6,000,000 displaced persons in Germany in 4 months' time, at the rate of 1,000,000 a month, which was almost a phenomenal job. But UNRRA is taking over there now, and so far as I know at the present time, has the situation in good order and is handling that job as well as that kind of job can be handled.

Mrs. ROGERS. From the reports that you have received, do you feel that the countries are getting a great deal of benefit from UNRRA?

Mr. CLAYTON. Oh, there is no doubt of it.

Mrs. ROGERS. Not speaking of the administrative services alone, but the actual supplies are reaching the people?

Mr. CLAYTON. Over 2½ million tons of supplies have already been shipped to these countries and are being delivered at the ports and distributed from there. Obviously, UNRRA cannot undertake to set up an organization to distribute supplies within a country. That has to be done by the government of the country to which the supplies are shipped. It could not be done in any other way.

Mrs. ROGERS. Do you feel that supplies are reaching those that need them?

Mr. CLAYTON. By and large we feel that they are. In some of these countries there have been cases of black markets where supplies have been diverted. There are people, you know, in the world who would sell the food out of their children's mouths to buy a drink or something else, and in some of these countries there have been some supplies that have reached the black market. But we believe that the reports to that effect have been greatly exaggerated and on the whole the supplies are reaching needy people.

Mrs. ROGERS. Do you believe that some of the money has been used for religious propaganda, or for political propaganda?

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not doubt in the least that some of it has. You cannot take over a great relief enterprise of this kind on such a vast scale without abuses creeping in. It never has been done. Probably it never will be done, but if you can feel that the great bulk of supplies

is reaching the needy people, I think that is about as much as you can hope for. Some supplies, you know, are going astray. It happened in this country and it can happen anywhere in the world.

Chairman BLOOM. I think that Mrs. Rogers wanted to know, if I understood her question correctly, whether any of the funds are being used for religious purposes.

Mr. CLAYTON. Oh, I do not think so. Governor Lehman can answer that much better than I. The funds are spent in this country except for such necessary central administration as is required in the countries that are being relieved, and that is a relatively small amount. The funds are spent largely in the country that contributes the money for supplies that originate in those countries—food and supplies of different kinds. I feel sure that the handling of those funds has been properly attended to and the money has been properly spent. The supplies have been brought and transported and have either been delivered or are on the way regularly. I understand there are probably 50 shiploads of supplies being shipped each month at the present time.

Mrs. ROGERS. I just wanted to know if you were satisfied that the supplies were actually reaching the needy persons, I wanted to make sure of that.

Mr. CLAYTON. On the whole, I feel sure that that report is not correct—that the supplies have not been reaching needy people.

Mrs. ROGERS. The United States makes by far the largest contribution. How many of the personnel of UNRRA are United States citizens?

Mr. CLAYTON. There is a total administrative and operating personnel of 8,245 people. We must remember that this is a United Nations organization, not a United States organization. Of that 8,245 there are 2,297 American citizens, 2,259 British, 1,500 French, 800 Belgians, and so on. Those are the largest figures. There are 400 Dutch and 200 Polish and 149 Canadians.

Chairman BLOOM. That is as of what date?

Mr. CLAYTON. August 31, 1945.

Mr. LEHMAN. May I add there that by far the greatest part of the French, Belgian, Dutch, and Polish nationals are employed by UNRRA in the displaced persons' operations, where they deal with people of all of these nationalities. It has been found much easier and very much cheaper to recruit these people on the continent where we do not have to pay the very heavy costs of transportation and where we do not have to pay the American standard of salaries, and where we can make savings in many other ways, so that with the assistance of these governments we did recruit nationals of these different countries. Again I want to say that the vast majority of the nationals of these countries are employed in the displaced persons' operation.

Mrs. ROGERS. I will not ask any more questions at this time.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Secretary, as I understand the situation, this hearing is what might be termed a hearing de novo, that is, the plate is clean. We are getting a fresh start and are to determine the merits of the question—whether the United States should authorize and appropriate an additional $1,350,000,000; is that the situation?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is correct.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. There is no treaty there is no action of UNRRA, or our participation in UNRRA, which in any manner, legally or otherwise, or even impliedly, binds the United States to this additional appropriation at the present time?

Mr. CLAYTON. There is certainly nothing that legally binds the United States. I made it very clear time and time again before the Council meeting in London that I could not bind the Congress on this appropriation. I think that otherwise there are some obligations, but they are not legal.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Well, of course, there is always a moral obligation for helping suffering humanity which has existed for thousands of years.

Mr. CLAYTON. I think there is an obligation other than that. I think that after having started something we should not quit in the middle of the stream. I think we are satisfied that the need is greater now than it was in the beginning, and somebody will have to do the work of relief and succor in these countries; otherwise, they will go into a chaotic condition. I think that there is a moral obligation on us to continue the work, but certainly there is no legal obligation.

Chairman BLOOM. May I follow there with a question, Mr. Secretary? The obligation that exists today, as far as the United States Government is concerned, in UNRRA is the same obligation that existed when we had the first authorization before this committee. The conference agreed that 1 percent of the income of the fiscal year 1943 was to be available. That is the same thing that exists today, is it not?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is correct.

Chairman BLOOM. So that the same obligation this committee acted upon for the authorization of $1,350,000,000 is the same obligation that exists today, and nothing more?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is correct.

Mr. EATON. Will this end the job?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; it should. In a resolution UNRRA has declared a time limit for its operations: The end of next year for Europe, and the end of the first quarter of 1947 for the Far East, so that this definitely should end the job.

Mr. EATON. The time limit is all right, but the money limit is what I am interested in.

Mr. CLAYTON. It is going to be a little close, but we think that the money will do the job about as well as it can be done.

Mr. JONKMAN. Were we given any kind of assurance to that effect when we made the original authorization of $1,350,000,000 that that would do the job?

Mr. CLAYTON. No. I think that it was distinctly stated that there would be no commitment that that would be sufficient. I think it was stated at the time by the State Department witnesses in the hearings.

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Secretary, I do not know, but I have always felt that it could be administered by the International Red Cross, perhaps by a central committee here in Washington, and then administered by the International Red Cross. It would cost much less and the relief would be administered more effectively because the Red Cross personnel has been trained to take care of those suffering people and those people who have gone through pestilence and famine. Would you have any objection to that?

Mr. CLAYTON. Mrs. Rogers, I think that is something that might have been considered initially. You would have to discard the idea of international coöperation by which all the nations were brought into the enterprise. I think that it would be a great mistake to consider any change at this time with the UNRRA organization all set up with these 8,000 people working and operating, with their methods and procedures all developed for the purchase of supplies and transportation and the delivery of them, with their missions in the field in these countries observing the distribution, and so on. I think that it would be a great mistake to scrap that organization right in the middle of the effort and substitute something else.

Mrs. ROGERS. But you could curtail it very much, it seems to me.

Mr. CLAYTON. Possibly, but I think you would do it only by doing great harm to the activity.

Chairman BLOOM. In other words, by the time the Red Cross or another organization could be started and gotten ready to function, the people would all be dead over there. That is about the size of it.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Secretary, I was present in London at the United Nations Conference when you made the statement to which you referred. You were very specific in calling to the attention of the delegates present that our participation, so far as the $1,350,000,000 was concerned, was entirely dependent upon the action that the Congress might take with reference thereto.

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; I said that several times.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. There is no question about it. Now, the original agreement, as drawn up in Atlantic City, contemplated only $1,350,000,000. Each country, as nearly as it could, would allocate to UNRRA 1 percent of its income, and a proportionate amount for contributions. That was the original obligation undertaken by UNRRA.

Now, at the Montreal conference two resolutions, No. 57 and No. 58, were passed by the UNRRA organization, which undertook a new obligation and a new program of a limited nature in Italy; is that not correct?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is correct.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I believe that the purpose of it was the care of and welfare services for children and nursing and expectant mothers, assistance in the care and return to their homes of displaced persons, provisions for medical and sanitary supplies, which might also include control of epidemics, or something of that character.

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; that is right.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. The program was limited to those purposes, and, as I understand it, did not include any authorization for industrial rehabilitation in Italy.

Mr. CLAYTON. That is my understanding. I have not read the resolution recently. I was not at that meeting, but I always refer to it as a limited relief program principally for mothers and children.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I think that I have quoted it literally, sir.

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Getting back to whether there is an obligation on our part for additional funds: At that same meeting in Montreal you adopted another resolution, a resolution relating to reservations and declarations of the Congress of the United States when we authorized this first appropriation for UNRRA, and of course subse-

quently appropriated funds for it. We put into that resolution certain reservations. One of them was as follows:

> That any new obligation of the United States shall not be binding upon the United States without approval of the joint resolutions in Congress.

Now, there was a new obligation undertaken in Italy to the extent of $50,000,000, or not to exceed $50,000,000.

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; there was a new program.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. And of course that program was carried out with UNRRA funds, of which we had our proportionate share.

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Was there any resolution from the Congress pertaining to that new project and that obligation?

Mr. CLAYTON. Not that I know of.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Why not?

Mr. CLAYTON. This all happened before I had anything to do with UNRRA.

Mr. ACHESON. There was no new obligation undertaken by the United States of any sort whatever. What we did at the UNRRA meeting in Montreal was to allocate some of the funds of UNRRA which had already been subscribed for the purpose of taking care of Italy. There was not the faintest obligation upon the part of the United States of any sort whatever undertaken at that Montreal meeting, and if you will read the whole of the article which you quoted from a moment ago, Mr. Chiperfield, you will see that had to do with amending the articles of agreement entered into on November 9, 1943, and it says, that no amendment of those articles of agreement which imposes any obligation upon the United States shall be binding without a joint resolution of the Congress. Nothing of that sort was done or contemplated.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. If it was not a new obligation, in the first place, I would ask you, why would it require a new resolution?

Mr. ACHESON. I will answer that right now. It required a new resolution because the fundamental resolutions of UNRRA provide that you shall not furnish relief in ex-enemy countries without the specific authorization of the Council, so we were getting the authorization of the Council in accordance with the basic resolutions of UNRRA.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. And the first section of the UNRRA agreement provided that any activities—and I am not trying to quote it, because I do not have it here before me—that any activities in enemy territory, or ex-enemy territory, should be at the expense of those countries. Now, that situation was changed and UNRRA undertook that obligation.

Mr. ACHESON. It is not in the UNRRA agreement at all. There are no such words there. You are reading from a resolution of UNRRA.

Chairman BLOOM. Let us go off the record a minute.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Before I get away from the subject, in the hearings before the Subcommittee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, at page 137, UNRRA is furnished a statement of shipments through August 31, 1945, entitled, "Industrial Rehabilitation Supplies," I will not go into the details at this time, but will

reserve my questioning, which shows that 487 long tons were furnished for industrial rehabilitation under this limited program in Italy. Now, let us turn to the activity of UNRRA so far as it concerns displaced persons. UNRRA is operating in the occupied areas of Germany that are controlled by the United States, England, and France.

Mr. CLAYTON. Only in respect to displaced persons.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is correct. UNRRA is prohibited from doing anything about displaced persons in the occupied area of Germany controlled by Russia; is that correct?

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not quite understand you.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I am calling attention to the fact that there is an area in Germany that is controlled by Russia. There are also displaced persons in that area. UNRRA is prohibited from entering that territory and doing anything in connection with the displaced persons.

Mr. CLAYTON. There is no prohibition that I know of. Governor Lehman can answer that better than I can.

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes. UNRRA does not operate in that part of Germany which is occupied by the Russian Army.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Why?

Mr. LEHMAN. Well, because UNRRA has not been asked to operate in the Russian zone. Furthermore, if you will read the agreement—and I am quite sure that Mr. Acheson who was instrumental in drafting the original agreement will bear me out—you will see that UNRRA does not go into any occupied country, or occupied area, except on the invitation of and with the approval of the occupying forces.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Did Russia refuse to invite us?

Mr. LEHMAN. She did not invite us.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. She did not invite us?

Mr. LEHMAN. No. The Soviet Military Command did not request UNRRA assistance for displaced persons in the Russian zone in Germany.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Let us take this situation, Governor. Here you have the city of Berlin divided into these sections. A displaced person that lives in an occupied area of Russia wanders over to our area needing help. What would you do with him if he comes over to our area?

Mr. LEHMAN. If he comes to our area and needs help and is qualified, we help him.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. If he comes from the Russian area?

Mr. LEHMAN. It does not make any difference where he comes from if he proves that he is a bona fide displaced person who needs help, and that he is eligible under the UNRRA resolutions.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Lehman, the fact that they are not going into the Russian territory is not due to any prohibition against it in enabling legislation, nor by prohibition by the Council of UNRRA itself. That is the result of other factors?

Mr. LEHMAN. There is a provision in the agreement that UNRRA cannot undertake activities in any area where military control exists except with the consent of and subject to the control of the military command of that area.

Take the case of Austria today. UNRRA, at its Council meeting, authorized the Administration to undertake work in Austria, but

UNRRA will undertake work in Austria only upon the invitation of the Allied Commission for Austria.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is what I mean. The fact that they are not in there is due to the fact that they have not received the approval, nor the invitation, of the power involved?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is quite right.

Chairman BLOOM. It is not the fault of UNRRA that you are not in there?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is right.

Chairman BLOOM. That is what Mr. Richards is trying to get at.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Of course, it is not the fault of UNRRA. Now, Mr. Secretary, in Resolution No. 53 that I referred to, where UNRRA at Montreal adopted the reservations that were adopted by the Congress, section 3 provides that in the adoption of this joint resolution, the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at the first session of the Council.

At the first session of the Council Resolution No. 1, areas in which the administration will operate, provides as follows:

> That all expenses connected with such possible operation in an enemy or ex-enemy area shall be carried by the enemy or ex-enemy country concerned.

Now, Dean Acheson, the Under Secretary, says that that is not a new obligation where we pay for it out of UNRRA funds. We will discuss that later.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chairman would like to state, Mr. Chiperfield, if you do not mind, that when you bring up a question of that kind the witness ought to be able to answer it so the answer can stand opposite the question.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You just asked me to delay a moment ago.

Chairman BLOOM. Now Mr. Clayton wants to answer that question.

Mr. CLAYTON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out that certainly in the case of Italy, and we believe also in the case of Austria—they are both ex-enemy countries—that neither country has the resources with which to pay for these supplies. The United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada have for over a year been giving the necessary relief to Italy to keep them socially and economically intact, and that has cost a great deal of money, something like $500,000,000, and now the responsibility has been shifted to UNRRA, beginning about the first of next year. Italy has no funds with which to pay for this milk and whatever else was brought in for these nursing mothers and children. Neither has Austria any money

Now, in the case of Germany it is anticipated in time the cost of taking care of displaced persons there and repatriating them will come out of the German economy, and we believe in time Germany will be able to pay for that. For that reason I insisted in London at the Council meeting that the resolutions having to do with that matter should provide that the occupying armies should put up the necessary funds for providing these supplies for transportation, and so forth, because they alone had the ability to see that the funds were recovered from the economy of the country that they occupied, and that resolution was passed. So far as I know, it is being adhered to.

In the case of Italy, there is not a chance of payment.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I am not talking about the merits or the right to include Italy. All I am saying is that it is not binding, if it is a new obligation on the part of the United States, until it is approved by a joint resolution. What I am getting at is, if UNRRA goes ahead and spends United States funds for projects that were not originally contemplated without any approval of the Congress of the matter, and the only time that they ever come to us for any approval is when they need the money, I want to know why.

Mr. CLAYTON. Mr. Chiperfield, I do not understand that every time a new area is opened up that requires relief of UNRRA that UNRRA has to come to the United States Congress to get authority to provide relief for that area, as in the case of Korea and Formosa. That is new also. They came along only after the collapse of Japan.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Secretary, I will tell you why—because we asked those direct questions: "Are any of its funds to be used in Italy?" The answer was, "No; unless at the expense of the enemy government." Russia was not a participant.

Here we find a situation, sir, where Russia will not even let us go in with UNRRA, and yet you go ahead and recognize at the third session in London two of the Soviet Republics without any approval of this Congress, when it was not contemplated in the original agreement that they should be a part. I am simply raising that question for what it may be worth.

Mr. CLAYTON. I cannot speak with reference to your charge that Russia will not let us go in and take care of displaced persons in her occupied zone. She evidently did not invite us to do so and thereby took off of UNRRA a very difficult task which she is presumably performing herself.

As regards Italy, Mr. Acheson can answer that much better than I, and I am sure that when he gets on the stand he will answer your assertion that $50,000,000 for Italy was spent contrary to agreement. I am not sufficiently familiar with the undertakings made at that time to speak on that subject.

As regards the new program for Italy, that is well known to the Congress, and if the Congress wishes to withhold funds for UNRRA because some of the money is going to be spent in Italy, Congress has that right.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Do you know anything about this book that has been put before us, Agreement Concerning UNRRA, that is marked "confidential?"

Mr. CLAYTON. I have seen the book. I have not read all the agreements.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Can you figure out how it is going to be worth anything to us if it is confidential and we cannot use it?

Mr. CLAYTON. I would think that you could use it freely for your own information.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. And not for the information of anyone else?

Mr. CLAYTON. Well, I do not know how confidential you understand "confidential" to be.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to state that you may ask any questions of any witnesses with reference to anything in that book.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I can?

Chairman BLOOM. Yes. The book is before you.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. May I put in the record the letter where Russia refused to allow UNRRA to go into German-occupied territory that is occupied by the Russians?

Mr. LEHMAN. In the first place, as far as this book is concerned, it is marked "confidential" because it contains information which came to us from the military and was marked "confidential." I see no reason whatsoever why you cannot ask me, as the administrative head of UNRRA, any questions with regard to these agreements that seem proper to you.

May I say a word about the granting of relief in Italy? When the first authorization of $1,350,000,000 was made by the Congress of the United States it was made in dollars. It bore no relationship whatsoever to the use, geographically or nationally, of those funds. It could not have made any reference because at that time we did not know where we were going to operate, or the demands that would come to us from any geographical or national area. We did not know whether we were going to have $100,000,000 for Greece or $500,000,000. So I again repeat, the authorization had no restriction on the use of UNRRA funds, except as provided in the UNRRA agreement.

Now, we, of course, could not spend more than the sum made available to UNRRA. As you know, $550,000,000 of the original United States authorization has not yet been made available to UNRRA. The $50,000,000, to which Congressman Chiperfield referred, for Italy was charged in our planning budget and to the extent it has already been used in our account, to the original contribution, that has been given to UNRRA by the Congress of the United States. When it comes to the new program for Italy, which Mr. Clayton has not described in detail, but which I shall be very glad to describe when I take the stand, that is obviously in greater part to be charged to additional funds that may be available to UNRRA. Part of it will be taken out of the first $1,350,000,000, but the greater part will have to come from the new appropriation. When the resolution on Italy was before the Council in London and Mr. Clayton used the figure of $450,000,000 as being necessary for Italy, I publicly stated that until the administration of UNRRA knew what funds would be made available, in addition to those that had already been made available, UNRRA could not undertake or assume that responsibility.

I also want to point out that Italy has been a responsibility in a greater measure of the United States Government, either through military channels or through FEA, both of which agencies' appropriations have been made by the Congress of the United States. UNRRA would be taking over, in other words, from the United States a considerable share of this $450,000,000 task which otherwise had in the past been borne by agencies of the United States, and which would have to continue to be borne by the agencies of the United States unless we are willing to turn Italy entirely adrift so far as outside assistance is concerned.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You said a moment ago that Russia was carrying out her part with reference to displaced persons within the parts of Germany freed by Russia. I presume that that is not based on any personal knowledge?

Mr. CLAYTON. It is not; no, sir.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I have not had time to go into all these documents that have been presented here. I would like to

reserve the balance of my questions. I think many of them would be more appropriate if presented to other witnesses.

Chairman BLOOM. That will be all right—only I think you have done pretty well.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I have not had much time.

Chairman BLOOM. I am sorry you did not have more time.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Incidentally, Mr. Chairman, I asked a month ago of UNRRA to have these documents and booklets prepared so that they would be in our hands a week before the hearings, which was promised. I called them again yesterday, and they were kind enough to send them down to me yesterday afternoon by special messenger. We should have had them before us so that we would have had an opportunity to study them and ask intelligent questions.

Chairman BLOOM. There is no reason that you should not have that opportunity, Mr. Chiperfield. We will give you plenty of time to read them over and we will call the witnesses back and allow you to ask any questions you want to. We are not going to rush these hearings at all.

You say you have no further questions at this time?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. No; not at the present time.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Gordon?

Mr. GORDON. No questions at this time, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Vorys?

Mr. VORYS. Yes; Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, how much supplies were shipped in October by UNRRA?

Mr. CLAYTON. Have you got that figure, Governor?

Mr. VORYS. I am not asking other witnesses. I want to know what you know about it.

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not know how much was shipped in the month of October, Mr. Vorys. I understand that shipments are going forward at the rate of about 50 shiploads a month.

Mr. VORYS. That would be how much in dollars and cents?

Mr. LEHMAN. May I answer that question?

Mr. VORYS. No; I want to find out from Mr. Clayton.

Chairman BLOOM. Please, Mr. Vorys, let us proceed in order.

Mr. VORYS. Yes; let us proceed in order. I have the floor.

Chairman BLOOM. Yes; but the Chair is here, too, and the Chair would like to state that if you ask a question of any witness and that witness cannot answer the question and there is an official here from another department that can answer the question, that witness should be entitled to answer the question. Therefore, if Governor Lehman can answer your question, I do not see why you or any other member of the committee should refuse to have someone who can give you true information and answer the question correctly, proceed to answer it. If you are going to ask the question, I am going to see that it is answered.

Mr. CLAYTON. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. VORYS. Just a minute. Will the Chair bear with me? I do not wish at this time to find out the answers of UNRRA to a few questions, but to find out what our American representative on UNRRA knows about it. I appreciate the fact that he cannot carry an awful lot of figures in his head, but I want to get briefly his bird's-eye picture of the matter and I do not want half a dozen experts

jumping up to answer questions that I direct to him. I have a few general questions that I wanted to ask our American representative; my purpose being to test his familiarity with the operations of UNRRA, not to find out information at this time about UNRRA. I imagine that much of this is in the books here.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to state that the American representative does not know all of the combined figures of the national or the foreign organization or the organization that is headed by Governor Lehman. If you are asking a question that only the Governor can answer, I think you should allow the Governor to answer it.

Mr. VORYS. What were the shipments in the last month, that you know about, in dollars? You mentioned 50 shiploads. What would that amount to in dollars?

Mr. CLAYTON. I have the figures here, Mr. Vorys. If your object is to test my knowledge of the detailed operations of UNRRA, I will admit at once that I do not carry them in my head. We have a very good organization in the State Department that follows it closely. I have to consider policy questions with regard to UNRRA. I have a few other things to do besides the UNRRA assignment. I do follow it in general, but I do not follow it in detail. But I have the information. I can get it any time I want it, and I have it here now and am glad to give it to you.

The total shipments to liberated areas through October 1945, were 2,646,000 tons of a landed value of $636,000,000. The total through the 30th of September was 2,126,000 tons; so that if you deduct one from the other and you will see that 520,000 tons were shipped in the month of October. Deducting one value from the other we see that the 520,000 tons cost, landed, $116,000,000.

Mr. VORYS. A hundred and sixteen million dollars for October?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right.

Mr. VORYS. What was the figure, as you carry it in your mind, for September? It was about $90,000,000, was it not?

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not believe we have here the figures month by month. We have them up to the end of September. I can get the figures and insert them in the record.

Mr. VORYS. The figure has been presented to Congress recently. I wanted to see if you knew. It is around $90,000,000, I think, up to October 1.

Now, how many people in Europe, in the countries that have no foreign exchange to pay for their own relief, do you carry in your mind as needing relief in the course of this winter, I will say?

Mr. CLAYTON. I could not tell you that.

Mr. VORYS. How about in Asia?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir; I could not tell you. I could make a pretty good guess.

Mr. VORYS. Let me have a guess, then. I appreciate that you cannot carry these figures to the odd cent in your mind, but I am amazed that you do not have more of a general knowledge of it.

Mr. CLAYTON. Probably about 500,000,000 in Asia could use it very well.

Mr. VORYS. How many in Europe?

Mr. CLAYTON. That I do not know.

Mr. VORYS. Give it to the odd million. We are used to dealing in large figures up here.

Mr. CLAYTON. I would not attempt to tell you, Mr. Vorys. Field surveys have been made and estimates have been made, and I can get those figures and furnish them to you.

I would like to have my position on this matter well understood. I am very interested in policy questions regarding UNRRA operations. I do not follow the operations in detail. It would be not only impossible for me to do so, but very unwise for me to do so. UNRRA is an organization that does these things, and we have a very good organization in the State Department that keeps in very close touch with what they are doing. As I said a moment ago, I can get that information any time I want it, and I talk with these people who work with UNRRA every day or so and I know pretty well what is going on in a general way, but I do not follow and should not follow the operations in detail.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to state, Mr. Vorys, that if you have any questions that you would like to have answered, if you will kindly give them to the Secretary, he will insert his answers to those questions in the record.

Mr. VORYS. Thank you. I am getting along fine. I am getting the answers that I want at this time.

Chairman BLOOM. You are doing fine.

Mr. VORYS. There has been spent up to date about how much?

Mr. CLAYTON. The figure of the cost of supplies through October is $636,000,000. They have had total contributions of about $1,200,000,000 that have been paid or made available. I understand that practically all of that has been committed. Of course, a good deal of it has not been actually spent, but they cannot go on committing money until they get new money.

Mr. VORYS. They cannot commit it twice?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right.

Mr. VORYS. They have spent for supplies that have been delivered, or for salaries or something or other, out of the 12 hundred millions, how much—about 800 millions?

Mr. CLAYTON. Six hundred and thirty-six million represents the actual shipments through October. Obviously they have supplies on hand in course of transportation to the ports and at the ports, running into many millions of dollars more. That $636,000,000 does not include administrative expense, which I understand runs about $13,000,000; but they tell me that they are committed for practically all the funds that have been made available to them, which are about one billion two hundred-and-some-odd million dollars.

Mr. VORYS. Is not this about right, that if they got the $550,000,000 which is in the course of being appropriated by the Congress, that will run UNRRA through until sometime in the spring?

Mr. CLAYTON. It is true that the pipe line would run for a time, but not very long. Mr. Lehman can give you the figure a good deal better than I can, because that is something that he follows.

Mr. VORYS. The President gave us a message yesterday along that line, and I thought that he had possibly consulted with the American representative.

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes. I understand that those funds will secure supplies, some of which could be shipped until sometime in the early spring; but if something should happen so that new appropriations were not received until the spring, you can understand that there

would be quite an interregnum there, quite a lapse, in the shipments until they could buy new supplies and get them transported.

Mr. VORYS. And this buying and committing of supplies as far as the United States is concerned comes under the American representative on the UNRRA council, and you have taken over Mr. Crowley's job in connection with what was formerly FEA; is not that correct?

Mr. CLAYTON. Recently the lend-lease and UNRRA responsibilities of FEA have been transferred to the State Department—very recently.

Mr. VORYS. They are under you; are they not?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. VORYS. So that you are somewhat familiar, I would imagine, at least, with the over-all picture, the broad picture, of this matter of obtaining supplies under what was formerly the FEA procedure?

Mr. CLAYTON. We do not buy supplies, nor did FEA.

Mr. VORYS. But you commit them?

Mr. CLAYTON. We receive the requisitions from UNRRA for supplies and pass on questions of supplies here and there and process the requisitions and send them to the proper agency for procurement if the supplies are deemed available for that purpose.

Mr. VORYS. You are what is called a claimant agency, not a procurement agency; is not that correct?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right. FEA was not a procurement agency; it was a claimant agency.

Mr. VORYS. What you do is to test the needs as presented by UNRRA, what they need from the United States, against the United States needs for, let us say, the same supplies, and then present the claims to the procuring agencies; is not that right?

Mr. CLAYTON. Of course, requests have to be passed upon by the Combined Board or other authoritative bodies that allocate these supplies when they are in short supply. We are getting out of that situation more and more every day. That was the condition during the war.

Mr. VORYS. Is the Combined Board still in existence?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. Who is the American representative on the Combined Board?

Mr. CLAYTON. Mr. Batt is representative on some of them. On the Combined Food Board it is Mr. Anderson, the Secretary of Agriculture.

Chairman BLOOM. Governor Lehman would like to make a little statement at this point to try to correct a little misunderstanding that seems to exist, if you do not mind.

Mr. VORYS. Certainly.

Mr. LEHMAN. The figures of the amount committed both from the United States appropriation and from the appropriations from other countries are contained and justified in the documents which we have given to you, and I of course will be very glad indeed to answer any questions in detail with regard to those. So that there will be no misunderstanding, however, I do want to say at this point that the $800,000,000 which we have thus far received from the United States Government is completely committed and that the justification of it is in the documents which you have before you. It is completely committed.

Mr. VORYS. Thank you.

Chairman BLOOM. Proceed, Mr. Vorys. Thank you.

Mr. VORYS. Of the $800,000,000 which we have supplied, 90 percent of it is supposed to be spent in this country. Is not that true?

Mr. CLAYTON. About that; yes, sir.

Mr. VORYS. That is one of the UNRRA recommendations?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. VORYS. Roughly, what part of that has been for supplies other than immediate relief supplies?

Mr. CLAYTON. You mean, other than for food and clothing?

Mr. VORYS. Food, clothing, medicines. About how much? Do you have that figure?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes. We have it for the $800,000,000. That is in the book at page 52. Of the $800,000,000 there is $158,000,000 committed for food and $172,000,000, approximately, for clothing, textiles, and footwear.

The next big item is purchases made from military supplies, surpluses overseas, $159,000,000. By the way: they are supplies that, if UNRRA had not bought them, we would have realized very little real cash out of. That would be trucks and all sorts of things that would be useful.

Mr. VORYS. I am one of those who advocated very strongly the provision for using surplus Lend-Lease and military supplies, and I am glad that our judgment was carried out in that respect.

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes. That is very important, and we are doing everything we can. We have got the foreign surplus-disposal functions in the State Department now, also, and we are doing everything we can in respect to the expenditure of $550,000,000 which we have asked you to appropriate in accordance with the original authorization, as well as in respect of the $1,350,000,000 which we are now asking you to authorize. We are doing everything we can to supply as much of those needs and use as much of that money in the purchase of surplus property as is possible. Since we have that whole matter now coordinated in the State Department we expect that a very substantial part of that $550,000,000 and the $1,350,000,000, or a total of $1,900,000,000, will really be the contribution to UNRRA by the United States of surplus materials and property abroad for which we would otherwise get very little real cash.

Mr. VORYS. In addition to the surplus military supplies we have supplied about $1,000,000,000 of relief through Army appropriations; is not that correct?

Mr. CLAYTON. I think you are referring to what is called plan A, which was the relief that was given by our Army principally to Belgium, Holland, and France, in the initial stages of their liberation, much of which is repayable. Of course included in that billion dollars would be perhaps half of the amount, or almost half of it, which would have been spent in Italy; and, frankly, we do not expect to get repayment of that, because Italy will not be able to repay it. She has no resources out of which to repay it.

Mr. VORYS. I was wondering what your judgment was as to the distribution of that relief through Army sources, which is almost twice that which UNRRA has distributed. I mean, what is your judgment as to the efficiency of the distribution of it?

Mr. CLAYTON. So far as I know, it was efficiently distributed. As I say, it was relief that was brought in for the civilian population of the liberated countries in the very initial stages of their liberation.

Mr. VORYS. We have this problem facing us, that the bulk of the relief so far has been carried on by the American Army and a far smaller portion has been carried on by UNRRA. Whatever its ultimate purpose, it was to relieve human suffering and to feed starving people and get them some clothing and get them going.

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Was it not a military objective also?

Mr. CLAYTON. Obviously we had to furnish that relief in the countries where our armies were stationed and in the countries we have used as the base of operations, as Holland, Belgium, and France. We had to see that the civilian populations of those countries were not reduced to a situation of starvation or disease and unrest which would bring about civil commotion and endanger the operations of our armies. That is a responsibility of an occupying army, of course, as you know, and it had to be done regardless of the humanitarian aspects of it.

Mr. VORYS. Yes. It was pointed out in our original hearing, I think, that the first stages of relief would be conducted by the military as a matter of protecting communication lines in their rear. But another result would be that some people would not starve who otherwise might have starved.

Have you contacted General Eisenhower and the military staff who have carried on a great deal of relief and who have observed relief as administered by UNRRA and obtained their opinions about UNRRA relief as compared with that which they administered?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir; I have not. I do not believe that the military have observed or had an opportunity to observe very much the operations of UNRRA in those countries. As a matter of fact, UNRRA does not actually operate internally in any country receiving relief, except to maintain a mission to observe and see that the agreements that they have with that country are being carried out. Our Army has had no opportunity to observe operations in Poland, in Greece, in Yugoslavia, or any of those countries, so far as I know.

Mr. VORYS. Have you contacted the military government as to the way the administration of displaced persons by UNRRA has proceeded?

Mr. CLAYTON. I have discussed it with some of the people in the Army, yes; several times.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair wishes to state at this point that we expect to have General Eisenhower here to testify, so as to give you later the information that you are seeking.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield a moment?

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. When General Eisenhower met with our group in Europe he said that the reason he was interested in UNRRA was that according to our American way of life the military always gets out of administrative functions as soon as possible and turn those functions over to civilian agencies.

Mr. VORYS. There is one other question that I would like to ask About how much of the UNRRA supplies so far has been rehabilitation and industrial supplies and that sort of thing which would not constitute strictly relief?

Mr. CLAYTON. Well, for example, out of our $800,000,000 we spent $37,000,000 for agricultural rehabilitation supplies, which I think is a very important item, to try to help those countries, many of which have been stripped of their agricultural machinery, get back onto a self-sustaining basis.

Mr. VORYS. That would be agricultural machinery, would it?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; agricultural machinery.

Mr. VORYS. Would that include seed?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. Machinery would be a nonrecurring item. The seeds of course are another matter. Do you know how much of that would be for agricultural machinery and trucks and things like that which would be nonrecurring items?

Mr. CLAYTON. No; I do not, Mr. Vorys. Perhaps the UNRRA people could give you that information.

Mr. VORYS. What I am trying to get at is this, and maybe you can tell me. How did you arrive at the figure which you proposed of a second 1 percent as the United States contribution to UNRRA?

Mr. CLAYTON. After very careful investigation UNRRA made up rough estimates of what would be required to complete the job in each one of these countries. For example, in China a tentative estimate was that it might take $800,000,000 to complete the job. They had just got started in China on a very small scale, because the ports were not open until the Japs capitulated, so they could not do much. But they were getting a mission ready and had bought some supplies that they had in Australia ready to ship. We figured that it would take about $800,000,000. We knew that in Italy we had spent, together with the Canadians and the British, about $500,000,000 in 1945, and we figured that in 1946 it would take about $450,000,000 to keep the situation reasonably good in Italy. Then the UNRRA people, with the information that they had from their missions in Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, and so on, made estimates as to what remained to be done in each one of those countries. They put it all together, and it amounted to a good deal more than 1 percent, but we felt that 1 percent was all this country would be prepared to undertake. In other words, about the same sum as the original contribution.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You mentioned the relief necessary in China. Did you know that out of the first 9 tons of supplies sent to China 3 tons were books?

Mr. CLAYTON. No; I did not know that.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Yes.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I believe the answer is that they sent medical books. China had been cut off for so long from scientific knowledge during the development of the sulfa drugs for instance. These books, in the hands of a few trained in the use of the drugs, were aimed to bring the Chinese up to date.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I hardly thought they would send fairy tales.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. The books were relevant to the program of epidemic control which is relevant to UNRRA's program.

Chairman BLOOM. You get pretty good food from books sometimes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Not for the stomach, however.

Mr. VORYS. There are about 40,000,000 people in Italy and about 400,000,000 in China, and the budget is about twice for the relief for China that it is for Italy. We get back to this matter of how many people are involved. Is it your judgment, as a member of the Council, that the people of Italy are about five times worse off than the people of China, or are there other considerations besides merely the relief of suffering and want that are involved in that computation?

Mr. CLAYTON. I think that China could absorb almost any amount of relief. You just could not do a complete job in China. All you can do is to do the best you can. You must take into account among other factors the prewar standards that obtained in those areas.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to state at this time that I promised that I would be sure to allow Mr. Clayton to leave by 12 o'clock, and it is that time now. He will be back tomorrow morning.

Mr. VORYS. I apologize for taking so much time.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, Congress is in session at 12 o'clock, and I think we should recess. I want to be on the floor.

Chairman BLOOM. The committee will recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Thank you very much.

(Thereupon, at 12 noon, a recess was taken until tomorrow, Thursday, November 15, 1945, at 10 a. m.)

FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN WORK OF UNRRA

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1945

House of Representatives,
Committee on Foreign Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Sol Bloom (chairman) presiding.

Chairman Bloom. The committee will kindly come to order for further consideration of H. R. 4649.

I believe you were inquiring, Mr. Mundt.

Mr. Mundt. Is Mr. Vorys through?

Chairman Bloom. I do not know. He is not here.

The Chair would like to state that I have to be at the White House at quarter of 11, so that while I am away Judge Kee will occupy the chair.

Proceed, Mr. Mundt.

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM L. CLAYTON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE—Resumed

Mr. Mundt. Mr. Secretary, I would like to inquire first of all whether these hearings and the consideration of this bill comprise the time and the place where Congress can write in any remedial regulations or amendments or instructions which it may deem wise, should we decide that to be necessary.

Mr. Clayton. Well, sir, I suppose that Congress can do anything it wants to, write in whatever it wants to write in, in legislation of this kind.

Mr. Mundt. I mean, it is clearly understood among the members of the United Nations that this legislation comprises a recommitment of this country to a new program and that nothing has been done in the council meetings which in any way circumscribes the authority of Congress?

Mr. Clayton. No, sir; nothing could be done and nothing has been done that would in any way circumscribe the authority of Congress in respect of the appropriation of funds.

Mr. Mundt. My reason for asking that is that when we have had the matter up previously, as for example, this last appropriation, the argument was presented that we had an understanding with the United Nations Organization that we were appropriating a certain amount of money, and that was not the time or place to propose directive amendments. So I was wondering if this was the proper place now for amendment.

Mr. Clayton. That is certainly my position in respect of the appropriation of the $550,000,000. It has already been authorized,

and I think if any conditions were to be attached to that, they should have been considered at the time of the authorization of the funds. When you are dealing with an international organization, it is always a serious matter to attach amendments. Of course, Congress could have considered conditions at the time of the original authorization.

Mr. MUNDT. Or at this time, now, with this new authorization?

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to state, Mr. Mundt, that there never has been in the mind of anyone that the Congress could not do anything it wanted. But if the Congress of the United States should amend the agreement in any way, the other forty-odd States would have the right to do the same thing. Furthermore, it would have to go back to the council and be approved by them. So it would just be delaying the activity and the work of UNRRA. But as far as the Congress of the United States being able to amend it or do anything it wants to with it is concerned, there is no question about that, the same as with reference to any other piece of legislation.

Mrs. ROGERS. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MUNDT. Let me finish this line of examination, please.

The money sought to be authorized by this present legislation would not become available, at all events, until after the first of the year; is that correct?

Mr. CLAYTON. That I do not know, Mr. Mundt. If the money is authorized here, it depends on how soon it is appropriated. I do not know how long that will take.

Mr. MUNDT. You are an incurable optimist if you think it will pass this committee, both Houses of Congress, and also the Appropriations Committee before the first of the year.

Mr. CLAYTON. You know a great deal more about that than I do.

Mr. MUNDT. Even if we passed it tomorrow I doubt if the Appropriations Committee would act without spending at least some time investigating the financial aspects in fulfillment of its responsibility.

My next question is in view of the fact that we agree that this is the time when Congress should exert any directing influence that it intends or desires to exert, and I would like to ask you, as the American representative of the UNRRA council, whether you expect to oppose in connection with this legislation as you did in connection with the $550,000,000 appropriation bill, the so-called freedom of the press proposals which would permit a complete coverage by radio and newspaper people of all UNRRA operations any place in the world.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to state that I think that question should be withdrawn, because I do not think it is fair to ask the witness whether he is going to oppose freedom of the press. It is up to the Congress, whether he opposes it or not. It would not make any difference whether he opposes it or not; and I think that question should be witherawn. I would not want to put the witness in that position, because if he did oppose it, what difference would it make?

The Chair would rule the question out of order.

Mr. MUNDT. If he does not want to answer it he does not have to.

Chairman BLOOM. The witness has not said whether he wanted to answer it or not.

Mr. MUNDT. The Chair does not want him to answer it.

Chairman BLOOM. It is not a proper question. I think you gentlemen understand what I mean by that.

Mr. MUNDT. We are discussing a proposed piece of legislation.

Chairman BLOOM. It would not make any difference whether the witness approves of it or disapproves of it. It is up to the committee and to the Congress to do anything it wants.

Mr. MUNDT. I thought we were trying to secure the advice and counsel of the State Department in connection with this legislation.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair rules the question out of order. Proceed, Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Well, if I can find any questions which are in order I will try again; but it looks like we were discussing a piece of legislation; and if I cannot find out at this time the State Department's attitude with regard to it, I hope the State Department will continue its reticence and not make any suggestions at a later time—

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair has already ruled.

Mr. MUNDT. In your statement yesterday, Mr. Secretary, you said that the United States owes a moral obligation in connection with this legislation; and I agree to that. I wonder if you agree that the moral obligation which we owe is to the needy people of the world and not to UNRRA?

Mr. CLAYTON. It is, of course, to the needy people of the world; but we have already agreed to try to do the job through an international organization. I do not think you can scrap the UNRRA organization and administration and substitute anything else that can be got ready in time to do this job.

Mr. MUNDT. You agree, however, that the obligation is to the needy?

Mr. CLAYTON. Certainly, that was the reason for UNRRA's creation.

Mr. MUNDT. When we first passed the UNRRA legislation I was one of those who argued on the floor of the House and in committee that we had another obligation which I thought existed at that time, and that was to try to set up an international organization for the purpose of international cooperation, as a sort of forerunner of the United Nations Organization, a forerunner of further international collaboration. I thought that was a worthy argument, and I used it in my own speeches. However, I think that argument today is entirely secondary, because there are other establishments now for international cooperation. We have the United Nations Organization set up, to which we belong. The big job now, it seems to me, is first finding out the best method for attacking the relief problem. That is the job of UNRRA. Its primary job is no longer to demonstrate the feasibility or unfeasibility, the workability or unworkability, of international cooperation. There are bigger and better and more permanent organizations for that purpose. UNRRA's big job is to find out the quickest and most efficient manner of getting relief to the neediest people in the world. Would you subscribe to that?

Mr. CLAYTON. Certainly, but having come forward a couple of years ago and said we thought the best way to get relief to those needy people, when we could reach them, would be through an international organization of the United Nations, and having authorized $1,350,000,000 for that purpose, having induced other nations to join in the enterprise with us, I think it would be in very poor grace now to say we must have been wrong about it, and, while we still recognize the obligation to these needy and starving people, we think there is some better way to do it, right in the middle of the job.

Mrs DOUGLAS of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. If, before the United Nations Organization has actually started to function, we scrap the first peacetime project of the United Nations, and a project which is only a temporary one, based on humanitarian works, won't it look hopeless to expect teamwork on permanent and far more controversial issues? Second, is there any other organization which is today staffed with procurement agencies to do the second part of UNRRA's double program, rehabilitation work? It is questionable whether the Red Cross could take over. There would be a long hiatus.

Mr. VORYS. The gentlewoman was not on this committee at the time when there passed through this committee and was contained in the legislation a very definite statement that UNRRA is not be a general rehabilitation organization and that its function is to be limited to relief. It is not to be a general welfare organization at all. If it is getting into that field, it is getting beyond the limitations that were provided by our original contribution and the original legislation.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. Certainly.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. How did it happen that the double name got into UNRRA? When the United Nations Organization was set up they put in the words "United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation."

Mr. VORYS. The definition is contained in section 7 of the present legislation; also in section 3 of Public, 267, Seventy-eighth Congress, in the folder which is before you. I am reading from section 7. [Reading]:

> That it is understood that the provision in paragraph 11 of resolution numbered 12 adopted at the first session of the council, referred to in section 3 of this joint resolution and reading "The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief," contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief.

That is a paragraph that the Congress put in clarifying the word "coterminous" which I think Colonel Llewellyn originally put into the UNRRA legislation—I mean the resolutions which UNRRA itself adopted at Atlantic City. Paragraph 11 of resolution 12 was a definition of what UNRRA itself meant by rehabilitation being coterminous with relief; and therefore if there is any rehabilitation or general welfare program contemplated by UNRRA to follow relief, it is going beyond its own present resolutions and going beyond any authority granted for the use of funds by the Congress.

Mr.s DOUGLAS of Illinois. Perhaps it is a question of semantics.

Mr. MUNDT. I would like to use some of my owu time, if I may.

Chairman BLOOM. Proceed.

Mr. MUNDT. I was asking about an agreement in the statement of purpose as a fundamental objective of UNRRA. That was relief; and I think the Secretary had stated that he agreed with that interpretation.

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; I think the fundamental objective is relief.

Mr. MUNDT. And you said you felt it was doubtful whether any other organization existed or could be devised that could provide relief as quickly and as successfully in the areas in which UNRRA is operating as UNRRA itself, because it is now on the ground?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; I think that is right.

Mr. MUNDT. Would you hold the same point of view in connection with areas which need relief and where UNRRA is not now operating in any substantial degree?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; I would.

Mr. MUNDT. Why?

Mr. CLAYTON. Because the central organization is all organized and operating. It is a functioning organization. It is buying supplies for the areas where they are organized and where they are giving relief; and I think they would be much better able to carry on in that field in new areas than some new organization. I do not see any reason why we should have two organizations working on this matter of relief. I think it ought to be concentrated in one, and I think the right place to concentrate it is in UNRRA, which is a United Nations joint effort, and I think we should support it. It is our baby. We created it, or helped to create it, and I think we ought to continue with it.

Mr. MUNDT. Maybe we ought to bring it up right, too.

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right. That is our obligation too. You are quite right.

Mr. MUNDT. And our committee, as one of the parents of UNRRA, perhaps should have something to say about it and should make suggestions to improve it.

Mr. CLAYTON. There is no argument about that at all.

Mr. MUNDT. I have three proposed amendments to suggest with reference to UNRRA which the chairman has already ruled as out of place, even to discuss them before the committee, so I shall continue to keep them in secrecy until a more appropriate time comes to discuss them with people who will consider them in order.

So much for that aspect.

What has been done in connection with supplying relief for India?

Mr. CLAYTON. Very little, so far as I know. That would be a matter that Governor Lehman would have to give you information on. I will only say this, that in general it was intended that UNRRA relief should be extended only to countries that have suffered directly from the war; and India has not been invaded.

Mr. MUNDT. That is not contained in the UNRRA agreement at any place, is it?

Mr. CLAYTON. What do you mean by "agreement"?

Mr. MUNDT. Either by which Congress entered into a contract with UNRRA or by which the members of UNRRA entered into a contract with themselves. It says there, any area of military significance. But you said yesterday that we have to provide relief to countries used as a base of operations for our armies.

Mr. CLAYTON. No; I said that the Army had to do it. I did not say that UNRRA had to do it. It is true that UNRRA could do it under certain conditions.

Mr. MUNDT. All right. UNRRA, at least by its resolution 54 or resolution 56, recognizes that same feature. It is included in the reservation by which Congress authorized and approved UNRRA in the first place; and so I was wondering what criterion was used for either eliminating India from UNRRA or giving it very little relief.

Mr. CLAYTON. I cannot speak authoritatively at this moment on the legal aspects of the matter, but I will just say that no request for

relief has been received from India, so the question has not risen directly. I hope we will not consider that it is UNRRA's duty and obligation to extend relief indiscriminately around the world. India has not been invaded; and I would be very sorry to see UNRRA take the position that it had a job to do wherever there was great need. Whatever the documents may show, the original understanding, the original idea, in the creation of UNRRA, was that it was to give relief in countries which had been invaded by the enemy and devastated and been left bare of ability to look after themselves. That is not true of India.

Mr. MUNDT. So that there are no plans in the UNRRA Council to extend relief to India?

Mr. CLAYTON. There are no plans; and there are no plans, so far as I know, with reference to any country that does not apply for relief. When they apply they have to go through a regular procedure which, first of all, has to do with their ability to pay, their ability to furnish relief for themselves. It is extremely questionable whether a country like India could make itself eligible for relief by UNRRA. India is a pretty rich country. It has foreign exchange resources, a large export trade, and credit facilities, and would be able, no doubt, to purchase abroad the supplies that are necessary to provide relief to its population. In fact, India has already made an operating contribution to UNRRA of $24,000,000. The countries to which UNRRA is giving relief have not got that ability.

Mr. MUNDT. Is UNRRA giving any relief to the Netherlands?

Mr. CLAYTON. No.

Mr. LEHMAN. I shall be able to explain that very fully, Congressman, to your satisfaction, I am sure.

Mr. MUNDT. I will wait until you get on the stand for that, then.

I think you gave the figures yesterday of 8,245 people employed by UNRRA, of whom 2,297 are Americans?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; I think that is right.

Mr. MUNDT. That makes the staff about 28 percent Americans?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. And the United States supplies 72 percent of the money for relief needs?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you think that is a proper ratio, 28 percent staffed by Americans and supplied 72 percent by Americans.

Mr. CLAYTON. They have had a lot of difficulty in getting as many Americans to work for them as they would have liked. We have been trying awfully hard to get a lot of Americans for UNRRA, but we have had difficulty in doing it. Americans are too busy; they have too much to do; they have got other jobs. There are countries, especially in Europe, where you can get competent people, but you cannot get all the Americans you want. For service abroad we need people who can speak different languages. We do not have too many people available that have that qualification.

Mr. MUNDT. I know of a few very good Americans who have been trying to make their services available to UNRRA, without success.

Mr. CLAYTON. That may be. I do not know about that. I am speaking generally, and I personally have put in a great deal of time in the last 6 months trying to get competent personnel for UNRRA among Americans, and it is an extremely difficult thing to do. Every

good man that you want to get has got a good job, and he knows that this is a temporary thing; that perhaps in 18 months or 2 years it will be finished. Unless one has an impulse to do something for suffering humanity, for itself, and unselfishly, one hestiates to take a job with a temporary organization like this.

Mr. MUNDT. I appreciate that you have had considerable difficulty getting the proper type of personnel, especially while the war was on, because UNRRA was one of the latest organizations to be created, and the best individuals who wanted to make their services available probably were largely drawn. I have had only two or three cases come to my attention, but I have known of a few people, highly qualified and successful people, who wanted to make their services to UNRRA available, because their sympathy went out to Greece. They spoke the Greek language. I do not know any of them who has been able to be employed by UNRRA.

Mr. CLAYTON. Of course I do not know anything about those cases, but I cannot stress too much the fact that one of UNRRA's greatest difficulties has been to obtain, particularly during the war, as you say, competent personnel. You cannot run a big organization like that unless you have people who are competent, loyal, and honest, and usually in that type of an organization they do not do very well unless they really have their heart and spirit in it. It is difficult to quickly build an organization of that kind, particularly if the organization is known to be a temporary one that will go out of business in 18 months or 2 years.

Mr. MUNDT. That is right. People ordinarily are not looking to UNRRA to make a living or give a permanent job.

Mr. CLAYTON. Or a career.

Mr. MUNDT. I thought maybe the reason these people were not able to get jobs was because you had limited it by some regulation to 28 percent Americans.

Mr. CLAYTON. No; there is no limit of that kind.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you think it is good policy, Mr. Secretary, to have a national of a country receiving relief under UNRRA in charge of the mission in that country?

Mr. CLAYTON. A national of a country receiving relief in charge of a mission in that country? Generally speaking, I would think not.

Mr. MUNDT. I would think not, too. He may be a very good head of a mission in some other country, but if you put him in his own country he is subject to pulls and pressures and sympathies and loyalties.

Mr. CLAYTON. I agree. I think, generally speaking, it is not a good idea.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you think that that same logic applies, perhaps to a little lesser extent, but that it still applies, to having a national in control of a mission which is contiguous?

Mr. CLAYTON. There might be in some particular case a reason why that would not be a good idea, but, generally speaking, I do not think it would have any relevancy.

Mr. MUNDT. It seems to me, to a lesser degree or to a substantial degree, it still has, because there are bound to be those same pulls and pressures and sympathies and loyalties, especially in connection with a country which is contiguous to another territory, and he comes under the influence of that area.

Mr. CLAYTON. I cannot quite see that. It might be in some particular case that what you say would be true.

Mr. MUNDT. It would certainly be true if that country were occupied and operated by another country, would it not?

Mr. CLAYTON. You are saying that if country B is occupied by country A and administered by country A, it is not a good idea to have a national of country A at the head of a mission in country B?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. CLAYTON. I would say, yes, you may be right, generally speaking, but each case would have to be examined in its merits.

Mr. MUNDT. I think so too. You and I agree 100 percent on that. I think something should be done, Mr. Secretary to make this basic philosophy in which you and I are in 100 percent accord, operate by conformity rather than by violation. UNRRA is in complete contempt of that philosophy with which you and I agree. I recognize that you do not operate UNRRA; you are just the American council member, one voice in the council. But Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, are three conspicuous examples of complete violation of this philosophy about which you and I have been agreeing.

Mr. CLAYTON. Do you mean to say that the head of the UNRRA mission in each of those countries is a national of the country in which his mission operates?

Mr. MUNDT. He is a national of the country which is in control of the country in which he operates.

Mr. CLAYTON. Just what do you mean by "control"?

Mr. MUNDT. If you want me to be specific, let us take Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia today is an occupied country. It is occupied by the Russian Army. Yugoslavia today is in the Russian sphere of influence and contiguous to that. The head of the mission in Yugoslavia is a man who, in my opinion, is a capable fellow. I spent considerable time visiting with him. I think he would make a good mission head in some country removed from the particular pulls and pressures of his own land, but he is not in a country removed from them. He is operating in Yugoslavia.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. MUNDT. Not at the moment. I want to get the Secretary's reply.

Mr. CLAYTON. I certainly will admit that Yugoslavia is in the Russian area of influence. That Russia runs the country I certainly would not admit.

Mr. MUNDT. That is a moot question. We will not go into that.

Mr. CLAYTON. I know this, that in a Council meeting in London we had a hot issue over a certain question, and the Yugoslavs did not vote with the Russians. I made special note of that fact at that time. I understand that in Poland the head of the mission is a Canadian.

Mr. MUNDT. He is just a temporary appointee; is not that correct?

Mr. CLAYTON. That I do not know. I believe he is permanent.

Mr. MUNDT. He is also very new on the job, because in August the head of the mission was a Russian.

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; in the beginning the head of a temporary UNRRA delegation was a Russian.

Mr. MUNDT. In August it was a Russian.

Mr. CLAYTON. In the beginning of the mission?

Mr. MUNDT. Up to September it was a Russian. He was in the wrong job and the wrong area, but he was a pretty able fellow.

Mr. CLAYTON. I am informed that there is now a Canadian there.

Mr. MUNDT. It might be a Russian again after this bill has been passed?

Mr. CLAYTON. Possibly. I do not think it will be a Russian.

Mr. MUNDT. You do not think it should be a Russian?

Mr. CLAYTON. We now have a Canadian who I am sure is doing a good job.

Mr. MUNDT. I have nothing against the Russians having charge of missions in areas when they are removed from their particular field, but I see no reason in the world why UNRRA should be even suspect of having a political purpose. Its job is relief. We have agreed on that. A little rehabilitation, perhaps, but primarily relief; and you and I have agreed that the job should be done by people who are impartial by every criterion you can apply.

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. In Poland, in August and September, the man was a Russian. Today he is a Canadian, and the head may be a Russian after the bill passes. In Czechoslovakia it is a Russian; in Yugoslavia it is a Russian. Either because of this fact or in spite of it, we want UNRRA to do a job that we can be proud of. It is doing pretty well in the place where it has been operating the longest. It is doing pretty well in Greece. An American is in charge in Greece: The next top man in charge in Greece is a Britisher. Neither Britain nor America is anywhere near Greece geographically. They are free from all pulls and pressures or anything of that sort in that area. There is a chance for UNRRA to do the relief work in Greece free from any type of coercion, sympathies, or loyalties. I think nearly half a hundred Congressmen visited Greece this summer and every one came back and said that UNRRA was doing a pretty good job in Greece. They all complained about what is going on in the other UNRRA missions——

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I want to protest that. In Italy, I would say, it is doing a fine job. I have not seen these other countries.

Mr. MUNDT. It seems to me that there is some pretty serious food for thought there, Mr. Secretary; and as the American member of the Council I, for one, would like to see you do some sturdy scrapping in the Council meetings for conformity with the criterion which you and I agree is sound.

Mr. CLAYTON. A matter of this kind I do not think should be settled in the Council meeting. I do not think it is a subject that ought to be discussed in a Council meeting. As I said yesterday, I just got into this UNRRA job with the Council meeting in London, which took place in August. Whatever influence I may have—and I am a member of the Council and a member of the principal committees of UNRRA—would be used to see to it that in general a national of some country removed from the area of operation should be the head of the mission in this area that you are talking about. As I said a moment ago, a Canadian now is in charge in Poland. I think, from what I understand, that things are going pretty well there. They are getting pretty well organized. I agree in general with what you have to say and with your philosophy in the matter. However, I think there might be, as with nearly every rule, exceptions. But in general I think your idea about it is probably right.

Mr. MUNDT. I am mighty glad to hear that expression on your part, Mr. Secretary. You are going to do what you can in your job

to see that that criterion is followed, and I hope that Congress will do what it can to make it effective.

Mr. CLAYTON. I would like to say on that point that in general I think it is a great mistake for Congress to try in the authorization of these funds to take too intimate a control of the administration of UNRRA. UNRRA is a great United Nations Organization. There are 47 or 48 countries that are members of it, most of whom are contributors either to the operations of UNRRA or to the administrative expense of UNRRA; and if in appropriating or authorizing funds each one would try to implement its own idea about how UNRRA ought to be administered, you can see the administrative chaos that would result.

Mr. MUNDT. It would not become quite as chaotic if only those countries which are contributing 50 percent or more of the money would make suggestions.

Mr. CLAYTON. But, after all, the countries that are contributing to the operations of UNRRA are each contributing the same proportion of its national income that the big countries are contributing. So each one feels that it is doing its part in proportion to its ability. I think that probably each one would feel that if the big countries are going to try to lay down conditions, they would prabably have a right to lay down a few themselves. So that you would just have complete chaos in the administration if you try to run UNRRA by legislative fiat. So I would strongly advise that in authorizing this money you do not try to tell UNRRA how to run the organization itself.

Mr. MUNDT. I agree that that is a philosophy that can be carried to extremes and can be reduced to an absurdity if so carried. I also feel that they are requesting a pretty big chunk of money in asking for a billion and a half dollars. That is a lot of money. That will make $3,000,000,000; and one of the responsibilities that I do not think the custodians of the people's funds, as Members of Congress, can shirk, is to do what they can to see that the end result is as acceptable as possible. If we were conforming to this splendid rule with which you and I agree, this rule of thumb, I would say, "Fine"; but if we continue to be in contempt of that rule I see no other way to bring it about unless your persuasiveness is sufficient in the Council—and you say you will do your best. If that fails or the administrator of UNRRA does not see the wisdom of it, then it looks to me that it is either up to Congress to act or that we must accept a pretty sorry situation and say that there is nothing that we can do about it.

Mr. CLAYTON. Let us try to look at it administratively and not legislatively, because these legislative things get very inflexible. You just cannot run a big organization like that by legislation. You have got to create it and see that capable people are at the top of it and then let them run it. The weaknesses—and there are some—and the mistakes—and there are some—let us try to correct within the organization and not try to do it by law. I just think that is the wrong way to do it. We have got a very capable and very distinguished American citizen at the head of UNRRA, and he is a man that is giving everything he has got to do a good job in the administration of it. He is amenable to reason and to argument, and he wants to do a good job. It is a pride with him. I think we can correct any mistakes that develop and any weaknesses which develop that ought to be corrected.

Mr. MUNDT. I hope so, Mr. Secretary; and I think there is going to be adequate time to make those corrections before this bill finally passes Congress. So, if they are corrected shortly, there is no occasion for Congress to step in and try to do legislatively what you and I agree should be done administratively.

I would like to pass along to page 5 of your statement of yesterday, in which you speak of the concern in many countries that UNRRA might be undertaking rehabilitation responsibilities, and you stated that you recommended a stoppage of UNRRA shipments to Europe not later than the end of 1946 and a similar stoppage of shipments to the Far East not later than 3 months thereafter.

Was that recommendation accepted by the Council, or was it rejected?

Mr. CLAYTON. It was accepted.

Mr. MUNDT. You did not say that in your statement.

Mr. CLAYTON. The Council passed a resolution to that effect.

Mr. MUNDT. I just wanted to clear that point up, because you stated you had made the recommendation, but you did not say what had happened to it.

In this black book which you have given us, which is a very helpful compilation, on page 32 of the section devoted to relief needs of the Ukraine and Byelorussia—which I assume means White Russia?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I want to read the following [reading]:

> The fertile agricultural areas were robbed of livestock and farm implements and this, combined with the loss of manpower, had delayed getting the land back into full production. From Byelorussia alone the Germans took 8,000 tractors, 1,000 combines, and tens of thousands of agricultural implements, while from the Ukraine they removed to Germany 56,000 tractors, 24.000 combines, and vast quantities of other agricultural machinery. In the Polotsk and Vitebsk districts the Germans confiscated 179,000 head of cattle, 328,000 sheep and goats, 820,000 poultry, 17,000 horses, 51,000 pigs. They also took 178,000 tons of seeds and flour, 39,000 tons of grain, and 158,000 tons of potatoes and vegetables.

I am sure that those figures are as accurate as figures can be compiled on a situation such as that. I am sure that the Germans burned and looted and stole equipment in vast quantities from Russia, just as was done in Yugoslavia when 32 percent of that country was occupied by the invading Italians.

My question is this: I looked in vain for any figures showing how much offset there was in connection with that and what the Russians have brought back from Germany and from adjacent countries. While we were over there we saw great quantities of Russian equipment, wagons and trucks bringing back cattle, pigs, farm machinery, and, in fact, every item mentioned in this statement. Without statistics available we have no way of telling whether they have brought back 10 percent of what was taken, 20 percent, or 200 percent of what was taken. We do know they were brought back in great quantities. The private citizens of Poland claimed that they were taking stuff out of Poland back to Russia. I do not know whether that is correct or not. We saw quantities of it being carried, and we inquired where it was going. They said it was going back into the areas from which it was taken—the Ukraine and White Russia.

So I think there should be some estimate given to the committee as to the amount of return flow there is in these goods now that the war is over.

Mr. CLAYTON. I can assure you that it makes little difference how much of this stuff is recaptured by the Russians and moved back to the Ukraine and White Russia——

Mr. MUNDT. You say it does not make any difference?

Mr. CLAYTON. I say it makes little difference in the ability of those people immediately to take care of themselves. They have got to reorganize; they have got to build some place in which to live. The country was almost completely devastated. I am imformed and, I think, accurately, that most of the people there are living in holes in the ground, caves, and things like that. They have not got nails with which to put lumber together to build houses. They have almost nothing. You know, of course, that the German Army went across that section in their advance into Russia. They were pushed back and fought back over it, that is, the Germans and Russians, several times, so that the country is just a wilderness.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes; they destroyed a vast amount of peasant homes. It was a ruthless army and it burned and destroyed. But I was dealing with these other items. I do not question the need of housing. I am talking about the justification you make here, which certainly indicates that you are going to send agricultural equipment and tractors and farm machinery, and cattle, sheep, goats, poultry, horses, and pigs back there, because that is what you are talking about here. It seems to me that before you can strike a balance to determine how badly they need them, you have to find out how much they have taken back from Germany, how much they have taken from Poland, or how much they have taken from anywhere, so you can tell how much they need.

Mr. CLAYTON. The statement you have referred to is merely one element in the situation in those two states which indicates a devastation and the need of relief. What particular items are sent, will depend upon an investigation on the spot. It cannot be finally determined until the deficiencies are known. My own view would be that in the fairly modest sum that has been set aside for those two states—and those states cover a great deal of territory and a lot of people—that in the relatively modest sum which has been set aside very little can be done other than to furnish immediate relief in the way of food and clothing to those people. I do not think you can do much in the way of furnishing agricultural machinery and things of that kind, in any event.

Mr. MUNDT. You do not contemplate shipping farm machinery in there?

Mr. CLAYTON. That I do not know. I am just giving you my idea of what probably will be the request of those people. It will be for immediate relief, food and clothing. There may be some farm machinery shipped in; I do not know. That will depend on a study of the needs. But I would think that you could not do very much in a big country of that kind, very populous as it is, with $250,000,000.

Mr. MUNDT. It occurred to me as a country boy reading this justification that they would naturally ask for the type of things which they had listed in the justification, and that is why I raised the question.

Do you have any figures that you can give the committee as to the amount of supplies which have been taken back into Russia from the outside?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir; we have no figures on it. Of course, these programs and the determination of what you will ship into a country are only made after UNRRA sends its men there to make an investigation and study to see just what is needed and what form the relief should take; and only after getting that information do they program relief with respect to how much of this, that, and the other they will send.

Mr. MUNDT. I noticed in reading your black book last night that it is contemplated to extend UNRRA into Formosa. Can you explain the reason for that?

Mr. CLAYTON. It was felt that when Formosa was liberated, and the same is true with respect to Korea, we should undertake some modest relief program in those two areas; but it will be very modest. I believe that only $25,000,000 is contemplated for Formosa. Is that right, Governor?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. From whom was Formosa recaptured?

Mr. CLAYTON. The Japanese.

Mr. MUNDT. Who occupied Formosa in peace times? I thought Formosa was Japanese territory.

Mr. CLAYTON. It was formerly Chinese, but it has been Japanese for some time.

Mr. MUNDT. How long since the Chinese occupied it?

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not recall.

Mr. MUNDT. I had always considered Formosa as part of the Japanese Empire.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. There is an expert on China right behind you.

Mr. MUNDT. I would like to get an answer to my question, then.

Mr. CHENG. Formosa was taken by Japan in 1894. It was only a short time ago that Chinese went back to Formosa.

Mr. CLAYTON. Korea was also controlled by Japan.

Mr. MUNDT. I am still questioning this point of view that UNRRA has strangely accepted, that is, that UNRRA should be extended to Formosa, which has been Japanese for 50 years, and to Korea, which I recognize has been striving for its independence for a long time, and to Austria, which I thought had been on the enemy side of this war, and Italy, which the Yugoslavs and the Greeks claim was one of their bitterest enemies in the war and demolished a lot of their territory. We have given help to the ex-enemy countries pretty generally, except India, where a lot of buildings have been destroyed and a lot of bombing done, and our troops have utilized a lot of the facilities of India. India is a friendly—not an ex-enemy—country. This committee specifically put an amendment in the original UNRRA legislation which made India eligible for UNRRA. One of the resolutions which was passed by the first meeting of UNRRA after they recognized that reservation on the part of Congress and included language which made India eligible for relief—the argument and the debate on the floor and in the committee which preceded the acceptance of that reservation, was specifically devoted to the India problem.

I just cannot figure out what other elements and what other criteria motivate UNRRA besides relief, but there certainly are some. It seems to me that a poor fellow in India dying of starvation or disease deserves a little attention. I cannot see what difference it makes

whether he is an Italian who is being driven to the wall by pestilence and famine, or a fellow in India or China or some place else. There must be something in the philosophy that I do not understand.

Mr. CLAYTON. To begin with, I am not aware that there was much devastation in India. There was comparatively very little. In the next place, whatever the United States Army or the British Army may have occupied or taken in India I can assure you the Indian government will get full compensation for.

Mr. MUNDT. I know that is correct.

Mr. CLAYTON. India has famines regularly. They have nothing to do with war. I would hate very much to see UNRRA develop into a general international relief organization wherever relief may be needed and whether it is in relation to war or not. UNRRA is an organization set up to give relief to countries and peoples whose lands and possessions have been devastated and destroyed by war and, I do not think, for any other reason.

Mr. MUNDT. Are recurring famines more frequent in India than in China?

Mr. CLAYTON. I think they are; but they are certainly recurrent in both countries; I think much more in India than in China.

Mr. MUNDT. It is your position, then, that there was no destruction of the Indian economy in war, and for that reason UNRRA does not have the responsibility there that it has in Austria or Formosa?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is correct. There was practically no destruction in India as a direct result of the war. On the contrary, the economy was greatly activated by the war. They have increased production in many manufactures enormously during the war. I am familiar with textiles. They are almost self-sufficient in textiles now. That was as a result of the war. They could not get textiles elsewhere, and they speeded up their mills and almost consumed their entire production of cotton—not quite, but almost.

Mr. MUNDT. The evidence before our committee when we passed the legislation originally, Mr. Clayton, was to the effect that India's economy and supply of food had been badly damaged by the war. I remember one illustration specifically, that the normal source of supply of India's major food crop, rice, is Burma, and because of the war in Burma they had been shut off from that supply. Evidence was incorporated in the record at that time to show, for example, that the Japanese were dropping bags of rice from planes on Indian territory, marked, "This is coming from your friends, the Japanese. The western democracies will not give you any food, and we feed you," and so forth. There was considerable evidence to show how the war had disrupted and destroyed the food channels of India, which led Congress to adopt a reservation which I introduced which made India eligible. But if, as you say India's economy and food situation are better than before the war, I see no reason to quarrel with the position of UNRRA. I wanted to find out about it, because certainly at that time there was evidence on the other side of the ledger.

Mr. CLAYTON. Mr. Mundt, certainly in some specific, particular respects I am sure that the Indian economy was upset. On the whole I do not think the economy was seriously injured by the war. India is a contributing country to UNRRA. They contributed $24,000,000 to UNRRA and they have not applied for relief.

There was great devastation done in France, and France has not applied for relief from UNRRA, and I do not think they will, because it was not contemplated and it should not have been contemplated that UNRRA would give relief indiscriminately even to the countries that were devastated by the war. The reason was that we felt and, I think, properly, that if any country which had been devastated and whose supplies had been cut off was in position to furnish the foreign exchange to secure that relief for their people themselves, without asking outside assistance, they should do it, and they should not call on the rest of the world to do it. That was the philosophy on which UNRRA was created, and I think it is correct. On that basis I doubt very much if India could qualify as eligible for relief, even if she should apply, which I do not think she will. They are a proud people. I do not think they would want to ask for this type of relief if they have foreign exchange resources of their own. I am sure the French would not want to do it. I do not think the French could qualify anyway.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, just one statement to clear the record, and then I am through with my interrogations.

I do not want you to think, Mr. Secretary, that this committee dreamed up the idea of supplying relief to India just because we wanted to throw food around more generally over a bigger circle. At the Atlantic City conference where UNRRA was first conceived a considerable discussion and controversy developed between the Britisher who was there representing India over the protest of the Indian people, and the representatives that the people of India sent to Atlantic City, because the British said they would contribute and that India did not need any help. But the people representing the folks from India themselves, the other faction, said, "We don't object to contributing to UNRRA, but we need to participate." So it should not be in the record unchallenged that India does not seek any assistance from UNRRA. It all depends on whom they are talking about in India. If they are talking about the British, from their standpoint it is correct. If they are talking about the people representing the other factions of India—and it has many of them—the groups there who are reflecting the attitudes of the people, it is another matter. You have the evidence in Atlantic City showing their position in the matter.

Mr. CLAYTON. I was not aware of all of the history; but it is a fact that India has contributed $24,000,000 to this enterprise. It is a substantial sum of money.

I would like to clear up one question. I am informed that as regards Korea and Formosa, in the declaration of Cairo, at the time President Roosevelt was there, it was announced that in connection with the prosecution of the war and the conclusion of the war the United Nations would try to bring Formosa and Korea back into the family of United Nations. It was by such authority as that, or such declaration as that, that UNRRA concluded that those two areas would be eligible for some modest relief. It is really very modest.

Mr. MUNDT. I was not objecting, but I wondered why there continued to be this attitude toward India, which you have pretty well explained from your point of view.

Thank you very much.

Mr. KEE (presiding). Mr. Jonkman?

Mr. JONKMAN. I would like, first, to make an observation which has no relation to your connection with UNRRA, Mr. Clayton. On yesterday I seemed to have missed the ball badly when I asked if $2,500,000,000 was not considered the over-all figure when we first made authorization for UNRRA. It seems that I was away off. No such figure had been mentioned. I merely want to call attention to the record so that we may keep this record straight. Assistant Secretary Acheson said, on page 262 of the hearings:

As I said before in regard to this subject, I would guess that the fund will be between $2,000,000,000 and $2,500,000,000, and probably closer to $2,000,000,000.

Mr. KEE. What record are you reading from?

Mr. JONKMAN. The UNRRA hearings.

Then on page 48 Mr. Acheson said:

It is a fact that it is a very difficult thing to estimate, because we do not have the figures for other countries outside of our own as of the year ended June 30, but the best estimate we can made at the present time is that our national income will be about $135,000,000,000 for the year just ended, and that the income of the whole area, all of the areas including our own, would be somewhere in the neighborhood of $230,000,000,000.

In other words, that would make the total contribution $2,300,000,000.

The other question that I seemed to be all wrong on was this. I asked the question whether or not it was stated that our contribution of $1,350,000,000 would be the final contribution; and I again want to refer to the record, to page 95. I think I shall read that all into the record [reading]:

Mr. ACHESON. I was asked to produce some sort of estimate of that sort yesterday. I have here something which I would like to mention in connection with paragraph 4 of the financial plan. That paragraph reads:

"As to the amount and character of the contribution of each member government to be determined by its constitutional body as provided for in article 5 of the agreement, the council recommends that each member government whose home territory has not been invaded by the enemy shall make a contribution for participation in the work of the administration approximately equivalent to 1 percent of the national income of the country for the year ending June 30, 1943, as determined by the member government. The council recognizes that there are cases in which the recommendation above may conflict with particular demands arising from the continuance of the war or which may be excessively burdensome because of peculiar situations, and therefore recognizes that the amount and character of the contribution recommended is subject to such conditions."

Now, the recommendation, as Mr. Vorys pointed out yesterday, is for a contribution of 1 percent of 1 year's income. It is not recommended that you pay 1 percent of every year's income. It is a once-for-all contribution.

I want to be perfectly fair about that. He did modify that somewhat later. The interrogator apparently was trying to find out whether he really meant that it was a once-for-all countribution, for he said:

Mr. Secretary, do you mean that you will not be back if you get this full amount?

And the chairman came to his rescue and said:

Don't promise that.

By such a slender thread as that I was all wrong yesterday when I said it was a once-for-all contribution.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I was the one that asked the question. I cite that as a perfect example of one question too many on the part of a

cross-examiner. And it is another example of why we should have a witness answer questions rather than the chairman.

Mr. JONKMAN. There is no question but that that was the expert's testimony, that it was a once-for-all contribution.

Mr. KEE. The witness, after all, answered the question; did he not?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. The chairman suggested to him that he should not do so.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Clayton, on page 26 of the fourth report to Congress on UNRRA you state that—

> Procurement of farm machinery and equipment for UNRRA in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada began more than a year ago. Of the 74,488 tons procured, 42,500 tons has been allocated for shipment to liberated areas * * *. The balance, about 32,000 tons, will be sold and distributed to the liberated areas in Western Europe—France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway.

Does UNRRA buy this farm equipment and then sell it again to liberated countries that are not within the area of UNRRA?

Mr. CLAYTON. They have assisted some of the paying countries in procuring goods to some extent; I do not think, to any great extent. UNRRA, due to the fact that it is organized to make these purchases, has access to the supplies and can often times be of great assistance to some liberated country that does not need financial aid but needs help in utilizing the procurement machinery of this Government. I want to make it clear that UNRRA does not buy and sell such supplies in the usual sense. It merely assists in their procurement.

Mr. JONKMAN. In that connection, we made some trade agreements with France, Belgium, and Holland; with France in the sum of $2,575,000,000; Holland, $242,000,000; and Belgium $325,000,000. Those were made just before the cessation of hostilities and were called agreements for nonmilitary supplies. Those agreements with those three countries have not been canceled, have they?

Mr. CLAYTON. So far as straight Lend-Lease is concerned, they were canceled as of September 1, 1945. Arrangements have been made subsequently with those three countries to let the pipe line flow on to them under the lend-lease agreements, under what we call 3–C terms, which are credit terms with interest. In other words, they get nothing on straight lend-lease after September 2.

Mr. JONKMAN. That was definitely understood? They were referred to as nonmilitary agreements as distinguished from lend-lease agreements?

Mr. CLAYTON. All three were lend-lease agreements.

Mr. JONKMAN. Were they not referred to in the conversations as nonmilitary agreements and that strict lend-lease aid would continue under lend-lease agreements?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir. I made all three agreements, negotiated them and signed them, and I never heard of their being referred to in that way. They were lend-lease agreements.

Mr. JONKMAN. Let me ask you this question: Is that pipe line being continued, or was that canceled?

Mr. CLAYTON. The straight lend-lease under the agreements was canceled as of September 2, 1945. Arrangements were subsequently made with the countries—and by "pipe line" is meant goods which had actually been contracted for by the FEA from the manufacturers and suppliers—to let the pipe line flow to them under credit terms. In other words, they are going to pay for it.

Mr. JONKMAN. I understand that. That was the agreement at the time, that they were to be paid for in 30 years at 2-percent interest?

Mr. CLAYTON. Two and three-eighths-percent interest; that is right.

Mr. JONKMAN. But the agreements are still in effect, except that they are lend-lease agreements that are not to be paid. So that the pipe line is still continuing?

Mr. CLAYTON. By agreement, the pipe line is continuing to go on payment terms. We do not include in the pipe line goods which they had requisitioned under the agreement and for which contracts had not yet been placed on September 2.

Mr. JONKMAN. Do you know to what extent the $2,500,000,000 contract with France has been abrogated, and how much?

Mr. CLAYTON. The amount that the French will get under that agreement—aside from what they had received prior to September 2, the exact figure of which I cannot give you at the moment; it was not very large—the amount that would continue to go to them under that agreement is about half a billion dollars.

Mr. JONKMAN. What is it with reference to Holland and Belgium?

Mr. CLAYTON. Something like 50 or 60 millions for each.

Mr. JONKMAN. There was some discussion yesterday which I think needs some clarification. There was some question as to whether or not UNRRA had created additonal obligations. After all, it is true, is it not, that UNRRA for itself decides what countries shall be helped and given relief?

Mr. CLAYTON. The UNRRA Council makes those decisions. That is correct.

Mr. JONKMAN. And the United States, as such, has nothing to do with it except to have one vote?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is correct; but our voice carries considerable weight in these matters.

Mr. JONKMAN. So that all we can do in that respect is to make our contribution, and after that it can be used as the UNRRA Council sees fit without the United States having any say about it?

Mr. CLAYTON. The Council meets only about once a year. There is a central committee that acts as an executive committee and passes on those matters. We are represented on both the Council and the central committee.

Mr. JONKMAN. A question was raised here yesterday as to whether or not relief for Italy was in contravention of the terms or, let us say, the constitution of UNRRA. Under the resolutions on policy, beginning at the bottom of paragraph 3 on page 9, we read [reading]:

> If it appears necessary for the Administration to operate in an enemy or ex-enemy area in carrying out the purposes of the agreement, it will do so only from such a time and for such purposes as may be agreed upon between the military command, the established control authority, or duly recognized administration of the area on the one hand and the Administration on the other, and subject to such control as the military command or the established control authority may find necessary; provided that the Council approve the scale and nature of the operations it is proposed to undertake and the standard of provision, and that all expenses connected with such possible operations in an enemy or ex-enemy area should be carried by the enemy or ex-enemy country concerned.

When UNRRA decided to give $50,000,000 relief to Italy that was in direct violation of that provision?

Mr. CLAYTON. No; the decision involved a change in a resolution of the Council.

Mr. JONKMAN. But that was the condition under which we made the contribution of $1,350,000,000?

Mr. CLAYTON. That I do not know. I am aware of no such condition.

Mr. JONKMAN. The point I am making is that UNRRA had a perfect right to do that, under our agreed premise of a moment ago that UNRRA decides what country shall have help or shall not have help? UNRRA had the right to do that, did it not?

Mr. CLAYTON. I think it did; yes, sir.

Mr. JONKMAN. It would not be an additional obligation on our part if the $1,350,000,000 was a once-for-all contribution?

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not understand what you mean. You mean the $50,000,000 would not be an additional obligation on the part of the United States?

Mr. JONKMAN. Right.

Mr. CLAYTON. The $50,000,000 comes within the original contributions of $1,800,000,000.

Mr. JONKMAN. So the only complaint that the United States could make under this part of that agreement would be to say, "You spent money beyond the confines of the provisions of the agreement, and we are not going to contribute any more?"

Mr. CLAYTON. The Congress can do that if they want to, but I do not think it was contrary to the agreement.

Mr. JONKMAN. But they could also say, "You are asking us to appropriate $50,000,000 more than we had figured on and when we expressly said you were not to aid enemy countries."

Mr. CLAYTON. If you want to take that position with respect to Italy, you can do it. I do not think it is correct.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is the only position we could take.

Mr. CLAYTON. The only position?

Mr. JONKMAN. I mean, if we wanted to enforce the terms of the contract. I am not saying that it will be done. I am trying to bring out that UNRRA had a right to do what they wanted to.

Mr. CLAYTON. Congress, if it wishes to do so, can say in its resolution for this authorization, that no money in this authorization can be spent in Italy. I think that would be most unfortunate, however.

Mr. JONKMAN. I just want to get the record clear.

Mr. CLAYTON. Certainly, you can say that.

Mr. JONKMAN. UNRRA had a right to include Italy; it was within its legal rights to do so; and the only complaint we would have would be that it went beyond what was anticipated.

Mr. CLAYTON. I am not a lawyer. I am assuming that it was within UNRRA's legal rights, because UNRRA has able legal advice on these matters, and I am just assuming that it would not have proceeded in an illegal way. I think that is a fair assumption.

Mr. JONKMAN. How has the voting been on this extension of relief that is taking in more territory? Has that been voted on by the members?

Mr. CLAYTON. The matter was brought before the council in London and was voted on by the Council with respect to Korea, Formosa, Austria, and Italy.

Mr. JONKMAN. That Council consists of all the delegates from the United Nations?

Mr. CLAYTON. Representatives of all of the members that attend.

Mr. JONKMAN. And the beneficiary countries as well as those that only contribute?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; but the beneficiary countries are greatly in the minority.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Did not the Congress, at the time of the authorization of UNRRA, rely on the reservation which you read, that no money would be spent in enemy countries unless it would be at the expense of those enemy countries, and it was provided in section 3 that—

> In the adoption of this joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at the first session of the Council, summarized in paragraph 11 of Resolution No. 12 * * *.

Was not this one of the resolutions adopted at that time?

Mr. JONKMAN. I quite agree with the gentleman. It was a diversion of the funds as far as that was concerned, and we could take the position, "Here you are back for money when you spent $50,000,000 that you were not authorized to spend."

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. The fact that Italy became a cobelligerent put it in a rather unique position, and I think that is why the organization took that action.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. The action that was taken was taken at Montreal before Italy ever became a cobelligerent.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I believe you are in error. I shall check this.

Mr. JONKMAN. I want it understood that I am not discussing the humaneness of the undertaking; I am looking only from the standpoint of regularity of procedure.

Mr. CLAYTON. I can only say that I am not a lawyer, and I think we are getting into a legalistic discussion here. I do not know quite the point of it, but I assume, and I think it is a fair assumption, that UNRRA was properly advised by its counsel and that it has proceeded in a regular and legal way.

Mr. JONKMAN. I think it is not an intricate problem of law; it is very simple. It is just common sense.

Mr. CLAYTON. On common sense I disagree with you. On the basis of common sense, when our Army reported to us that women and children in Italy were suffering, and suffering grievously, for the lack of milk and a few things that we could send in there to expectant mothers, nursing mothers, and little children—I think on the basis of common sense I might have sent it in there even if it broke the rules. However, I do not believe any rules were broken.

Mr. JONKMAN. Of course you are assuming a premise that you have not established.

Mr. CLAYTON. It was established.

Mr. JONKMAN. What kind of work are you doing in Italy?

Mr. CLAYTON. Up until now the $50,000,000 was authorized to be spent to bring necessary relief, largely milk and things of that kind, to nursing mothers, expectant mothers, and little children. That is the type of work that has been done up to this time.

Mr. JONKMAN. In other words, supplementary feeding?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. May I clear up this point?

Mr. KEE (presiding). Certainly.

Mr. LEHMAN. I think it is confused now. I make the categorical statement that what the UNRRA Council did was entirely within its rights and not in contradiction in any way of the resolution by the Congress of the United States.

With reference to the $1,350,000,000, at the time this resolution of authorization was submitted there was included in it a copy of the agreement. And moreover, a copy of all the resolutions that had been adopted at the Atlantic City meeting which was held in November 1943 was before the Congress. In the debate there was no statement made whatsoever with regard to the exact number or location of the countries which UNRRA would help. It would have been entirely impossible to do that, because the UNRRA administration did not have the information at its disposal at that time or for a long time thereafter, because the war was still under way. But in the resolutions that were submittedto Congress at the time the resolution was under consideration and at the time it was passed, the very first resolution, Resolution No. 1, recited in section 3 thereof the following:

> If it appears necessary for the Administration to operate in an enemy or ex-enemy area in carrying out the purposes of the agreement, it will do so only from such time and for such purposes as may be agreed upon between the military command, the established control authority, or duly recognized administration of the area on the one hand and the Administration on the other, and subject to such control as the military command or the established control authority may find necessary; provided that the Council approve the scale and nature of the operations it is proposed to undertake and the standard of provision * * *.

That clearly indicated that it was understood and contemplated by the Congress that UNRRA might at some time deem it necessary or advisable to undertake operations in enemy or ex-enemy areas. It could not do so without affirmative action by the Council. That affirmative action was taken by the Council at its Montreal meeting in September 1944, definitely in line with Resolution No. 1 from which I have just read.

There is no question, in my opinion, that UNRRA was entirely within its rights to do so, and that it was not in the slightest degree in contradiction of the resolution that was passed by the Congress of the United States which authorized appropriations in the amount of $1,350,000,000.

And may I add that the $50,000,000 which the Council at its Montreal meeting authorized be spent was charged against the original 1-percent authorization so that no new or additional financial obligation was or could be imposed on the United States. It is not charged against the prospective new authorization and contribution of 1 percent for which we are now asking. There is no doubt whatsoever that if the Congress of the United States wants to say that UNRRA cannot use any of the funds which are appropriated under a new resolution, in Italy, or in any other part of the world, it has the power to do so. I would question very much the wisdom of so doing; but there is no question that it has the power to do so.

And so far as the first authorization and appropriation is concerned, so far as carrying out Resolution No. 1, it was submitted and understood and taken note of by the Congress, and UNRRA was entirely within its rights.

Mr. JONKMAN. Governor, you are quoting exactly the same section for your position that I quoted against it. The only difference is that you did not read the last sentence.

Mr. LEHMAN. What is that?

Mr. JONKMAN (reading):

and that all expenses connected with such possible operations in an enemy or ex-enemy area should be carried by the enemy or ex-enemy country concerned.

Mr. LEHMAN. That, as a matter of fact, has been considered by the Committee on Ability to Pay, set up by resolution of the Council. Under our agreement with Italy, the cost of the operation, so far as it is locally administered, is being borne by the Italian Government, which has made available a lira fund equivalent to the landed cost of the supplies sent by UNRRA.

Mr. KEE (presiding). I recognize the fact that there is a good deal of informality about the hearing, but it is rather unusual to interrupt the evidence of one witness by another. The Governor asked permission to make a statement to clear up the record, and he has just done that. The Governor will be on the witness stand and will be subject to direct and cross-examination when he goes on the witness stand, and I think we should defer examination until he does. We will proceed with the witness who is on the stand.

Mr. JONKMAN. If the Chair wishes to so rule it is all right with me. It was volunteered and the Chair did not object to it. After all, I am the interrogator, and I am looking for information.

Mr. KEE. That is ture; but you will have an opportunity to examine the Governor thoroughly when he goes on the stand.

Mr. MUNDT. I think the time is close at hand when this committee should adopt some rules of procedure. It seems to me that either we are going to interrogate one witness at a time and get answers from that witness, or interrogate a chorus of people from the State Department. If we are going to have people participate here, there, and elsewhere in the discussion, certainly the interrogator has a right to clear up his side of the record as well.

Mr. KEE. I am trying to get back to that rule of procedure. The Governor asked for permission to speak at that point.

Mr. MUNDT. It would be very helpful if the same rule would operate on both sides, both from the standpoint of the executive department and from the standpoint of the members of the committee.

Mr. KEE. I think it will operate that way.

Proceed, Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. JONKMAN. I just want to say that I do not want to be understood as saying that we do not want to help Italy. I want to help everybody that needs help in Europe, even the German people. We are going to have to take care of them.

Mr. KEE. Proceed with the examination.

Mr. JONKMAN. Your relief in Italy is largely a matter of child feeding, is it not?

Mr. CLAYTON. And feeding nursing mothers, and so on.

Mr. JONKMAN. How many children are you feeding?

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not know. I am sure UNRRA can give you the figures.

Mr. JONKMAN. I witnessed some of this child feeding, and I want to put this statement in the record. It seems to me to be largely a matter of feeding children that are not in desperate need; in other words, like our school-lunch program. I have no objection to giving them an additional meal a day, but I do not think that we should extend that too far. As far as I have been able to observe, this food goes to people who are not starving.

How many displaced persons has UNRRA repatriated?

Mr. CLAYTON. They do not actually repatriate any. The Army does the repatriation. There were 6,000,000 displaced persons in Germany when Germany surrendered, and up to the time the UNRRA Council met in London in August the armies had repatriated 4,000,000 of them, and they were being repatriated at the rate of 20,000 to 25,000 a day at that time. I have not seen the figures lately, but they must be down to about 1¼ million.

Mr. JONKMAN. Do I understand that the Army is still affording transportation for repatriation?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes. UNRRA has a very important function to perform in looking after those people, seeing that they get supplies and that the places where they are located are properly run, and in arranging with the Army for transportation, and so on, keeping records of all of them. But the Army actually furnishes the transportation. That would have to be so.

Mr. JONKMAN. So, none of the UNRRA funds are being expended for transportation in repatriation?

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not think so. I would not want to answer categorically, because I am not close enough to the administration to say; but I do not think they are.

Mr. JONKMAN. What is the modus operandi? Does UNRRA just select the persons who are to be repatriated and notify the Army, and then the Army picks them up and sees that they get back?

Mr. CLAYTON. I would rather have someone who is administering the program and who is working with it from day to day answer that question. I think they would be much more competent to do it than I am. Governor Lehman I am sure can give you the answer to that question.

Chairman BLOOM. Can you answer that question?

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, we are going to have one rule or the other. I was just stopped from a question in connection with a statement which Governor Lehman volunteered when I was really interrogating another witness. But it is all right with me. I am not going to have it work one way this time and another way at another time.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair has been detained at the White House and I am not acquainted with what you have been doing during my absence. If you have adopted a rule, all right; we will proceed under that rule. Or do you object to someone answering your question at this time? If you have no objection, let the Governor answer it. Or do you object? What is your pleasure?

The Chair would like to say that if Governor Lehman can answer the question I believe the committee members wants the information if he can get it.

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Mr. KEE. Governor Lehman requested permission to correct the record in one instance, and he made a statement correcting the record, and Mr. Jonkman undertook to cross-examine him and I believe he asked two or three questions. I considered that the record had been straightened out and stated that he could not interrupt the hearing of one witness to cross-examine another witness.

Chairman BLOOM. That is right.

Mr. KEE. I ruled that inasmuch as Governor Lehman expected to go on the witness stand and testify fully, Mr. Jonkman would have an opportunity to cross-examine him.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair agrees with the ruling of the temporary chairman. The only thing the Chair is asking Mr. Jonkman is whether he would like to have Governor Lehman answer the question. If not, we will proceed in the regular order.

What is your pleasure, Mr. Jonkman?

Mr. JONKMAN. I will ask the reporter to read my question.

(The question referred to was read by the reporter as follows:)

What is the modus operandi? Does UNRRA just select the persons who are to be repatriated and notify the Army, and then the Army picks them up and sees that they get back?

Mr. JONKMAN. I want to go back to the child feeding in Italy. However, I think you stated that you did not know how many they were feeding?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir; I do not know.

Mr. JONKMAN. Do you know anything about sending tractors into Greece?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir. I will not attempt to testify on that. I tried to make it clear yesterday that I do not run UNRRA. I am only interested particularly in general policy questions. We have a very competent staff at the State Department who keep in very close touch with UNRRA, with whom I confer, and I confer with the Governor frequently; but as to the detailed operations of UNRRA, it not only would be impossible for me to carry those responsibilities along with my other duties, but I think it would be very unwise for me to attempt to do so.

Mr. JONKMAN. I quite agree with you. It would be no reflection on you whatsoever if you did not know the minutest detail of what that organization is doing. I am not trying to show that you do not know it. I would not be showing anything if I tried to do so; I know that full well. But I am trying to get light on policy; and that is what I was leading up to in this tractor question.

Mr. VORYS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. Certainly.

Mr. VORYS. I wonder, Mr. Secretary, if you could furnish the committee, not taking time to read it into the record at this time, unless somebody else wants to have it done, a statement as to who comprise the staff in the State Department, what their duties are, and their salaries?

Mr. CLAYTON. I will be glad to do that.

Chairman BLOOM. With objection, it will be placed in the record.

(The information requested is as follows:)

State Department Personnel Participating in UNRRA Work

Responsibilities of the State Department in connection with UNRRA affairs fall into two main categories, as follows:

1. Through membership on the Council and on the various committees to UNRRA, to join with the representatives of other member nations in formulating and supervising policies and in advising and assisting the Director General and other UNRRA operating officials.

2. To handle certain operating and control functions in connection with the expenditure of the United States contributions to UNRRA and the procurement of supplies in the United States. These functions involve statistical control of UNRRA's appropriation and budget; processing and expediting of requisitions for supplies through the United States procurement agencies; clearance of UNRRA programs from the standpoint of availability of supply, effective use of surpluses, propriety of requisitions in the light of applicable legislation, and justification from a policy standpoint; and preparation of United States Government reports on UNRRA financial, procurement, and shipping operations.

The activities involved in carrying out these responsibilities are under the overall supervision of Mr. William L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. He is the United States member of the UNRRA Council and of the Central Committee and is also the Chairman of the Committee on Financial Control.

As special assistant in this task Mr. Clayton has appointed Mr. C. Tyler Wood. He is deputy to Mr. Clayton on all UNRRA affairs and alternate on the various committees of UNRRA on which Mr. Clayton serves. Mr. Wood devotes his full time to UNRRA matters. His salary is $8,750. Also assisting Mr. Clayton is the Department's Adviser on Refugees and Displaced Persons, Mr. George L. Warren (salary $8,750), who devotes much of his time to those UNRRA problems which come within his special field.

In connection with the carrying out of the policy and advisory duties outlined in paragraph 1, above, Mr. Clayton and Mr. Wood have available, when needed, the services of the entire staff of political, economic, and financial specialists in the Department of State. In particular, the War Areas Economic Division carries on close and continuous supervision of these UNRRA matters. This Division is charged generally with coordinating, on a country basis, much of the Department's work on the economic problems of Europe and the Far East, except for Japan and Germany. The following officers of this Division, to whom are assigned the economic problems of the countries which receive UNRRA assistance, are in constant touch with the staff of UNRRA itself, and devote a substantial portion of their time and attention to UNRRA matters:

Name	Title	Salary
Donald S. Gilpatric	Chief, War Areas Economic Division	$8,750.00
Dallas W. Dort	Associate Division Chief	9,012.50
Stephen W. Dorsey	Assistant adviser (Italy)	7,175.00
Charles Hodge	Assistant adviser (Austria and Czechoslovakia)	8,225.00
Walter Kahn	Assistant adviser (China)	7,437.50
Pierson Underwood	Assistant to adviser (Poland)	6,230.00
Leonard Unger	Assistant to adviser (Greece and Yugoslavia)	5,180.00
Fred L. Preu	Assistant to Division Chief, United States member of Audit Subcommittee of Committee on Financial Control.	6,230.00

In addition, two members of the War Areas Economic Division's staff devote full time to UNRRA matters. These include various committee assignments, liaison with other UNRRA member governments and with other agencies of the United States Government, special problems referred to the Department by UNRRA, and inquiries from all other sources. These two are Nathan M. Becker, assistant adviser, salary, $7,175; and David Persinger, assistant to adviser, salary, $6,230.

In connection with the carrying out of the responsibilities outlined in paragraph 2, above, which relate to operating and control functions with respect to the United States contribution, the following personnel, who were formerly with the Foreign Economic Administration and have recently been transferred to the State Department, serve under Mr. Clayton's general direction:

Name	Title	Salary
Office of Director, UNRRA Operations Branch:		
John H. Kilby	Deputy Director	$8,750
Paul F. White	Assistant to Director	6,230
	1 secretary	2,320
Procurement and Procurement Liaison Staff:		
John R. Strauss	Supply officer	6,230
William McCormack	do	6,230
Anna A. Dutka	Business economist	4,300
	1 clerk	2,980
Procurement Control Division:		
Francis B. Appelbee	Chief	7,175
	1 administrative officer	4,300
	1 administrative assistant	3,640
	12 clerks	1,704–3,640
Fiscal and Reports Division:		
M. Edwin Barrett	Chief	7,175
John D. Meyers	Assistant Chief	6,230
	2 section chiefs	5,180
	3 reports analysts	3,640
	9 clerks	1,902–3,640
	1 statistician	2,980
	1 secretary	2,320

Mr. JONKMAN. I would like to come back to a matter that was discussed yesterday. I understand that the total contributions of UNRRA up to the present time are about $1,800,000,000?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is the total that is promised.

Mr. JONKMAN. And of that you have made commitments to the amount of $1,200,000,000?

Mr. CLAYTON. $1,200,000,000 is the amount that has actually been made available. As to how much of that has been committed, I do not know, except that I am under the impression that almost all of it has been committed.

Mr. JONKMAN. Do you know how much consists of inventories still on hand?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir; I do not know.

Mr. JONKMAN. Would there be any figures available on that?

Mr. CLAYTON. I am sure that the UNRRA Administration could give you the amount, or close to the amount, of inventories on hand in this country. I take it that after goods have been put aboard ship and dispatched to a country you would not call it inventories, would you?

Mr. JONKMAN. Until it has left your hands for distribution. Even then it may be inventoried.

Mr. CLAYTON. As soon as it arrives at the port it is turned over to the government of the country to which it is sent, and they attend to the actual distribution. I do not doubt that UNRRA can furnish figures of inventories on hand in this country, and perhaps of goods that are at the ports.

Mr. JONKMAN. Do you know whether they have any stocks in England?

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not know, but I would assume that there are some stocks there, because they do do a certain amount of procurement of supplies in England.

Mr. JONKMAN. Can you tell me how much stock should be on hand and how long it would last you for your proposed program in the six countries that are at the present time within your scope?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir; I could not give you accurate information on that.

Mr. JONKMAN. What I am trying to get at is that of course you would not commit yourself beyond your appropriations.

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right.

Mr. JONKMAN. You have not had the $550,000,000 from the United States as yet?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right.

Mr. JONKMAN. So, if you had enough to carry you through with your present inventory to, say, January, you might have pretty near enough to carry you through the winter?

Mr. CLAYTON. There is this question involved in that. In a huge effort of this kind you have an awful lot of goods you have contracted for that have not yet been delivered. You have the pipe line when the stuff is moving up to the ports in this country; you have stocks in the ports awaiting ships to pick them up, and you have goods on board ships. I do not know how long the pipe line would last, but suppose it lasted 3 months. If we pursue a policy of delaying any appropriations, that pipe line will run out, and then it is going to be 3 months before you can make contracts for goods and get them to the places where they are needed. In other words, you will have a complete lapse of 3 months at the point where the goods are needed.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is, in a way, the question I was getting at, as to how far the present appropriations will carry you.

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not know just how far, but I would imagine that a 3 months' pipe line would be a pretty short pipe line. That is about where it was 6 months ago. Now the war is ended and we perhaps can get supplies more quickly and get them delivered and transported more quickly, but you always have a certain pipe line which you must keep filled; otherwise you will run out at the point where your supplies are required, as I am sure you understand.

Mr. JONKMAN. Would you want to commit yourself at the present time to the statement that UNRRA operation in Europe should cease by crop time in 1946?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir. We have felt that the ultimate date of cessation of operations in Europe should not be fixed earlier than the end of next year. The great bulk of the work will be done so far as the procurement and shipment of supplies are concerned, certainly, before the end of next year, either in this country or any other country. But we have not felt that we should, in view of the possibility of delay in transportation or something of that kind, fix a date earlier than the end of next year for the shipment of the supplies to the areas where they are needed.

Mr. JONKMAN. Do you know why White Russia and the Ukraine were included in your program? Why did not the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics take care of that?

Mr. CLAYTON. As I stated in my prepared statement yesterday, about 2 or 3 weeks before the convening of the UNRRA Council in London Russia had applied for $700,000,000 of relief from UNRRA. We felt that that application should not be acted upon favorably for several reasons. One was that if UNRRA should undertake relief in Russia to the extent of $700,000,000, it would be done at the expense of other countries that we felt were less able to provide for themselves than Russia was able to do. That is one reason. The main reason was that we felt that Russia had very considerable foreign exchange resources and perhaps had credit facilities available for use, and that she was not in the same condition of need for relief

that these other countries were in. We had many discussions and meetings with the Russian delegation regarding the matter. They made a very good showing of the great devastation and great need for relief, particularly in the western areas, White Russia and the Ukraine, where most of the fighting took place and where the devastation was very great. She showed that her need for supplies and equipment, and so on, from abroad was enormous; that her resources would be strained. But to make a long story short, in the end we agreed with Russia that if she would withdraw her application for $700,000,000 for relief we would support in the committees of UNRRA her application of those two republics which had been so greatly devastated, to a total of $250,000,000 for the two.

Mr. JONKMAN. Were you permitted to send investigators in there to verify the conditions that they stated to you?

Mr. CLAYTON. The UNRRA mission will go in there. I would just like to say that the terms and conditions under which this relief will be provided by UNRRA are similar for those two republics and every other country, and they will have to submit to the same conditions and agree to the sending in of missions to make studies of the need and follow every other procedure in connection with the matter that is used with other countries.

Mr. JONKMAN. Have you not already agreed to give Russia $250,000,000?

Mr. CLAYTON. Provided the missions that go in there establish the need for it and that the two republics conform to all of the requirements and conditions and terms of the agreement between UNRRA and the two countries.

Mr. MUNDT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. Gladly.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you have identical contracts, Mr. Secretary, with all of the countries in which UNRRA is operating?

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not know that they are identical, but as regards the high points, the principal questions involved, I think all countries agree to the same thing.

Mr. MUNDT. Do any of these compilations that you have supplied to the committee contain the terms of the contract?

Mr. CLAYTON. I think there is a book here with all the agreements in it.

Mr. MUNDT. The contracts with the recipient governments?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right.

Mr. JONKMAN. I want to ask this question: Do you not think that should have been done before you agreed to give those two republics $250,000,000?

Mr. CLAYTON. What should have been done?

Mr. JONKMAN. The investigation.

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not understand that the agreement on the $250,000,000 is definitive in the sense that if the investigation of the mission should disclose that no such sum is needed they can still get it. I do not understand that to be the case.

Mr. JONKMAN. How are you going to determine whether it is necessary?

Mr. CLAYTON. The mission will be sent in there to make an investigation and report.

Mr. JONKMAN. Have you made any survey as to the amount of her needs Europe is herself covering?

Mr. CLAYTON. You mean, of the countries that are asking for relief?

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes.

Mr. CLAYTON. There are surveys that have been made in all those countries, they are going on all the time by the UNRRA missions. That is what they are there for, to inform UNRRA of all conditions that may be pertinent to the problem of relief.

Mr. JONKMAN. Let us take Yugoslavia. Has she any surplus crops?

Mr. CLAYTON. For the country as a whole they have a great deficit.

Mr. JONKMAN. How about potatoes?

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not know about that. I will say that Czechoslovakia, which is a recipient country, did offer in the Council at London to supply some sugar to other countries. They had a surplus of sugar which they could spare, and they said they would be glad to supply it, and possibly they thought they might be able to supply some other things.

Mr. JONKMAN. How much are you spending on transportation facilities?

Mr. CLAYTON. Of the first authorization of $1,350,000,000 it is estimated that ocean transportation would absorb $82,000,000. On the second one that we are requesting now, of $1,350,000,000, it is estimated that ocean transportation will absorb $296,000,000, for the reason that since the war is over we have a surplus of ships in this country and we will be able to supply much more transportation service than we did before. Also shipments to the Far East are more expensive than those to Europe.

Mr. JONKMAN. Is that all ocean transportation?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes.

Mr. JONKMAN. How about the problem of land transportation?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is included in the cost of the supplies free aboard ship. The cost of the supplies includes the transportation.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Clayton, your great problem in Europe is transportation. I dare say it is almost impossible to get it inland, is it not?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; but the countries themselves furnish whatever transportation is available. We may have to furnish trucks in order to provide transportation in some cases.

Mr. JONKMAN. As a matter of fact, the rail, river, and canal transportation—and that was what they depended on before the war—is all shot to pieces all over Europe?

Mr. CLAYTON. A great deal of it, not all of it. Take Poland, for example. Their transportation has been greatly crippled, but nevertheless they are delivering a great deal of coal to Danzig and other points from the mines in Silesia.

Mr. JONKMAN. Of course you were not able to do much about the matter of transportation until VJ-day; and are you not frantically trying to get trucks now so as to implement your transportation vacuum?

Mr. CLAYTON. UNRRA, you mean?

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes. Have you not bought 80,000 trucks?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes. We were trying very hard before VJ-day to get trucks; but of course since then it has been easier to get them than before.

Mr. JONKMAN. The Army did not like to let go of them, of course?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is correct.

Mr. JONKMAN. How many of those trucks have been delivered to you?

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not know. I do not have the figures. Governor Lehman or somebody testifying for UNRRA can tell you about that.

Mr. JONKMAN. I will take it up later.

Do you know whether your burden of furnishing food for Europe would be tremendously lightened if you had adequate transportation facilities to distribute that which is produced in Europe itself?

Mr. CLAYTON. Oh, I am sure that would help. That is one of the principal reasons why UNRRA is supplying trucks and other transportation equipment. One of the great problems in Europe has been the transportation of the food that they produce as well as what comes in from the outside. I know of a case last winter of over a hundred thousand tons of sugar that was spoiled because they had no transportation to get it to the sugar mills.

Mr. JONKMAN. And you are not aware that any survey is being made as to the crop production in the liberated countries or all over Europe, for that matter, relative to the percentage that is being brought in by UNRRA?

Mr. CLAYTON. If UNRRA is not doing it, it ought to be doing it; and I think it is.

Mr. JONKMAN. Do you know who from UNRRA would be able to give us that information?

Mr. CLAYTON. I think Governor Lehman would.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Douglas?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Would it be a strain on your modesty, Mr. Clayton, pursing what Mr. Mundt has said about your persuasive powers with the Council, to say whether or not the American proposals had by and large been accepted by the group? I believe mention was made of the fuller program for Italy, and a second issue was the care of displaced people. Is it not true that you were successful in that the American point of view prevailed on the main issues before the Council's meeting?

Mr. CLAYTON. Certainly I think it is true of the Council meeting in London. We had a number of controversial questions there, and in the end I think they were all resolved in a way in which we wanted them decided.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I notice on page 47 of your folder that out of the first $1,883,000,000 budgeted for distribution, administrative expenses came to only about 16.6 millions, and mission operating expenses to 24.3 millions. That makes a total administrative expense of about 40.9 millions. Approximately what percentage would that be?

Mr. CLAYTON. Two and a half percent.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Is not that an extraordinarily low figure for administrative expense?

Mr. CLAYTON. It sounds very low to me.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I suppose that the lowness can be accounted for in some degree by the fact that UNRRA has utilized local agencies for distribution purposes. I had perhaps better opportunities than others to visit UNRRA agencies in Italy and in Greece.

I saw an orphanage in Naples that was run by sisters. There the food was furnished; and I think you would have agreed, Mr. Jonkman, that the children looked very much in need of food.

Mr. JONKMAN. Do you mean, in Rome?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. No; that was in Naples. You were not able to go that day. I also visited some of the schools in Rome and saw the luncheons. I visited several; and in Athens, the preventorium, a tubercular institution. All of those were conducted by local agencies, so that instead of building up a tremendous bureaucracy at high cost, the cost was cut down, and I suppose that has been one of the ways that administrative expenses have been kept down.

Mr. CLAYTON. It could have not been done otherwise.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Very often I believe administration expenses run up to 20 or 30 percent in welfare and charitable organizations.

Can you tell me how the total has been to date as compared with what the United States spent on relief for Europe after the last world war, when of course our national income was only about one-third of what it is today?

Mr. CLAYTON. I really do not know. I have heard it referred to as being $3,000,000,000; but whether that is accurate or not I would not attempt to say. That is, after the First World War.

Mr. JONKMAN. If the gentlewoman will yield—two and a half billion of it was in loans, I believe.

Mr. LEHMAN. I was going to ask the Congressman how much of those loans had been repaid.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is not embarrassing to me.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to say that the total amount was far in excess of what we are spending in this second war, for relief in Europe. There is no question about that.

Proceed, Mrs. Douglas.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. In the debate in the House last month there seemed to be confusion about one point. I think it was Mr. Taber who made quite a lot of the fact of appropriating an additional $550,000,000 to round out our original authorization. He stressed the point that $1,284,000,000 had been paid into UNRRA up to September 30 of this year, and nevertheless only $530,000,000 worth of goods had been shipped abroad by UNRRA from the United States up to that date. In view of the fact that there seemed to be in those figures an unexpended balance of over $750,000,000, it was asked how it was that UNRRA in October was in such desperate need of funds.

I would like to ask you whether this apparent discrepancy could be explained by the following facts: First, are not the sums which UNRRA can spend in this country for the purpose of supplies limited by the amount of money which we as a nation appropriate, and therefore was not the maximum sum which UNRRA could spend in this country not $1,284,000,000, but $800,000,000? In other words, would not the $444,000,000 contributed by Great Britain and the Dominions be spent for supplies originating in that group of countries?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is correct; and, as a matter of fact, as a practical matter we could not spend $800,000,000 here. UNRRA is permitted to spend about 10 percent of our contribution elsewhere, and I understand that it has spent about that much elsewhere for supplies which could not be obtained here.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. There was one other point that I wanted to ask about. With reference to the apparent discrepancy of $580,000,000 in shipments was not $50,000,000 accounted for by military surpluses which were debited against our contribution and which reduced the figure down to $120,000,000 by October 1? From your present report I notice the balance now shows $13,000,000. Is not the whole confusion based on a misunderstanding, and in practice have not all of our contributions been absorbed either by our shipment of goods from this country or our purchases of Army supplies abroad?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is what I understand—not necessarily by shipments, but by commitments. People who just look at the figures of what has been shipped to the other side and compare them with the appropriation, overlook the fact that we have this long pipe line that I have been talking about. Obviously UNRRA always has a lot of contracts out with suppliers and manufacturers and so on for goods. Those goods take various times for delivery, 1 month, 2 or 3 months. It is better now since the war is over. But the point about the appropriation is that you cannot commit more than has been appropriated. It is not a question of spending more, but you cannot commit more than you have in the appropriation. There is always a big backlog of supplies that are committed, but which have not been delivered.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. There has been quite a lot made about that apparent discrepancy.

Mr. CLAYTON. The figure on shipments through the end of October is $636,000,000—2,600,000 tons. That is the total of UNRRA shipments. Of our $800,000,000, $159,000,000 was expected to be spent for military surpluses overseas; and I made the point yesterday that we would have got very little indeed for those surpluses if we could not sell them to UNRRA.

Mr. VORYS. If the military surpluses are included in there, then they are not to be added in again.

Mr. CLAYTON. We expected to use $159,000,000 of the $800,000,000 for military surpluses.

Mr. VORYS. That is this lend-lease transfer that was referred to?

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not think it is lend-lease. I do not think it has anything to do with lend-lease, except that the funds were not appropriated directly for UNRRA, but were made available from lend-lease appropriations for such purchases and are to be charged against our UNRRA contribution. It is United States military surpluses abroad which are to be purchased.

Mr. WADSWORTH. In the hands of the Army?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right.

Mr. JONKMAN. If the gentlewoman will yield: they bought surpluses from the Army in the neighborhood of $150,000,000. The only question in my mind is whether or not they paid a fair price.

Mr. CLAYTON. That I do not know. I had nothing to do with negotiating it. But I assume it was a fair price.

Mr. JONKMAN. My only purpose in making that statement is that we would be making a double contribution if we are selling it at a loss.

Mr. CLAYTON. I tried to make the point a while ago that if there is any difference one way or the other, it is on the side of UNRRA paying too much. From my experience with these surpluses in

trying to dispose of them I can assure you that whatever reasonable figure you get from UNRRA in cash for those surpluses is more than you would get somewhere else.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is very gratifying.

Mr. CLAYTON. I have had a little experience with these surpluses, Mr. Jonkman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Bolton?

Mrs. BOLTON. I do not have very much to add to the questioning or to the clarification of the situation, but I think the more these problems and questions can be discussed around this table the better it will be for whatever decision Congress makes. One of the unfortunate possibilities would be that we did not have a very clear picture of the situation as it exists today, and that picture should be based upon all the questions that have arisen in the minds of traveling Congressmen and those who have been studying the UNRRA situation at this end.

I should like to refer back to the origin of UNRRA for a moment, because at that time it was very, very definite that we were attempting to set up some form of international organization through which we would be able to function and, while functioning, get a wider understanding each of the other. It was suggested—I cannot give references or anything of that kind, because I have not dug into it from that angle—that the method of UNRRA should be to insist upon as much being done by the country itself as possible, thereby keeping down the tremendous personnel that might otherwise be required. I had opportunity in only one country to go at all into detail regarding UNRRA, and that was in Greece. There I found a most interesting demonstration of what is possible to do in having the country itself awakened to its own responsibilities. It is not perhaps necessary to go into details, but a national antituberculosis league had just been started. The Minister of Public Health told me that there were over 500,000 cases registered. He was very proud of the fact that Greece was to do her own job with help, of course.

The same is true of the starting of a school of physiotherapy which is to be headed up by an American but which will be run by others; and the same is true of the school of nursing.

I make this point so that I may say without appearing to criticize UNRRA what I want to say now. I think there is no question but that any international organization slows down the process of relief quite inevitably. The mere language difficulty in the meetings of the groups in the different cities is sometimes almost impossible to surmount. Words mean different things in different languages. Some of them do not have words that we use automatically. Therefore we are trying to do an emergency job with very slow machinery. It could not help but occur to me as I went about in the different countries to wonder whether we were increasing the suffering or the period of emergency suffering by having this international organization attempt to function. I confess I have no answer to it, because I cannot see that another organization can be intruded at this moment. On the other hand, I think it should be studied here in committee and by members of UNRRA itself as to whether there would be some way to perhaps transfer some of the work or all of it to a faster method. Not that I am urging it, but I think it would be well that in our study of the whole situation, before we come to any agreement in regard to

the continuance of the UNRRA method, we do look into it, not in a spirit of criticism, but in an effort to meet the needs of the suffering people of the world.

Those of us who have been over there and who have seen those needs know something about what we are talking of. They are very acute; they are definite and very terrible—so terrible that one is horrified at the slowness that has been inevitable because of the language difficulty and the differences of points of view.

The only other thing, Mr. Secretary, and possibly it is not your function to reply: In making studies of necessity that are made by UNRRA before aid is given, are those studies related in any way to the complete picture of the country involved? I mean by that, the problem before UNRRA is recognition of the needs of White Russia and the Ukraine, for instance. Are those going to be considered in relation to the capacity of the Soviet Union to cover those needs, or merely to the capacity of White Russia and the Ukraine, which of course are completely decimated? Or is that a question which I should hold over?

Mr. CLAYTON. I think it is a perfectly proper question, and I would be glad to tell you what I can about it. In the first place, though, I would like to say that I agree in general with everything you said. If UNRRA cannot do more than just to provide food and clothing to these unfortunate people, and after doing that up to a certain date, get out, it will be a failure, in my opinion. Many of these people have been under the heel of a cruel conqueror for a long time and have lost their spirit. They have had their tools and implements taken away from them. They are sort of "licked." I think that one of the most important elements of UNRRA's job is to try to put them back on their feet and inspire a desire to provide for themselves and to become again independent. I think that is highly important. I only have in mind the practical way of doing it. If you find a country, for example, that has no agricultural machinery, where all their implements have been taken away from them and they have been used to a certain amount of mechanization in their agriculture, and they have been deprived of that, and in that way their capacity to produce for themselves has been curtailed by X percent, you don't do your job in a situation like that by just giving them food for a year or 2 years, because obviously they are not much better off when you end that period, except for the temporary sustenance they have received. You have got to try to help them to get into position to provide for themselves again. I think that is one of UNRRA's jobs.

On the specific question you asked, about whether in the case of White Russia and the Ukraine account is being taken of the fact that they are part of the great country of USSR, and whether or not there is the ability in that central government to provide for those areas, that is a thing that we considered and discussed and thought about for 2 or 3 weeks in London, and we were talking about this problem and arguing about it with our Russian friends. Undoubtedly Russia has got very considerable foreign-exchange resources in the way of gold. She has a very small exportable surplus of commodities of any kind. Her demands in the way of imports and the procurement of supplies, equipment, and machinery and that sort of thing from the rest of the world are simply enormous in order to repair the devastation of war and get her industries back on their feet and get the people

back on their feet. We considered all these problems and we were in the end quite certain that to do the whole job so as to restore her economy to some kind of a reasonable basis, and at the same time to provide the foreign exchange to bring in all these supplies for the temporary succor of the people who had suffered in this war, was beyond her immediate capacity, and that it was proper for UNRRA to consider giving some reasonable assistance. We felt that the smallest amount that we could provide and feel we had done our duty was about this figure which we fixed upon, and in the end the Russians accepted it. I think we made a good trade and a reasonable trade. I think if we had sat there and said, right through the whole thing, "We will not agree to anything," we would not have done the right thing.

Mrs. BOLTON. You speak of a trade. What did we get in that trade?

Mr. CLAYTON. By trade I mean that the Russians had made application for $700,000,000, and they pushed it vigorously, and that is what they wanted. In the end we came to an agreement with them. Without simply denying everything they wanted, we came to an agreement on a substantially smaller amount, which we believed bore a proper relation to her ability to pay.

Mrs. BOLTON. That would be rather more of a compromise than a trade. I am a Yankee, and a trade implies something in return. I can compromise very well, too.

Mr. CLAYTON. In my language I call it a trade, because here is a country that felt they were entitled to some relief. Frankly, I think if they had pushed their case right on through and the committee had examined the matter from the point of view of eligibility they would have got relief in a very considerable amount. Whether they would have gotten more than we agreed upon I do not know, but anyway there was no denying them the right to file an application and to be heard, and I think we made a good trade.

Mrs. BOLTON. I did not mean to quibble over words, but the reason I ask the question is because if we call it a compromise and we say, "Now, we can't let you have $700,000,000, but we will let you have this amount, in order to do certain things," then we do not expect them to change their ways at any point. We expect to do it regardless of the usual limitations in contracts with Russia. We want to make a trade, it seems to me, that would be in the nature of a bargain. I hope, something a little bit more than that. We would say that we must we assured that you are either going to do this, that, or the other. I am simply giving you my understanding of the words, so it will be clear in the record.

Mr. CLAYTON. They are agreeing to the same type of contract with UNRRA that other countries have.

Mrs. BOLTON. Are they agreeing to the same type of examination, and are they agreeing to the complete comparison of judgment or upon grounds of their own possible abilities, that if they do not do certain things that they are doing they would have more money, they would have more supplies within their own borders to do for their own people?

Mr. CLAYTON. Of course, Mrs. Bolton, they have a question of ability to buy abroad. They have not within their own borders all

the supplies that are needed to do this job. They have to buy them abroad.

Mrs. BOLTON. They have an endless amount of wood, and they are doing a great deal of building all around Leningrad and Moscow, and all the way down in Russia. One flies very low there and one sees a great deal of what is on the ground, and it is intensely interesting. One of the things that particularly interested me was the tremendous amount of building going on. There were enormous piles of lumber everywhere and houses were being built, and I was delighted to find it was so. Possibly that could be increased if some of the manpower were secured by an increase in demobilization, for instance. That is just one of the matters that come to my mind.

Mr. JONKMAN. Have you any intimation as to the gold stocks that Russia has?

Mr. CLAYTON. No; we have no direct information. Only Russia can give the exact figure, of course. We do not know what the exact figure is.

Mr. JONKMAN. How can we say that Russia has no purchasing power?

Mr. CLAYTON. I not only did not say that she had no purchasing power, but I said she had a substantial purchasing power abroad. What I did say was that when we considered her total requirements it was felt, from what we knew of her resources, that she did not have sufficient foreign exchange to meet her total external procurement requirements. I think that is right.

Mr. JONKMAN. I misunderstood you. I thought you said she had no exchange.

Mr. CLAYTON. No; I said the contrary. I argued with them in London for 2 weeks that they had very substantial foreign exchange. They had not only gold, but a certain amount of credit facilities available to them. It was on the basis of arguments of that kind, back and forth, that we finally came to the compromise.

Mrs. BOLTON. I do not want you or the committee to feel that I am at all lacking in sympathy with the possible decision to extend UNRRA to White Russia and the Ukraine. I think, on the other hand, that perhaps it will serve a good purpose in our growing friendly relations with Russia, to be very outspoken and frank each with the other. Russians understand that language. They like forthrightness and they like to feel that if they are setting up a freiendship with somebody they are setting it up with a strong fellow, not somebody who is going to be weak-kneed and give way at every point. They will respect us more and they will be far more ready to be real friends with us if they find us strong. So I am hoping that through these very important opportunities it will be possible for the United States to have a very definite policy of strength in our relations with the Russians.

Mr. CLAYTON. I agree with you fully. Just to give you an example of the situation there, it was not at all easy. Here we were proposing that aid be given to Austria and Italy, ex-enemy countries, and to stand out against the Russians who had fought valiantly by our side seemed wrong to me. These two countries, Italy and Austria, had fought the Russians, and we were proposing to give aid to them. At the same time to say to Russia, "We are sorry, but we can't give it to you" would have been unreasonable. I did not want to take that position, but I did want to argue with them about the amount.

Mrs. BOLTON. Of course, too, one has to take into consideration the fact that the Russian method of warfare is different from ours. We feed our troops. Russia feeds them on the land. She is parking her armies on the land outside of her own country this winter. Therefore, food which might be available to the Austrians will not be available to them. I think they should appreciate the fact that we know that.

I do not want to continue to take the time of the committee, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Take all the time you want, Mrs. Bolton. Have finished?

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Ryter?

Mr. RYTER. Mr. Secretary, has not the job of UNRRA been multiplied in Poland because of the present liquidation of machinery and other resources by the conduct of the Soviet Army?

Mr. CLAYTON. I am sorry that I cannot answer that question. I have heard many rumors, but I just do not know.

Chairman BLOOM. Governor Lehman can answer that later.

Mr. RYTER. What part of this new authorization will go to meet the $250,000,000 commitment to the two Soviet Republics?

Mr. CLAYTON. It would be about 13 percent.

Mr. RYTER. Have you already made an allotment of this new authorization to the various countries that are to receive it?

Mr. CLAYTON. Certainly no real allotment could be made. Tentative figures have been discussed, but no allotment could be made from moneys not appropriated.

Mr. RYTER. Are the tentative figures avialable?

Mr. CLAYTON. That I do not know.

Mr. LEHMAN. They will be. I will be glad to submit them with the understanding that they are purely tentative.

Mr. RYTER. Do you know of any private American agencies that are performing any relief work in the countries where UNRRA is operating?

Mr. CLAYTON. Not of the same type, no. I do not know of any of the same type.

Mr. RYTER. Do you know of any American agencies which are anxious to go in and supplement the aid that UNRRA is rendering to the needy of Europe?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir; I do not know of other organizations which want to assume part of UNRRA's responsibility.

Mr. RYTER. Do you not know that the Polish War Relief has been anxious to get into Poland?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir; I am not familiar with that specific case.

Mr. RYTER. I understand that you are now contemplating the formation of an intergovernmental corporation for the purchase of surplus military supplies in the forms of goods and clothing and that any individual wishing to send aid to his relatives or friends in those countries would be able to do so through this organization. Is that true?

Mr. CLAYTON. Something of that kind has been discussed and been considered.

Mr. RYTER. Are you at liberty to tell us what has been discussed and what plans have been made toward the formation of this organization?

Mr. CLAYTON. I would do it if I knew, but I do not have any concrete information that I can give you on it. It has just been broached. It has not come up to me in any concrete form as yet.

Mr. RYTER. What interests me, Mr. Secretary, is the process of distribution of UNRRA supplies. Am I right in stating that those supplies are not distributed in the ordinary sense of the word, but are sold by the governments in the various countries?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; a great many of them are. Some are sold and some are not. I would think that the bulk of the stuff would be sold; it ought to be, because a great many of the people who need food have got buying power in their local currency. What they have not got is buying power in foreign currency and the government has not got it. That is one of the principal reasons for the need of outside relief. If people have local money they ought to pay for the food they get.

Mr. RYTER. What percentage of the relief that has thus far been expended has been distributed and what percentage has been sold? Can you furnish those figures?

Mr. CLAYTON. I am sorry; I do not have those figures. I take it that Governor Lehman could.

Mr. LEHMAN. I doubt if we can give them with any degree of accuracy.

Chairman BLOOM. When it is sold, where would the money go?

Mr. CLAYTON. It is local money, of course, Mr. Chairman. In Poland it is the local currency of the country; and if the government sells food or supplies to their citizens they take that money, and first of all they use some of it to pay the local expenses of the UNRRA missions as well as the cost of distribution and the expenses in connection with relief distribution.

Chairman BLOOM. So it saves UNRRA the additional sum that they would have to spend; is that right?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes, sir it does; and that money would be of no use to us otherwise.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. In Greece, receipts from the sale of UNRRA goods were earmarked for rehabilitation, such as the rebuilding of roads.

Mr. LEHMAN. If I may answer——

Chairman BLOOM. Proceed.

Mr. LEHMAN. I can say this, that the percentage of goods that are given to the indigent population varies, of course, in different countries. The goods that are sold within a country are paid for in local currency. That local currency is used first for the cost of distribution, the cost of the local expenditures that accrue in the operation, and the balance of the proceeds is used under an agreement with UNRRA for other relief and rehabilitation operations within that country or, in some few cases, the purchase of supplies within that country for relief operations in other countries.

Does that answer the question?

Mr. RYTER. Yes. Some of this money is used to purchase supplies within that country. Is that right, Governor?

Mr. LEHMAN. It might be used if they can be procured with local currency; but I should not think they would ordinarily be the kind of supplies that UNRRA would require.

Mr. RYTER. Why do the funds from the sale of UNRRA's supplies have to be used to buy this stuff?

Mr. LEHMAN. There are certain supplies and services that can be obtained within a country. When an orphan asylum is created by Greece the personnel of that asylum is paid out of local funds. If coal is to be procured for the indigent population in Poland, the coal will have to be paid for. The test under the UNRRA agreements is that those supplies and services, bought with the proceeds, have to be used for other relief and rehabilitation operations. In that way you will have augmented relief operations without additional expense to UNRRA.

Mr. RYTER. Insofar as the funds that are used for the purchase of supplies within the country are concerned, is it the same as if you were giving them money?

Mr. LEHMAN. I would not think so. I do not quite understand you.

Mr. RYTER. Are we not in fact giving them goods with which they can procure funds to buy other goods?

Mr. LEHMAN. Other goods that are used for relief and rehabilitation purposes, but for no other purpose.

Mr. RYTER. That is all.

Mr. LEHMAN. May I give you an example of that?

Chairman BLOOM. Yes, Governor.

Mr. LEHMAN. In Greece and in many other countries there has been a tremendous destruction of homes. The building of those homes, which is a vital part of the rehabilitation of the country and the welfare of its people, requires materials and labor. UNRRA ships only a relatively small part of the materials. The balance of the cost is to be borne by the Government, and it is borne out of this fund which I have described which accrues to the Government out of the sale of UNRRA supplies. Otherwise the providing of shelter for millions of people would be a direct responsibility of UNRRA and would add to the cost of operation of UNRRA.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Wadsworth?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Flood?

Mr. FLOOD. While I hold no brief for the Soviets in any way, do you not have the impression that a great deal of the condition in Poland was probably caused by the German Army?

Mr. CLAYTON. Of course. The German Army went across Poland at least twice, as it went into Russia and as it surged back, and they fought back and forth over it a great deal. In fact, all of the waste in Poland was due to the German Army.

Mr. FLOOD. I understand that if and when the present bill becomes law and this additional 1 percent is granted, that in a general way and as far as reasonably possible it will be the policy of UNRRA to emphasize the rehabilitation part of the purpose instead of the relief part?

Mr. CLAYTON. I think it should.

Mr. FLOOD. Most of the examination so far, with the exception of a question here and there, has been devoted to Europe. I suppose that at the London conference you did discuss the Far East?

Mr. CLAYTON. It was discussed. Of course, while we were in session there, the war with Japan ended. In China, for example, it had not been possible up to that time to do very much. All the

Chinese ports were occupied by the enemy, and it was impossible to get any substantial quantities of supplies in of any kind. Surveys were being made. Some study was being made of what the problem was.

Mr. FLOOD. Can you indicate now the amount in round figures of what you would earmark for China?

Mr. CLAYTON. All of these amounts are tentative, because obviously we cannot——

Mr. LEHMAN. May I say that I shall be very glad to present our tentative obligations tomorrow or whenever this committee wishes.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to state that it is time to adjourn now. Will you kindly withhold your questions, Mr. Flood? The committee will recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock. Mr. Clayton, you are excused until that time. Governor Lehman and Mr. Dean Acheson will be witnesses tomorrow.

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m., a recess was taken until tomorrow, Friday, November 16, 1945, at 10 a. m.)

FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN WORK OF UNRRA

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1945

House of Representatives,
Committee on Foreign Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

The Committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Sol Bloom (chairman) presiding, for further consideration of H. R. 4649.

Chairman Bloom. The committee will now continue consideration of the hearings on H. R. 4649, to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The first witness this morning is Governor Lehman. Governor Lehman.

Mr. Lehman. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement which I would like to have the privilege of reading.

Chairman Bloom. Proceed, Governor.

STATEMENT OF HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Mr. Lehman. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I am glad to have the opportunity to appear before this committee again. I recall with pleasure the last time we met back in December 1943, when the committee was considering the legislation authorizing the United States to participate in UNRRA's work. Several of the committee members had attended the first session of the UNRRA Council in November at Atlantic City, and I was impressed not only by their deep interest but especially by their awareness of the magnitude and problems of the job which lay ahead. I have been grateful for the warm encouragement which they gave me at that time as we bagan our pioneering task in international relief and rehabilitation.

I should like to be brief in my prepared statement today. Mr. Acheson and Mr. Clayton have already presented the reasons for the proposed legislation. In simple terms they are that UNRRA's total financial resources under its first authorization are virtually used up—but its job is only half finished. To carry on UNRRA's job we shall need another 1-percent contribution from the uninvaded member governments. With the additional contribution, we shall complete our work as provided in the Council resolution—in Europe by the end of 1946, and in the Far East by the end of the first quarter of 1947.

I know that this committee realizes fully the fact that Europe and the Far East face a grim winter, perhaps the worst in modern history.

Members of this committee have traveled to the devastated parts of Europe and have themselves vividly seen the need which faces Europe today. Nearly everywhere in liberated Europe and Asia there is the threat, and in too many instances the actuality, of starvation, disease, economic disorganization, and chaos.

UNRRA's need for funds is twofold. First, it must finish the job already begun in central, southern, and eastern Europe. Up to now UNRRA has kept millions of men, women, and children alive in Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Albania, and Italy. Today, however, we are in the most critical period of Europe's recovery. The countries receiving UNRRA help are not yet self-sustaining; their strength has not been restored to the point where they can help themselves. UNRRA's continued assistance is necessary if these victims of war are to be given the opportunity to survive and to enter once again into normal international trade.

In addition to completing the task in those countries still critically dependent upon UNRRA aid, UNRRA faces increased responsibilities. First, it has incurred a new obligation regarding Italy. As you know, until the London Council meeting this summer, UNRRA's assistance to Italy has been limited to children, the indigent, and nursing or expectant mothers. At the London meeting, however, the UNRRA Council agreed, on motion of the United States, that UNRRA should assume the complete responsibility for relief in Italy. This program cannot begin, however, until the new contribution is made. I, myself, have seen a part of the terrible tragedy which faces Italy today unless UNRRA help is given. In that devastated land some three and a half million men, women, and children are wracked by malaria, and many thousands more have contracted tuberculosis. In addition, this year's harvest has been one of the poortest on record. The average daily ration is less than one-third of what we get in this country—and you can be sure that widespread suffering will exist in Italy even with increased help from UNRRA.

Then there is China. We all know that no other people have a stronger claim on the United Nations than the Chinese who have suffered so long and so tragically. Up to now only 32,000 tons of supplies have been sent to that country. The reason for this is, of course, clear—the lack of supply routes to China. Not until VJ-day could ports be opened permitting supplies to be shipped in any appreciable volume. However, since the surrender of Japan we have begun our large-scale program for China—the beginning of what will be our greatest single program of assistance, assuming of course, that we obtain the necessary financial resources.

There are also other countries newly eligible for UNRRA assistance as a result of the Council's action at its last meeting. There is Austria, which in accordance with the Moscow and Potsdam agreements will be treated as one of the United Nations, and where UNRRA plans a general relier program when new funds are voted. In addition, the two most devastated Soviet Republics, the Ukraine and White Russia have requested UNRRA aid, limited to $250,000,000. This request, too, can only be carried out in small part unless new funds are forthcoming. These are all obligations entered into by the United Nations in concert at London. To withhold aid can only mean mass starvation, misery, and disease for these peoples who now look to UNRRA for at least a minimum of relief.

UNRRA'S RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT

You will recall that when the committee was considering the first authorization in December 1943, the United Nations were just commencing the great offensives which led to victory. The nations of Europe and the Far East were not yet liberated from the Nazis and the Japanese. As a result, all our discussions of the relief and rehabilitation assistance which would have to be provided had to be conducted on a theoretical plane. All of us knew that the most devastating war in history would be followed by the most terrible destruction and suffering ever inflicted upon humanity. The full magnitude of our undertaking, however, could only be assessed upon the final termination of global hostilities.

Our allied military leaders generally believed that the war would end in Europe by the end of 1944. As we know, the war lasted longer in Europe than anticipated and shorter in the Far East than we expected. These two facts have had a direct influence on the whole scope of UNRRA's planning and operations.

During 1944, and through the spring of 1945, military activities in both theaters of war increased rapidly. Fighting two major wars on opposite sides of the earth burdened the United Nations' leaders with the heaviest logistics problem in history. Shipping and supplies remained extremely tight right up to VE-day. Furthermore, the prolongation of fighting in Europe meant increased destruction and suffering, and a proportionately greater need of relief than UNRRA's plans had originally called for. Not until April of this year could UNRRA ship in supplies in any substantial quantities to where they were desperately needed in Europe. Then, while we were accelerating our activities in the liberated countries of Europe—(shipments rose from 37,000 long tons at the end of March 1945, to 2,640,000 long tons by the end of October)—the sudden surrender of Japan made it imperative that we begin the immediate implementation of our plans for assisting gallant China and the Far East.

Today you and I are in a position to survey the relief and rehabilitation needs of the world, and assess both what has already been accomplished, and what yet remains to be done.

UNRRA is now operating in Greece, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Albania, and China. By the end of October we had shipped into Greece, for example, 1,378,000 long tons of supplies, valued at $217,000,000. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that UNRRA has saved that country from mass starvation. It was more difficult for us to assist Yugoslavia at first, owing to the lack of port facilities. Yet today, UNRRA has delivered over 640,000 long tons of goods, valued at over $171,000,000, and we are stepping up operations rapidly. The physical problem of getting supplies into Poland and Czechoslovakia was also very great for many months, as we could reach those liberated countries only by the out-of-the-way port of Constanza on the Black Sea. Only in the past few weeks have we been able to move into Poland through Gdynia and Gdansk, and into Czechoslovakia through Bremerhaven and Hamburg. Yet, by the end of October, UNRRA shipments to Poland totaled 219,200 long tons worth $111,600,000, while the supplies sent into Czechoslovakia amounted to 225,800 long tons, valued at $94,000,000. Until recently, UNRRA has been empowered only to carry on a $50,000,000

limited program of aid to Italy, to assist expectant and nursing mothers, children, and displaced United Nations nationals. Yet by the end of October, we had delivered 105,000 long tons of supplies valued at over $22,000,000, and more goods were pouring into that war-devastated land in a steady stream. Even tiny Albania has received over 34,000 tons of supplies.

To indicate the acceleration of UNRRA's operations, may I add that in July 1945 shipments amounted to 296,500 tons; in August, they were stepped up to 318,837 tons; in September, they arose to 418,167 tons and in October we pushed them up beyond the half-million mark. We are now entering the period when our shipments will be in the neighborhood of a million tons a month. Let me try to visualize for you what our shipping accomplishments to date represent: It would take at least 350 Liberty ships to carry the supplies which we have provided—and last month we shipped the equivalent of at least 70 shiploads.

That, I submit, is already a very impressive record of accomplishment. And today, with our procurement and shipping machinery functioning smoothly, and our staff now experienced in administrative know-how, we shall continue to pump in the supplies to where they are most needed. But to finish the job we must, of course, be provided with the necessary funds by the United States and the 30 other contributing members of UNRRA.

UNRRA IS SET TO DO THE JOB

The United Nations have established UNRRA as an international organization to meet relief and rehabilitation needs arising from the war.

In the light of the trying conditions which have prevailed, we believe that UNRRA has a substantial record of accomplishment. We know we have made mistakes. The very uniqueness and immensity of the task made mistakes inevitable—just as fighting a global war was not devoid of trial and error for our magnificent armed services. The only way to have avoided mistakes would have been to make the greater mistake of doing nothing.

During our period of organization and growth we have, as our increasing program of effective aid has demonstrated, learned from our errors. We have an organization capable of rendering aid efficiently and fairly to those in need—indeed the only organization capable of carrying on this all important work in the critical months ahead. UNRRA is a going concern. It has created the supply and transport machinery and enlisted the technical personnel which can alone cope with the immediate relief problem now confronting all of us, and we must remember that our greatest enemy in fighting disease and hunger is time. This is an inescapable fact in considering relief needs both in Europe and in the Far East.

In the case of China, for example, we have established the most effective sources of supply from which goods are now pouring into China in ever-accelerating amounts. UNRRA alone has the pipe lines extending around the world complete with operators in every way station. What is needed at this time is fuel for these pipe lines; that is, fuel in the form of funds to keep the flow of supplies from drying up at the very time they are most needed to put the victims of the war in shape to take care of themselves.

There are other practical reasons why the international machinery of UNRRA is the most efficient way of providing relief and rehabilitation. UNRRA has its pipe line working from countries all over the world. We get our jute in India, coffee in Brazil, nitrates in Chile—all from contributions of the member countries. The United States saves time and money by being able to send in machinery from Great Britain to Czechoslovakia (against the British contribution, of course) instead of having to make the longer and more expensive haul from the United States—as would be the case were this country to attempt to do the entire job itself. Before the end of the year we will have drawn on the supplies of more than 25 of the 31 United Nations which have not been invaded.

Thirty-one countries share the financial burden of relief and rehabilitation. UNRRA has had a remarkable record in this respect. To date, 26 of the 31 uninvaded nations have formally appropriated funds. The remaining 5, all of whom will be small contributors, are in the process of appropriation or authorization.

I should like to add a further word in this regard. A 1-percent contribution has meant a very real sacrifice for many of those nations. For example, Brazil's contribution represents 10 percent of the total annual national government expenditure. During the time when the UNRRA mission was in El Salvador to discuss that country's contribution, food riots—the result of a 3 year's drought—were raging in the streets, yet that country has authorized a contribution of $120,000 for the work of UNRRA. India, a land of famine itself, has appropriated $24,000,000 for the work of UNRRA. Canada has been helpful in providing supplies, and all of the initial Canadian contribution was used up months ago. With the approval by the contributing members of a second 1-percent contribution, other nations will have made available more than $1,000,000,000.

There is another practical point that I should like to stress with respect to the financing of UNRRA by the United States. Actually the financial cost to the United States in making a second contribution will be less than the $1,350,000,000 asked for at this time. Let me explain. As you know, most of the American contribution will be spent by UNRRA to purchase American supplies and services, thus stimulating United States industry, labor, and agriculture. In addition, we are most anxious to make large purchases of American Army and Navy surpluses, which are immediately available for use both here and overseas. Now the American taxpayer has already bought these military stocks. With UNRRA buying these commodities the United States Government's accounts will be credited accordingly and the purchases which the American taxpayer has already made in any case will be used to meet the UNRRA commitment. And may I also point out that it is better for the domestic economy of the United States if UNRRA can buy up large amounts of military surpluses, rather than have them come home to be dumped in American laps at the very time when American manufacturers are busy making plans for postwar production.

CONCLUSION

As this committee well knows, UNRRA fights against more than starvation and epidemic. There are other grim dangers which follow in the wake of famine and pestilence. Hungry men are desperate men, especially when their children are also hungry. The men of Europe

and the Far East have fought against the enemy in armies and in the underground. They did not make such sacrifices during the war to die by starvation in peacetime. And let us remember that we in the United Nations asked them to blow up their bridges, wreck their railroad tracks and rolling stocks, burn their crops, sabotage their factory machinery. For by this means they could hasten victory and shorten the war for all of us. If hunger and epidemic should continue in Europe and the Far East, no one can foresee the political and social reaction. The international scene is already complicated enough without courting a new tide of social disaster.

No one knows better than this committee that this a critical time for international cooperation. In his recent Navy Day speech on foreign policy, President Truman warned against "a loss of faith in the effectiveness of international cooperation" and added "in an atomic age it would be nothing short of disaster." As this committee knows, UNRRA is the first concrete example of United Nations cooperation, and the only one capable at present of practical action. If it were now abandoned, this would demonstrate more dramatically than anything else that loss of faith in international cooperation against which President Truman warned. In other words, it is not only that there are good and practical reasons for doing the relief job through an international agency, but even more important, international relief through UNRRA is now the test of continued international cooperation.

In short UNRRA not only represents the finest practical expression of humanitarianism on the part of the people of the United States and the other United Nations. It not only represents at the same time enlightened self-interest for this country as it helps to overcome famine, epidemic, and social unrest in war stricken Europe and China so that they may again stand on their own feet. UNRRA today represents a challenge—a challenge to this committee and to the people whom it represents—to decide whether that same spirit of international cooperation, which made military victory possible, will continue to bind the nations together to meet and conquer the problems of peace. The members of this committee, who played such an important role in making UNRRA an actual entity, have a far-reaching decision to make.

I have every confidence in the outcome of their deliberations.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you, Governor. Governor, how urgently is it necessary to have this additional contribution? Will you kindly elaborate on that a little bit?

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Chairman, I cannot exaggerate the urgency of the situation.

We are completely broke at the present time, and we just cannot, out of the funds that are now available, make any additional purchases from American funds. Even now, because of the urgency of the situation we have had to take certain steps mortgaging the future, to some extent, in order to permit us to keep our food supplies going in November and in the early part of December. We have had to suspend a number of our orders for urgently needed goods merely because we needed the money that was involved in paying for those goods, to place orders intended to meet more urgent needs, such as food supplies. In doing that, we have had the cooperation of the State Department and the Department of Agriculture. We have had to go

a step farther. We have temporarily had to reduce the amount we have set aside for the purpose of purchasing military supplies abroad in order to get money immediately to buy wheat and other food supplies. If we had not done that we would have had to abate or stop shipment immediately of the supplies most urgently needed to sustain life among the people of the liberated countries.

That suspension which I have referred to, and that reduction in the amount which we have reserved for the purchase of military supplies abroad is, of course, only of a temporary character. We will reinstate those orders out of the $550,000,000 which we hope to get from the Congress of the United States within the next few days. Even with this $550,000,000 our January and February operations, to say nothing of the period beyond, will be seriously curtailed, and shipments will have to stop completely in the very early part of the new year unless we get both the authorization and the appropriation contemplated by this resolution by the end of December.

You gentlemen, I am sure, understand as well as I do that UNRRA is not in the position of a housewife who, if she needs food for her family, can go down to the butcher or the corner grocer with a basket over her arm and fill the basket and bring it home. UNRRA has got to place its orders in advance of the period in which the supplies are needed. On the average, the interval between the placing of an order against available funds and the delivery of the supplies to those for whom they are intended varies from a minimum of 2 months in the case of certain available foodstuffs to 8 or 10 months in the case of certain supplies which have to be processed or manufactured.

We have also been handicapped in procuring supplies and getting them overseas promptly. We have now overcome incredible difficulties in this respect, so that today with the exception of certain goods which are in short supply on a global basis, such as fats, oils, and sugar and a few others, we can obtain supplies and the shipping space if we have the money to pay for them. But we just cannot place orders with any governmental agency unless we have the money to guarantee payment upon delivery.

So, Mr. Chairman, I do not think I can exaggerate the urgency of this situation.

I believe the Senate Appropriations Committee is meeting at this time to take up the question of the $550,000,000 for which we asked, as you know, a long time ago. I hope that that amount will be made available, but unless we know that additional funds will actually be available to us by the end of December as a result of the resolution which is now before you, our work will have to be drastically curtailed by the end of this year, and will completely cease early in 1946.

Chairman BLOOM. Well, Governor, you have personally visited Europe several times and you have seen the operations of UNRRA in many different countries. Would you kindly tell the committee what work has been done in the different countries? You saw especially Greece; what have you observed in Greece of the workings of UNRRA?

Mr. LEHMAN. Well, I visited a number of countries at different times. On my last trip I visited Italy, Greece, and Yugoslavia.

I will take Greece as an example, I spent 10 days there. I had the opportunity not only of visiting Athens, the capital, which, like all other capitals, is not typical of the country, but I also visited Salonika and the district around Salonika and the island of Crete. Greece is a

completely shattered country. By "shattered" I mean in a way that goes far beyond the mere lack of foodstuffs. It suffered from successive invasions by Italy and by Germany for 5 years. The occupation resulted in a complete dislocation of the Government and governmental functions, and of the economy and the country's productive ability.

Greece, as you know, has always been on balance an importing country. At least 30 percent of its foodstuffs in normal times came from the outside, but the country was able to pay for its imports through the income which it received from its very extended shipping operations, from immigrant remittances, from tourist travel, and from exports.

All of those sources have been cut off with the exception of immigrant remittances, and they have been vastly reduced because of the instability of the internal currency.

The agricultural production of Greece, of course, was greatly reduced in the last 2 or 3 years; no fertilizers and no pesticides were brought in, and the land, never very fertile, has deteriorated. Trucks and such tractors as Greece had were taken away by the Germans or destroyed. Greece depended for its agricultural production to a very considerable extent on the use of draft animals. Draft animals have been reduced, I believe, by nearly 50 percent. We have these exact figures if you want them. Its livestock, outside of draft animals, horses, mules, and cows, both for edible purposes and for dairy products have been reduced more than 50 percent. On top of that, the country has suffered this last year the worst drought in modern history. Its crop of wheat, for instance, was reduced by more than 50 percent of normal.

Its hospital and other health institutions have been permitted to run down during the occupation. Many have suffered great destruction. They never were administered on the same stadard that we are used to here, but they did help meet the needs of the people.

Then there is no raw material whatsoever—no cotton, no wool, no leather—in Greece to permit of the production of the goods which Greece could produce although it has never been a great industrial country.

In order to relieve the various needs, UNRRA, in the first place, brought in food supplies in very great quantities. Of the total of 1,378,000 tons for all supplies imported by UNRRA in the period up to October 31, about 50 percent represents food.

In addition we brought in medical supplies for the health institutions. Our nurses, our doctors, while not operating these institutions, are always cooperating with the Government of Greece and with its local governments in an effort to restore them and bring them up, as we hope, to a higher level—of course, not to American standards, but to a standard equal to what existed before the war. These institutions, as I believe Mrs. Douglas and Mrs. Bolton indicated, are run by local organizations, but under Greek Government supervision. I visited many of the hospitals and orphanages in Greece. I want to emphasize that they are not and never have been up to the standards, anywhere near the standards, to which we are accustomed. But they were operating; the children were getting food which came from UNRRA. They were getting a much better standard of care because they utilized nurses who had been trained and advised by UNRRA nurses, in some cases resident right in the institution.

I remember one hospital, a foundling hospital which I visited in Salonica. I think it was one of the most stirring sights I have seen. The older children had been helped back to health by UNRRA supplies of medicine and food although the little ones, up to 2 years old, were not as yet showing the full effects of the work UNRRA was doing. But progress was being made day by day.

The hospitals and orphanages, I want to emphasize, are functioning on UNRRA supplies and under the supervision of UNRRA expert personnel.

We realize the tremendous need of getting Greece back, agriculturally, on its feet, and I want to say, parenthetically, that I think that one of the greatest duties that UNRRA has to perform is to get these countries back, agriculturally on a self-sustaining basis. They could not plant their crops fully last spring because the Germans were still in there, at least, in the greater part of the agricultural districts. But UNRRA has sent in fertilizer, pesticides, seeds, and some draft animals which were obtained in part from the military surplus in Italy and in part elsewhere. We have also shipped in some cows and bulls. Of course, in relation to the needs the amounts supplied by UNRRA are small and will have to continue to be small because of our limited resources.

We have shipped into Greece about 3,400 tractors, which are being handled by the Government and by cooperatives. By this autumn it has been possible for Greece to extend its planting program, and we hope that given a reasonable amount of growing weather the crops next year will be very much better than they have been in the past 2 or 3 years.

We also felt that it was important to restore, so far as practicable, the industrial production of Greece, although as I pointed out, Greece is not a great industrial country. There are textile plants, however, which manufacture cotton goods and woolen goods, and so we have sent in substantial quantities of cotton and wool, and we have sent in some leather for the manufacture or repair of shoes, As a result, clothing is now being made in Greece. Nevertheless UNRRA has shipped into Greece very large quantities of clothing, for the greater part, in the form of used clothing, very generously contributed by the people of the country. That is really what up to now has stood between the people of Greece and nakedness.

As you know, we are about to engage in another used-clothing drive in the early part of next year. The drive, however, is not exclusively UNRRA's operation, so far as collection is concerned. The clothing is being collected by many agencies in this country—churches and civic organizations and religious organizations. UNRRA, however, is providing the over-all organization. UNRRA takes the clothing when it is collected, turns it over to Treasury Procurement for baling and sorting, and after it has been baled and sorted and made ready for shipment arranges for shipment, takes care of the ocean freight and tends to the distribution on the other side. Distribution is made in the same manner as distribution of all our supplies except that we insist that this clothing must be given away free since it comes as a good-will offering from millions of people in this and other countries.

We have also had our refugee camps in the Middle East, in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, where a great many Greek nationals have been for a long time. We have now repatriated most of them. We have

also undertaken the responsibility of feeding the people on the Dodecanese Islands although the transfer of those islands to Greece has not yet been consummated. We have, however, accepted that responsibility, which had previously been carried by the military authorities.

In Greece, UNRRA has entered into every phase of the social and economic life of the country. It is not in any way interfering with the political life of the country; that would be contrary to its basic policies, but it has tried, insofar as possible, to work with the Greek Government to supply food and other stuffs which would be of the greatest help in restoring the economic life of the country.

I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that without UNRRA many hundreds of thousands of people in Greece would have suffered and probably died during a part of the period in which UNRRA was operating, and certainly that would be true during the months that lie ahead.

UNRRA has been working on a hand-to-mouth basis, insofar as supplies are concerned, as respects Greece and as respects all other countries. We have not been able to pile up reserves of supplies, first, because the supplies were not available, and more lately because the means were not at hand. So our stock piles in Greece and other countries are very small and we must, therefore, continue an uninterrupted flow of shipments to take care of the future needs.

Greece is only one of the countries in which we have been operating. I have described conditions there because the chairman asked me to give you an example, and because many of you have had an opportunity of visiting Greece and of observing some of the work that UNRRA has been doing.

Chairman BLOOM. Just one more question, Governor. I know the committee would like very much to hear from you, because it has been suggested many times, the reaction of the recipient countries with reference to whether the assistance which UNRRA has given has been favorable. What have you to say about that?

Mr. LEHMAN. I can say this: I visited some of these countries in the last 2 or 3 months. As I have previously stated, I observed the work of UNRRA and the attitude of the government and of the people toward UNRRA. I found no substantial criticism of UNRRA until I got back to this country. I found no criticism of UNRRA among the government or the people—and it is the people who really count—in the countries which I visited or from which I have received the reports, save the complaint or statement that UNRRA was not shipping enough supplies to take care of their urgent needs.

And, of course, that was true. We have never been able to ship sufficient supplies to satisfy all of the urgent needs of these countries and we never will be. That was the only complaint that I heard among the peoples or the governments of these countries. On every hand, I heard UNRRA lauded by the people. Parenthetically there is a misunderstanding on the part of many of these people, and I think to some extent among some of the officials, who look upon UNRRA as an American organization and give Americans and the United States even more credit than we are entitled to, forgetting that UNRRA is a great international organization. But on every side I heard praise, and what was of much more importance, gratitude on the part of these people. And, they know what UNRRA is doing

and they know that the United States is providing the greater part of the funds and supplies that have been brought for their relief.

A few days ago UNRRA celebrated its second anniversary, and I want, if I may, just to read a part of some of the messages which we received from the various governments which we assist.

Here is one from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek of China, and I quote:

The spirit of mutual aid among the peoples of the world which UNRRA represents is the spirit which we hope will characterize the new world order. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I extend on the second anniversary of UNNRA, congratulations to you and wish you success in the great work in which you are engaged. The arrival of the first UNRRA ships in China has heartened many millions in China, who are struggling to pull themselves out of the misery of war. For this, I wish to thank you.

There are also statements from other answers.

Chairman BLOOM. They are all of about the same tenor?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Chairman BLOOM. Without objection all of these testimonials with reference to UNRRA will be incorporated in the record.

(The statements referred to follow:)

MESSAGES FROM HEADS OF RECIPIENT COUNTRIES

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, of China:

"The spirit of mutual aid among the peoples of the world which UNRRA represents is the spirit which we hope will characterize the new world order. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I extend on the second anniversary of UNRRA, congratulations to you and wish you success in the great work in which you are engaged. The arrival of the first UNRRA ships in China has heartened many millions in China, who are struggling to pull themselves out of the misery of war. For this, I wish to thank you."

His Beatitude Regent Archbishop Damaskinos, of Greece:

"Two years ago today the free nations of the world gathered together to create UNRRA. At that time Greece was still suffering under the heel of savage hordes who, although they had occupied our land, had yet never conquered us. Those who followed our struggle, which never ceased throughout military occupation, knew that we were not conquered. Throughout that terrible period we stood shoulder to shoulder with our comrades in arms, our allies, fighting the common foe until his final destruction. It has pleased God in His wisdom to see that the friendship forged in the common struggle has continued into the era of peace. Greece sees in UNRRA the first great manifestation of the spirit of international cooperation that we had prayed for in dark days. The realization and operation of a great international organization based on the Golden Rule has deeply moved the Greeks. When liberation finally came to Greece, as every patriotic Greek knew it would one day, we were in a very unhappy condition. The enemy, with ruthlessness, calculation and cunning, had stripped our land bare and had devastated the country. Scarcely a bridge was left standing, communications were nearly destroyed and villages were wrecked and burned while the poor people were left to sleep under the open sky without food, without shelter, with insufficient clothing. The enemy had systematically destroyed our farm animals, our beasts of burden, and had destroyed all the farm machinery that they could find. Greece, which had sacrificed everything in the struggle, found itself in a really tragic position the day after liberation. Illness and disease, which had already taken heavy toll during the occupation, threatened a halocaust such as we dare not imagine. It was then our comrades in arms, our brave allies who fought with us for freedom and liberty, came to us through the organization of UNRRA. And through UNRRA you friends of many lands contributed generously of your own food and clothing and literally saved the Greek people from starvation. UNRRA differs from all earlier attempts at international assistance in that it means a sharing of each others resources in a way that permits not only the immediate rendering of relief, but also the reconstruction of our national economy. UNRRA applies the principle of helping peoples to help themselves, and in keeping with this principle Greece avails itself of UNRRA assistance. Our task will not be

completed until we in turn shall be in a position to contribute our share to the economy of the United Nations. UNRRA has contributed not only in substantial material supplies but also in technical services. Through such assistance we rejoice to see the gradual recovery of our communications, of our agriculture and our industry. And we are especially grateful to the self-sacrificing men and women who have left their homes and their families and have come to labor here in Greece, many of them living under difficult conditions. Therefore, I wish to express the gratitude of the Greek people to all the members of UNRRA in Greece and especially to their Chief, Mr. Buell Maben, and to stress how deeply we feel for all that our friends have done and are still doing to restore our people."

Dr. Eduard Benes, of Czechoslovakia:

"On the day of the second anniversary of establishing UNRRA, I express to you the thanks of our people for the effective help rendered to us in the most difficult post war period. This help considerably contributes to the consolidation of economic conditions in our heavily damaged state so seriously upset by the war today. Our people are remembering with deep thanks the United States of America, Great Britain, and the United Nations, with hopes for further help. I wish the greatest success to UNRRA and to you in your heavy and responsible work."

Prime Minister Zdenek Fierlinger, of Czechoslovakia:

"From a free and speedily recuperating Czechoslovakia and on behalf of my Government, the Czechoslovak people, especially those countless, who after many years of suffering again had felt the blessings of human solidarity through the benefit of UNRRA's assistance, I congratulate you most heartily upon the great work you have done. A very hard winter is ahead for us and we are looking forward to see UNRRA's supplies flowing into our country. Thus the first Xmas after 6 years of wanton slavery and destruction may see our people free also from want and hunger. UNRRA's help was most strongly felt in those areas which have taken the brunt of the last phase of the war like Slovakia and Moravia. There UNRRA's supplies helped to secure to the population their basic allotments. Funds in the local currency derived at from the sale of UNRRA's goods are being turned over to the support of victims of Nazi oppression and war casualties, to the creation of nursery homes, to agricultural rehabilitation and to similar factors of social welfare. I hope that UNRRA's supplies handled by the industrious people of my country will service the very purpose envisaged by your great President Roosevelt. May I express, Mr. Lehman, the hope of welcoming you soon in Prague to witness here the benefits of your efficient administration and may I also ask you to express my sincerest thanks and appreciation to all your coworkers."

Eugene Loebl of the Ministry for Foreign Trade of Czechoslovakia:

"On the occasion of the second anniversary of the founding of UNRRA, may I convey to you the expression of my sincere admiration and gratitude for the great and noble work you have done. UNRRA has been created to give relief and rehabilitation to those who suffered. But on top of this, it has created an international cooperation and friendship between nations to ensure that never again human knowledge and abilities will be used for war and destructions. May UNRRA work in the spirit of cooperation of those nations which by common efforts have defeated barbarism and created great possibilities for civilization by fostering these ideas."

President Boleslaw Bierut, of Poland:

"On the second anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, which, in the wake of victory, extends a helping hand to the Allied countries devastated by war, I wish, dear sir, to express on behalf of the Polish Government my cordial congratulations and best wishes for the further development and success of your activities. My country, united in the great work of rehabilitation, fully and with gratitude appreciates the importance of the tremendous help it receives from UNRRA, and is confident in a future which will efface all trace of the war and create conditions of work for the welfare of mankind."

Prime Minister Osubka-Morawski, of Poland:

"On the day of the second anniversary of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, I have the honor to forward you in the name of the Polish Government, as well as in my own, my deepest gratitude for the most efficient assistance UNRRA has been rendering to my country."

Dr. Stefan Jedrychowski, of Poland:

"On the second anniversary of the establishment of UNRRA, please accept my best wishes for your beneficent work. Poland, as one of the countries that underwent the greatest destruction during the course of the war, fully appreciates

the importance of the fraternal assistance tendered by UNRRA. In the realm of peacetime cooperation and rehabilitation of the world UNRRA maintains the fine wartime traditions of brotherhood in arms of the United Nations. I avail myself of this opportunity to send you, sir, my sincere wishes of personal happiness."

Prime Minister Ferrucci Parri, of Italy:

"On this second anniversary of the founding of UNRRA, I wish to convey to you, Mr. Director General, and to your staff, an expression of the deep gratitude of the Italian people and Government for the work of UNRRA in Italy. Your help has been the first tangible evidence of the good will of all the United Nations toward the new Italy which has renounced fascism and is striving toward democratic reconstruction.

"Over 1,000,000 children and mothers, selected only in accordance with economic and medical need, have received UNRRA food. Badly needed clothing has been distributed to refugees deprived of all their belongings by the war. Thanks to the intervention of UNRRA and the Allied military, recent outbreaks of epidemic diseases have been promptly checked and a large-scale program of malaria control is being worked out.

"But now, Mr. Director General, Italy is facing the most critical moment. Crops this year are about 50 percent below normal because of the most severe drought in 25 years. Winter is at hand and there will be little food, no heating and little clothing for the population. Unless the flow of essential supplies from abroad, such as wheat, coal, fuel is continued without interruption, Italians are faced with unendurable hardships and privations and the progress of reconstruction will be thwarted.

"I turn to you in this decisive moment because I know if UNRRA is given the tools it will do the job. We firmly believe in your motto 'helping people to help themselves.' Let the basic necessities of life be given Italy and we shall bend all our energies toward the achievement of internal reconstruction and international cooperation."

Ing. Nikola Petrovic, Minister of Commerce and Supply, Yugoslavia:

"The anniversary of the founding of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration represents an important date for the nation of Yugoslavia. The assistance already received has helped us to overcome many difficulties and to heal many a wound caused by the cruel conquerors. Many thousands of lives have been saved from starvation. The authors and the management of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration may be proud of their work as everything which the Administration has performed to this date not only fully justifies its existence but also proves, in a most convincing manner, that this work must be carried on in the coming year for the benefit of millions and millions of distressed and tormented people all over the world. I wish to emphasize particularly the fact that in the recent weeks the supplies of trucks tractors and agricultural machinery as well as of food have considerably increased. This will help us to improve the conditions of transportation in the country and to till our fields in good time. Please accept on the occasion of the second anniversary of UNRRA's founding the assurance of my most sincere wishes and my gratitude for all the assistance which UNRRA has extended to the peoples of Yuogslavia."

General Colonel Enver Hoxha, Prime Minister of Albania:

"On the occasion of the second anniversary of the signing of the founding agreement of UNRRA, November 9, 1943, I have the honor to send you my greeting and congratulations for the humanitarian work for relief and rehabilitation achieved by this United Nations organization which you direct. Our peoples who fought heroically against the common enemy fascism have justly deserved UNRRA assistance and we are greateful to UNRRA for the help given us. We are convinced that the great Allies and all the United Nations will continue to assist the peoples distressed by war. Our people ask, and are convinced their request will be granted, that UNRRA supplies for our country shall be increased and speeded up because the damage inflicted on us by war is abnormally great and heavy. I beg you, Director General, accept my most distinguished compliments."

Mr. LEHMAN. I want to say for the benefit of the committee that we have received messages from the Prime Minister of Poland, messages from Czechoslovakia, and from Albania.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Kee.

Mr. KEE. Governor, I congratulate you upon the statement. I do not think it needs any interpretation or enlargement, but I would like to ask you about a matter testified to by Secretary Clayton on yesterday. He stated that in, possibly, Czechoslovakia and Poland and some of the other devastated countries relief supplies were sold to those who had local currency. I wonder whether or not a check is kept upon the operations to see that a greater amount of these supplies do not go to those people who possess funds for the purchase of them, to the detriment and loss of those who are absolutely in need of supplies and yet have no funds with which to purchase.

Mr. LEHMAN. Judge, we are doing that in each of our missions. We are watching the situation carefully, and we are insisting that the governments make available, without cost, or at a nominal cost, the supplies that are needed by the indigent. And, a great deal of the supplies have been distributed without charge.

There are, however, in all of these countries, a very large number of people, who, although they cannot obtain supplies through local sources or local production, do have a considerable quantity of local currency. With their possession of local currency they are not to be regarded as poor people even though in the absence of supplies, they are not able to buy what they need.

As my associates and I have visualized the functions of UNRRA it is not only to feed the people. If we did nothing else but feed the people I would think that the UNRRA would have been more than justified because it would have meant the immediate saving of millions of people. In our opinion the function of UNRRA goes beyond that one outstanding activity. We want to provide relief in a manner that will enable them to help themselves as promptly as possible. If we do not do that when the end of our activities in Europe comes in December 1946, while we would have had the satisfaction of having temporarily saved millions of lives, the countries may not be very much better able to face the future than they were before our operation. Accordingly, we have encouraged—and it was a part of the philosophy of UNRRA at the time it was created—the selling of supplies through commercial or governmental channels against local currency, so that the people who can pay do not get off scot free, but their local currency resources are placed at the disposal of the Government in consultation with UNRRA for other relief purposes.

In some of these countries, very considerable amounts of local currency are realized from sales of our supplies. These are reported to UNRRA by the Government. We have not obtained the records from all of the countries as yet, but the understanding is that these proceeds will be used within a reasonable time for additional relief and rehabilitation work.

Mr. KEE. I can appreciate that. Of course, it is well understood that you cannot possibly ship in a sufficient amount of goods to promptly supply everybody, and there has to be distribution, and undoubtedly in different communities there are some people as you indicate, who are able to pay for them with local currency and it is nothing more than right that they should pay for them. Other people in that same community are totally unable to pay for them and for that reason I was wondering whether or not a check was kept to see that those people who are not able to pay are not getting a supply

of goods to the extent that those who are able to pay for them are, and are thus being deprived of their equitable share.

Mr. LEHMAN. I would like to answer it in this way: That it is our policy that any person who cannot pay receives UNRRA's goods without cost.

Mr. KEE. To the same extent as those who can pay?

Mr. LEHMAN. To the same extent, and I think in certain instances it is quite possible that the indigent have received our supplies even to a greater extent. Furthermore, we provide food free of charge to institutions such as orphanages, schools, and hospitals.

We do follow up, through the observation of our missions in those countries to see that the policy is being applied. However, where it is found that the people can pay they are expected to pay in local currency.

Mr. KEE. Governor, is the International Red Cross efficiently and sufficiently staffed and organized and equipped to carry out this great undertaking of relief in the devastated countries on an international basis?

Mr. LEHMAN. I was here the other day when Mrs. Rogers asked that question and I was quite sure that it would come up again, and I have written out something which, if I may read, will explain what the situation is.

The name "International Red Cross" refers not to an operating agency, but to a group of agencies including the International Red Cross Committee, the International Red Cross Conference, and the League of Red Cross Societies. Neither one of these agencies can handle UNRRA's job. (1) The league is simply an association of National Red Cross societies, united for the purpose of mutual assistance and cooperation. While it coordinates activities of the national societies, it does not itself engage in relief operations. (2) The International Red Cross Conference is exclusively a deliberative body which meets every 4 years to formulate Red Cross policy in the international field and to provide direction to the committee and the league. Presumably a meeting of this conference would be necessary before either the committee or the league could assume new functions. (3) The International Red Cross Committee consists of 25 Swiss members with headquarters at Geneva. In brief, its work is to maintain and develop the Red Cross in general, to coordinate efforts for victims of war, sickness, and civil calamities, and to insure the observance of the Geneva Conventions concerning the care and protection of the wounded, sick, and prisoners of war.

The experience of these International Red Cross agencies is limited to the specific activities indicated. None has had any experience in the rehabilitation of national economies. Even in the field of relief of distress these agencies operate only when national organizations are unable to do so. Relief work is mainly carried on by the National Red Cross societies. An International Red Cross group would, in order to substitute for UNRRA, require the recruitment of practically a complete new staff, probably the establishment of a headquarters elsewhere than in Geneva, and months of preliminary programing and negotiation. Such expansion, reorganization, and programing, rather than saving millions in administrative costs, would require the expenditure of millions in fresh administrative costs, as well as months of delay at the most critical period of relief demands.

A transfer would also entail a heavy loss in achievement. During its 20 months of experience UNRRA has entered into relief agreements with recipient countries, established missions in most liberated areas and supply missions in various procurement countries. It has put in operation a rapidly flowing pipe line of supplies. All this would be lost if a transfer of functions were to occur.

Moreover a transfer of functions would require international negotiations first on the part of the member national organizations of the IRC to agree to place these functions on one of the IRC organizations and, secondly, on the part of member nations of UNRRA to agree to liquidate UNRRA. This would entail prolonged delay in the provision of relief and rehabilitation aid at a time when such aid is most urgently needed and when UNRRA is most able to provide it. Shortages of food and fuel will be acute this winter in Europe and aid must now also be rapidly supplied to China and other large liberated areas of Asia.

Mr. KEE. Do you know of any other organization in existence in the world today capable and equipped and staffed sufficiently to take care of this job of relief?

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not, sir.

Mr. KEE. It was brought out yesterday by questions, I think propounded to Secretary Clayton, that we had no other obligations in this matter save the relief of the starving and distressed people of Europe. Do you think that that obligation rests upon the American people?

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not think there is any legal obligation involved, obviously. Of course, all funds that are made available for the United States participation must come from the Congress. I would say that there is a great pull on the people of this country to continue to do this work on which we embarked at the creation of UNRRA. The United States took the lead more than any other country, it realized the implications of a devastated and economically distorted Europe, and therefore it created UNRRA to act as the agent in a great humanitarian movement, and also to help, at least to some degree, in restoring the economy of the liberated areas.

The action in helping to create UNRRA was a sound one. They recognized it, aside from the humanitarian element and the desire to help in restoring economy, the great sacrifices which the Allies made, and as I pointed out in my statement, a great deal of the damage that exists in these countries was done by the armed forces of the Allied Nations, and in many instances, to a very great degree, by the people of those countries themselves. I have no doubt that in the case of Greece and Yugoslavia a very substantial part of the damage was actually done by the underground and resistance movement, and I think that our country recognizes that. So when I say there is no legal responsibility or obligation, I want, at the same time, to make it clear that I believe it would be a tremendous calamity if this country did not continue to do its part in assisting the liberated countries. I think we would stop at a time when the need is the greatest and at a time when there is at least a good chance to help these countries on a permanent basis.

Mr. KEE. Governor, insofar as public sentiment can be ascertained, is it or not, your opinion that it is the will of the American people today that we do carry out our obligation of providing relief to the distressed people of Europe?

Mr. LEHMAN. I think it is the overwhelming desire of a majority of the people in this country.

Mr. KEE. And as conditions exist now, this international organization of UNNRA is the only existing agency through which that obligation of the people of this country and others charitably inclined in the world can be carried out.

Mr. LEHMAN. So far as I know it is.

Mr. KEE. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Eaton.

Mr. EATON. Governor, I was going to raise another question that was raised in your early testimony before this committee with respect to one movement, at least, and that was helping people to help themselves, but I am not going to raise that question now.

I do want to raise one other question: I have no doubt in the world that the desire of the people to help these distressed people through this terrible winter season is absolutely normal among the American people. It is not a question of legal obligation. Our people traditionally have had that spirit of brotherhood and help in times of need regardless of race or creed; that has always been a part of the spirit of the American people. That is the basis upon which we face this situation and facing it we have got to answer a very practical question.

We are now face to face with this winter. There are other people who propose finishing the program at the end of 1946 in Europe, and people will and are raising this question in and out of Congress, and we have got to consider it seriously. UNRRA has had a billion dollars or more since the time it was created and now actually finds itself having no money, and to use your classic expression, finds itself broke.

The question our people will raise is, what has happened to all these billions of dollars that have been raised; what proportion of that has been spent for administration and salaries and expenditures of that sort, and how much of that could have been saved and used now before we go on to make further demands upon our resources? That may sound somewhat materialistic, but it is a question that must be answered in the minds of the general population of this country.

Mr. LEHMAN. I think that is a very practical question, of course. My figures are based on the assumption that we will get the $550,000,000.

Mr. EATON. We are morally obligated for that, and of course, we must keep our agreement.

Mr. LEHMAN. My figures are based on the receipt and expenditure of the entire $1,883,000,000. that includes the contributions of this country, the United Kingdom, Canada, and other countries.

Chairman BLOOM. The amounts that have been allocated or authorized, not the amount appropriated.

Mr. LEHMAN. No.

Mr. EATON. It includes the $550,000,000.

Mr. LEHMAN. From November 1943 when UNRRA was organized, through the end of 1945, our administrative expenses are estimated to be $16,600,000; our mission operating expenses, that is, the expenses of the missions in the field, are estimated at $24,300,000 for the same period of time.

Mr. EATON. That is $40,000,000 plus.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is $41,000,000, which, on the basis of $1,883,000,000 would be less than 2½ percent.

Mr. MUNDT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. What would the percentage of expenditures for administrative expenses be if you use the base, the money which has actually been expended, rather than the base of the total amount, some of which has never been paid into UNRRA as yet?

Mr. LEHMAN. On the basis of the $1,300,000,000 that has actually been paid in, the expenses would be the same, of course, but the percentage would be different.

Mr. MUNDT. The percentage would be different?

Mr. LEHMAN. The percentage would be about 3 percent.

Mr. MUNDT. Has the $1,300,000,000 all been spent?

Mr. LEHMAN. All of the American portion has been spent or committed. We have some balances in some of the other countries, which are rapidly being spent.

Mr. MUNDT. The point I am trying to make, Governor, is that in order to determine the percentage of administrative expenses you should use the basis, not the amount that has been authorized in the program but the money that has been paid in, the money that has actually been utilized in relation to operation. Would not that give us a better percentage and then for judging the efficiency of UNRRA's administrative operations.

Mr. LEHMAN. Well, Congressman, I am not going to argue the question very long because there is not a sufficient difference between 2½ and 3 percent. But I would like to point out that I do not agree with your reasoning, if I may.

After all, we are operating on the assumption, and have been operating on the assumption that we are going to have $1,880,000,000. and we have had to make our preparations on that basis. We have to have the operating division; we have to have the accounting division; we have to have the field missions, we have to have them just the same for $1,300,000,000 as for $1,880,000,000, particularly when you consider that $550,000,000 of it is to come from he United States, and, of course, we have been counting on that amount.

So the figures I have given you are through the calendar year 1945, and certainly, in my opinion, any calculation should be based on the amount which we will have spent by the end of this year.

Mr. MUNDT. I still think, although that is the practical answer to Mr. Eaton's pending question, that you should utilize a percentage figure based on the actual expenditures in relieving the needs for Europe.

If you utilize this supposititious basis you might as well include, in the administrative percentage cost, the amount that would be involved in the anticipated amount.

Mr. LEHMAN. The percentage would be about the same with respect to the $1,880,000,000. But as I say, I do not want to take up the time of the committee arguing the question, because so far as I am concerned 3 percent is mighty good and it makes little difference whether it is 2½ or 3 percent. But I do want to state that we have gone into China, Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Czechoslovakia and other countries and we have set up our various organizations on the assumption we would get all the funds pledged. We could not wait until the situation was right on top of us to make our plans.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Eaton, you may continue.

Mr. EATON. The Governor has answered my part of the question, and I have no further questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Richards.

Mr. RICHARDS. Governor, taking up a little further the operations of UNRRA: You say you have your pipe lines, and now that you have the pipe lines and have your initial set-up pretty well in working order, should not the operating expenses for the next year be even at a lower percentage of the total funds used?

Mr. LEHMAN. I should not think so, Mr. Richards. I would not want to give you the impression that with the operation stepped up that the administrative costs would be less than they were this year, at a less percentage.

Mr. RICHARDS. What proportion of the entire fund do you think it took to get the pipe lines working?

Mr. LEHMAN. I cannot give you that. But it was quite substantial, and you must not overlook the fact that, in the coming year, on the assumption that we get the money, we are going to be operating in many, many countries, more than this year.

Mr. RICHARDS. Yes.

Mr. LEHMAN. And on a much broader scale. We have, up to the present time, for instance, had only a small mission in Italy. When we take over there, if we do take over, we will have to have a substantial mission because we are taking over the activities that have, in the past, been carried on by the military and by the Allied command. We will have to set up a new mission in Austria which we have not had. We will have to set up a small mission in two Soviet Republics. So that our field of activities will be all increased and increased in size. For instance we are counting on shipments of a million tons a month in place of much lower amounts during the past period. I envision an increased tempo, and I am sure that the new obligations that we are undertaking will require additional personnel and additional supplies, in other words, additional overhead, and I would not want to give you the impression that it is going to be less.

Mr. RICHARDS. In other words, if the territory in which you operate was the same, the operating cost would be less?

Mr. LEHMAN. I think that is possible; yes.

Mr. RICHARDS. One other angle that Judge Kee touched on, and I have heard more reports about it from different people, and that is the black market. You said, and it is probably so, that you distribute these materials free of cost to the people that need them and they are sold where people have local currency. What agency do you use to determine who the individuals are who have local currency with which to pay?

Mr. LEHMAN. There are local committees. In the first place the Government, of course, is responsible for the distribution, but in every community we have set up community committees who have physical charge of distribution. Our missions in each country, however, have observers who are continually in touch with the governmental machinery and travel around to see how the distribution is carried out.

In addition, if there is discrimination, complaints are made and investigated. There is no question but that charges of discrimination are made at times. Some of them are justified. We investigate them and some have been found to be justified. We have put a stop to the

practices complained of. I think that we have things as closely guarded as possible unless we were willing to set up our own machinery of distribution in all of these countries. That would be, in my opinion absolutely impracticable both from the point of view of operation and from the point of view of the cost of operation, because you would have to have thousands and thousands of people to handle the distribution in all these countries.

Mr. RICHARDS. I understand that there are unquestionably some black-market operations in these different countries; we have it in this country, but to use Greece as an illustration, as you did a while ago, what steps have been taken by the Government in Greece to curb black-market operations?

Mr. LEHMAN. I cannot tell you definitely, but I have every reason to believe that our mission is doing everything to stop black-market operations, and I suppose they are following different methods. In some cases the Government has rationing, and other cases it has price control. I cannot answer that question in detail.

Mr. RICHARDS. Does UNRRA insist on the Government acting in that field?

Mr. LEHMAN. It certainly does. But, Congressman Richards I want to acknowledge right at this time that I do not have the least doubt at all that a certain percentage of UNRRA's goods gets into black markets; I want to acknowledge that a certain percentage of goods are stolen, pilfered. That is inevitable. We have had black-market operations in this country, and certainly in every country abroad. We know that military goods have found their way into the black market. You cannot pick up a newspaper without seeing an article about that. We know that goods have been stolen from the military. We know they have been stolen from UNRRA.

We are buying trucks, for instance, in France, out of the military service and they are being shipped into Czechoslovakia. Some of those trucks are going on flatcars. The Army has cooperated with us very well, and they have told us that they would put armed guards on the trains to carry those trucks, but they also warned us that we are going to have some losses, even though they had armed guards, and that UNRRA would have to be responsible for those losses. I certainly do not want to mislead you and have you think that I am naive enough to say that none of our goods get into the black market. Some of the goods are stolen and some of them do get into the black market. I can only say to you that I think the quantity is kept at the minimum and that minimum is being reduced month by month.

Mr. RICHARDS. And you are constantly trying to develop methods to prevent that situation?

Mr. LEHMAN. We are, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. Governor, you are familiar with the recent debate in the House on the appropriation of the additional amount of $550,000,000 based on the original authorization, and you know something about the amendment that was offered, as to the freedom of the press in countries benefitting from UNRRA?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes; I am very familiar with it.

Mr. RICHARDS. As I understand UNRRA has no concern with the form of government of the people you are trying to give relief to?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is right.

Mr. RICHARDS. You are not interested in their religion or in their governmental philosophy, or anything like that?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. RICHARDS. I think what a good many members had in mind when a majority voted for that amendment—I did not; I think it was a great mistake—I think what they had in mind was the Russian situation and the situation in countries supposedly controlled by Russia—particularly in the Balkans. What has been the difficulty of UNRRA in operating in those countries?

Mr. LEHMAN. We have not found any great difficulty in operating—let me put it this way. We are not, at this time, operating in Russia.

Mr. RICHARDS. Correct.

Mr. LEHMAN. Never have been.

Mr. RICHARDS. No.

Mr. LEHMAN. In Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, we have never had any difficulty in our operations, save the difficulties that are found in operating in a disorganized country. We are permitted to send in, under an agreement, such observers as may be desirable The observers are given freedom of movement. Our mission has been permitted, without exception, to communicate its views as freely as it wished. So far as we know there has been no attempt on the part of the Government to interfere with the free dissemination of news on UNRRA within the country. When I was in Yugoslavia I met the press, both the local and the English-speaking press, and in that number there were four or five Americans and British, but what I gave them on every occasion was transmitted without interference whatsoever to England and to other parts.

When we have any complaints to lay before the Government, the Government places at our disposal full facilities for investigation.

We have had charges, as I said to you before, of discrimination; that is inevitable. We have had our men investigate them, and so far as I can judge the Government has not tried to interfere in any way, but has helped in the investigation. And when we have had any charges of abuse laid before the Government, the Government has corrected the abuse.

Mr. RICHARDS. Then would you say that the obligations of UNRRA were carried out in Czechoslovakia and Poland just about as effectively as in other countries?

Mr. LEHMAN. I would say that.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chiperfield, yesterday or the day before, brought up the question of Italy and UNRRA's right to use the funds it has used in Italy. Do you feel that UNRRA has violated any obligation placed upon it or has exceeded its authority under the act in giving relief to Italy as it has done?

Mr. LEHMAN. I very definitely do not think we violated any agreement with this Government or any of the provisions of the resolutions or any agreement of UNRRA itself. You were not here, Congressman, yesterday when I stated my position at quite some length. I shall be glad to do it again if the committee wishes me to do it, but I think it is all in the record.

Mr. RICHARDS. You want to reiterate here that you have violated no obligation placed upon you by Congress, nor have you exceeded the authority given you?

Mr. LEHMAN. I make that statement very emphatically.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. For the sake of the record, whether or not it is quite relevant here, I would like to correct a correction that was given me yesterday when I suggested that Italy's position was somewhat unique in that she had become a cobelligerent. I believe Mr. Chiperfield said that she had become a cobelligerent after the time UNRRA started to function. I thought that was an amazing statement. She became a cobelligerent on October 15, 1943, about a year and a half before UNRRA started to function, I believe.

Mr. RICHARDS. Just one more question and I am through.

Governor, what do you think would be the effect on the other members of UNRRA, the other nations which have contributed, and the ultimate success of UNRRA or its continued success, if Congress writes into this bill limitations as to how the United States funds can be used if they are authorized?

Mr. LEHMAN. I think the effect would be very bad. I think, in the first place, it would cripple UNRRA in all probability, and in the second place, I think it would simply be an encouragement to other countries to write in limitations in their appropriations; and, finally, I can conceive that if they were of the character such as proposed in the Brown amendment, which, as you know, I have strongly opposed, they would involve UNRRA in a political situation in which UNRRA must not permit itself to be involved and which is no concern of UNRRA's. I feel that UNRRA, an international relief agency, should not be used as a weapon to effect a policy of one country no matter how desirable that policy might be. I need not yield to anyone in my devotion to the cause of freedom of the press and freedom of expression, but I do think that it would be most unfortunate if that amendment or any similar one were written into our legislation and made the yardstick of what a generous American people wished to do in connection with the relief of distress abroad.

Mr. RICHARDS. I heartily agree with you on that; and such limitations by a member country on the use of funds which it had contributed to an international organization for the relief of human misery would weaken the organization itself, would it not?

Mr. LEHMAN. Quite true.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is all.

Mr. KEE (presiding). Mr. Chiperfield, do you have any questions?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Governor, a few moments ago there was a discussion about the administrative cost of UNRRA. There are two types of cost: there are administrative charges and operating charges in the field, are there not?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. When this matter was raised in the hearings before the subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee you were very careful to point that out.

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not recall exactly.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Here is what you said [reading]:

> I do want to call your attention to the fact that that is an administrative charge. Then we have operating charges in the field.

So you have those charges and you make that statement this morning?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. And anything that refers to 0.9 of 1 percent does not include the operating charge?

Mr. LEHMAN. No.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Apparently my remarks the other day with reference to UNRRA taking on new programs, and so forth, have been construed as if I felt UNRRA did not have the right to make any changes it saw fit. I think it has. There is article A providing that by a two-thirds vote they can change their agreement in any way they see fit. The point I was raising—and I do not want to go into it now, but will at a later time—was that if any changes were made, then the question was whether those changes were binding upon the United States, which is another point which I will discuss at a later time.

Judge Kee called attention to the way that UNRRA's supplies are distributed in some of these countries and a discussion was had of the way supplies were distributed in Greece. One of the most difficult situations with which you are confronted sometimes in some of these countries are changes in the government of those countries through no fault of yours. In other words, a change of government goes all down the line, from the administrative offices out into the villages, and so on; and if the new government does not appoint proper administrative officials to supervise the distribution of supplies in those countries, then there is an additional burden upon your personnel to see that it is done. You have been confronted with that several times, have you not?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. In order that we might have a concrete illustration of the practical way that UNRRA is operating, I wish that you would have some of your officials, or yourself, furnish for the record a break-down of the percentage of supplies that go into Greece, for example, that are given free and the percentage that are charged for, and then give us the value of the drachmas that the Greek Government receives for those supplies, and please translate it into dollars; and then, following the practical administration of it again, what has actually happened to those drachmas that the Greek Government has received in applying them to other types of relief or rehabilitation; for example, if they used them to rebuild the railroads, which everybody realizes were destroyed, so that we can follow through the transaction from the time you sent over the supplies, how they were handled, and what has happened to the money that the Greek Government received for them.

Mr. RYTER. Will the gentleman yield on that point for a moment?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Yes.

Mr. RYTER. I requested the first part of that information from the governor yesterday, and I assume that it is available.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I am sorry. I left before your examination, and I did not know that that information had been requested.

Mr. LEHMAN. We are preparing the material now.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

I. UNRRA SHIPMENTS TO GREECE

By October 31, 1945, UNRRA had shipped 1,378,512 tons of supplies to Greece. The estimated landed value of these supplies were $217,508,000. The general types of supplies were as follows:

Type of supply (1)	Gross long tons (2)	Estimated landed value (3)
Total	1,378,512	$217,508,000
Food	626,313	91,043,000
Clothing, textiles, and footwear	15,163	10,188,000
Agricultural rehabilitation	65,208	23,991,000
Industrial rehabilitation	225,419	18,758,000
Medical and sanitation	1,409	2,453,000
Military surplus	445,000	71,075,000

II. DISTRIBUTION OF UNRRA SUPPLIES WITHIN GREECE

The extent to which the supplies shipped to Greece by UNRRA are distributed free of charge or sold to consumers varies according to commodity.

Food.—The bulk of the food is distributed free to indigents and to welfare institutions or sold at prices which are deliberately fixed at low levels to make the food available to the low-income groups. More than half of the foodstuffs, in terms of value, are in wheat and flour. The Greek Government has granted substantial subsidies toward the cost of bread production, intending prices to cover only the local costs of processing and distribution; frequently prices have been kept even below these costs. Thus, in late June the Government collected from that part of the population able to pay, only 400 drachmas for a food ration which had an estimated landed cost of 1,500 drachmas.

Clothing, textiles, and footwear.—All donated clothing is distributed free of charge. Part of the other clothing and footwear shipped by UNRRA is made available to indigents and welfare institutions, and part is sold. Of the total clothing shipped to Greece, more than half has been given away free of charge.

Medical and health supplies.—Most of these are made available without charge to clinics, hospitals, and welfare centers.

Agricultural and industrial rehabilitation supplies.—Most of the major items of capital equipment, such as trucks, tractors, railway equipment, etc., are retained by the Government, which may operate them directly, but more often leases and rents them to institutions, cooperatives, local administrations, etc. Expendable supplies, repair parts, etc., are largely sold, except for the portion used by the Government in its projects of road repair, shelter construction, and emergency public health and sanitation work.

III. USE OF PROCEEDS FROM SALE OF UNRRA SUPPLIES IN GREECE

By agreement with UNRRA, the Greek Government is committed to spend on relief projects an amount equivalent to the net proceeds from the sale of UNRRA supplies. Net proceeds from April 1945 through August 1945 amount to approximately 1,900,000,000 drachmas ($6,200,000 United States dollar equivalents). The Greek Government estimates that net proceeds through March 1946 will be approximately 7,700,000,000 drachmas. These estimates are not higher because of—

(*a*) The policy of distributing a large portion of the supplies to the indigent and to welfare institutions.

(*b*) The policy of deliberately setting prices low enough to bring commodities within the reach of the poor.

(*c*) Relatively high distribution costs because of Government subsidy of inland transportation, necessary to support the Greek Government's policy of selling supplies at approximately the same prices through the whole of Greece.

There would seem to be little question that the Greek Government is fulfilling its commitment to spend on relief projects an amount equal to net proceeds on the sale of supplies. August budgetary estimates of expenditures for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1946, for public health, maintenance of buildings for hospitals

and sanitary institutions, provisional shelter of agricultural population, social welfare and repatriation of refugee populations amounted to 12,361,000,000 drachmas. The Greek Government has assured UNRRA that detailed data will be made available as soon as possible.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Thank you very much. Now, also along those same lines, in the black book here, page 47, there is item No. 5, "Displaced persons operations (including supplies) $56,000,000." Then in the next chart headed "Estimated distribution by commodity of additional recommended contributions from all countries," there is an item, No. 5, of "Displaced persons operations (including supplies) 35.2 million dollars."

I wish you would furnish to the committee as complete a breakdown of the first chart as possible, showing how much was spent in the various countries, how much spent in the administration for displaced persons, how much for supplies, and what they were, the countries they operated in, and so forth. I suppose your figure of 35.2 dollars, which is an estimated distribution, could not be complete, but would be an estimate of the situation with which you were confronted?

Mr. LEHMAN. There is a good deal already in this black book on that. I think the information can be given to a great extent, Congressman.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

COST OF DISPLACED PERSONS OPERATIONS

Of the original contribution to UNRRA from all countries of $1,883,000,000, it is estimated that $56,000,000 will be utilized by the end of 1945 for displaced persons operations. This does not include the cost of the basic supplies of food, clothing, and shelter for displaced persons in Germany which are furnished by the military authorities, largely through requisitions on the local Germany economy. Neither does it include local expenses of UNRRA personnel which are paid through the use of occupation marks made available to UNRRA by the military authorities.

Of the $56,000,000, about $32,000,000 is for the home payments of salaries of UNRRA personnel engaged in displaced persons work and for their transportation to and from their home countries. The remaining $24,000,000 consists of those supplies for the displaced persons which are not covered by the basic supplies furnished by the military authorities, such as women's and children's clothing and all the supplies in those countries where the military do not furnish basic supplies, such as the Middle East camps and Italy.

By far the largest part of the displaced persons operation is located in Germany and Austria and of the $32,000,000 in salaries and other operating expenses paid from UNRRA funds, slightly over $25,000,000 will be used in that area. The remaining expenses cover north Africa, the Middle East, Italy, and other countries.

The table below shows the distribution of the $24,000,000 for supplies; in millions of United States dollars:

Country	Total	Food	Clothing, textiles, footwear	Medical and sanitation	Transportation	Welfare	Miscellaneous
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
North Africa and Middle East	4.8	2.0	1.3	0.8	0.1	0.5	0.1
Italy	9.5	7.0	.8	1.2	.1	.1	.3
Germany-Austria	7.8	0	0	0	3.4	4.4	0
Other	1.9	0	1.4	.5	0	0	0

It is estimated that $35,200,000 of the second 1 percent contribution to UNRRA from all countries will be used for displaced persons operations. Of this, $24,200,000 will be used for home paid salaries and transportation of UNRRA

personnel, and $11,000,000 will be used for the supplies that UNRRA will be required to furnish to the displaced persons.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. When Mr. Clayton offered the resolution which recommended an additional 1 percent on the part of participating countries, that resolution was merely a recommendation, was it not?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is all that any action is of the Council, involving money.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. The language itself is that "The Council recommends".

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I simply wanted to bring that out.

Russia at one time wanted a contribution from UNRRA, I believe, of $700,000,000?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. And later, after considering as to whether she was qualified, and so on, to receive the contribution, it was settled that two republics of Russia, White Russia and the Ukraine, were to receive approximately $250,000,000?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I do not know enough about the set-up of Russia to know the exact situation, and I am asking therefore for information. Does not the Soviet itself back up and be financially responsible for these republics? What I am getting at is this, that the resources of the Soviet are also backing up the resources of these republics, and if Russia herself could not qualify, then why should the republics qualify?

Mr. LEHMAN. Well, I do not know that Russia could not qualify. Russia withdrew her request. I am not able to answer that question; I know far too little about the Russian set-up.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Yesterday or the day before one of your UNRRA officials supplied me with a chart which shows a summary of gross tons of supplies shipped by UNRRA to liberated areas by countries of destination and cumulative through September 1945, in gross long tons. I want to check just one item, and I would like a break-down of what has happened to that item so that we can find out in a practical way what happens to the supplies when they reach a country, how they are distributed, and for what purposes.

I will pick an item of distribution in Italy, namely, hand tools, 172 gross tons. I would like to have a break-down of the character of those hand tools and what happened to them when they went to Italy and for what purposes they were used.

(Insert information requested.)

STATEMENT ON UNRRA SHIPMENTS OF HAND TOOLS TO ITALY

As of September 30, 1945, 172 tons of hand tools had been shipped by UNRRA to Italy. About 95 percent of these have already been received and distributed in Italy. These hand tools were ordered at the very beginning of the UNRRA special program in Italy to be used essentially for the repair and maintenance of camps for displaced persons and for malaria control and sanitation purposes. There have been during 1945 more than 1,000,000 refugees, mainly Italian but including some United Nations nationals, whose shelter requirements have been partially met through use of these hand tools.

More than 55 percent of these hand tools consist of miscellaneous general-purpose items necessary to the most primitive type of repair operation, such as hammers, picks, spades, crowbars, chisels, axes, etc. The balance consists of more specialized tools particularly useful in maintenance or repair of buildings

and in construction, where necessary, of additional barracks. They include such items as carpenters' tools, masons' tools, plumbers' tools, blacksmiths' tools, excavation tools, shovels, screw drivers, etc.

UNRRA shipments of hand tools to Italy

	Tons
April:	
Excavation tools	6
Blacksmith tools	8
Carpenter's tools	18
Mason's tools	6
Plumber's tools	14
Shovels	4
Screw drivers	5
Picks and handles	11
Hammers, picks, vises; shovels, pitchforks, mortar hoes, concrete spades, handles, crowbars, trowels, grinding stones, hoes, mattocks, diggers, bush blades, cutters, drills, chisels, expanders, anvil fillers, axes, spades, crowbars, tongs, nippers, hook blades, wedges, forges	3
	96
August:	
Hammers and tool grinders	1
Axes	2
September:	
Dirt shovels (2,994).	
Claw hammers	6

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. This same chart shows that through September 1945, 213 gross tons of supplies were sent to China, and then in a break-down of clearances it shows that as to these 213 tons there was a classification of food, which discloses that 13 tons of food went to China.

Mr. LEHMAN. I am surprised that it is that much. Whatever we sent China up to that point had to be flown in. I cannot tell you offhand the composition of that item.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Then let me call your attention to the "break-down" as you have termed it. Again you refer to the category of food, 13 tons going to China. There was not any corn, rice, or rye or any of those things sent; there was not any sesame oil. Under "Food," as disclosed by this record, that was furnished China, it shows 13 tons of toilet soap.

Mr. LEHMAN. In our classification it goes under food. I was surprised when you said 13 tons, because I did not know we had sent that much to China. But toilet soap is certainly a very great necessity.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I am not denying that. I am just saying that there was no food sent in in September, but under the classification in your own chart as food there was 13 tons of toilet soap. That is all.

Mr. LEHMAN. Of course, I said in my statement very plainly that we were not able to do anything for China until after VJ-day, obviously, except by flying in a few small items, including medical books, but that we shipped in October quite a lot of supplies. Most of them were acquired from the Army out of military surplus.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I am not criticising the operation; I have simply referred to the chart.

Chairman BLOOM. They classify soap under "Food," and they have put it in the record, so there is no secrecy about it.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Douglas of Illinois?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. May I say, first of all, that I remember, Mr. Chiperfield raised this question of the hand tools for Italy while we were in Europe. I remember checking up a little. Many of the

tools were for the epidemic control program, for draining the marshes for malarial control.

In connection with the medical books for China if they seem erudite, they were sent because the Chinese had too great difficulty in procuring doctors to bring them up on the use of the new sulfa drugs, and it was much cheaper to fly in some of the books, with a few trained specialists to disseminate the information on our advances in science.

I was interested in the point that was brought out about clothes today. In Athens I saw the warehouse where the American clothes were, and again in Naples and in Rome; and I also saw a group of delinquent girls under supervision of Sisters repairing American clothing in Rome, and other groups of displaced women. When I came home I was amazed to see in the papers that very few of our clothes had reached Europe. I had seen them in Luxemburg, as well as in Italy and Greece, being worn and used. I also heard here that thousands of tons of clothes had rotted on the wharves and few had gotten over at all. Is there anything to that?

Mr. LEHMAN. There is absolutely nothing to that at all. I would be very glad indeed to furnish you with the latest statement of the United Nations national clothing collection, which I think shows that over 100,000,000 pounds have already been shipped—considerably over that; in fact, we are down almost to the last lots now.

We were also accused of sending defective shoes to Italy.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I saw those shoes. They were greatly appreciated.

Mr. LEHMAN. The story on that is, and it is quite interesting, that they were in a Treasury Procurement warehouse, and there was a fire or a flood, I don't remember which, which damaged the shoes. UNRRA took them over at 67 cents a pair "as was" and we have been receiving urgent cables from Italy, "For heaven's sake send us more of those shoes."

The only other case I know of was in Detroit, where there was a heavy flood, and some of our clothing was soaked in the warehouse. It dried out, and the loss was very, very inconsiderable, almost nothing. Outside of that, we have had virtually no losses.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. We were discussing administrative costs, and to me they seemed unprecedently low. Respecting the high salaries at the top, I believe yours is the highest, Governor Lehman. We have heard criticisms, and I have read a newspaper report concerning an entertainment that UNRRA gave, with much liquor, and so on. Would you explain a little about that, and about your own salary and costs?

Chairman BLOOM. You have asked the Governor quite a personal question, and I wish he would answer it in detail.

Mr. LEHMAN. At the first session which UNRRA held in Atlantic City—that was in 1943—among other resolutions that were passed was Resolution No. 39, which reads as follows [reading]:

> That the salary of the Director General be the salary of the members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States of America.

That, of course, is $15,000 a year. It is also understood that the Director General is entitled to a representation allowance, just as is the case with officials of every other large national or international

body. I am not taking it. I have not, for a long time. As far as I know, I have not charged UNRRA anything in the way of expense except overseas travel costs. I have never asked for a representation allowance. I paid for all the entertaining expenses, all the dinners that I have given. Some of the papers carried a story a while ago to the effect that when we were in London Mrs. Lehman and I entertained the delegates and the press and distinguished guests at a reception. We did. Ordinarily I have no doubt that the cost of the entertainment given officially by the head of an organization to official guests and delegates of an organization would be a proper charge on the organization. I paid for the reception which was given to the delegates in Montreal last year and for the reception which was given to the delegates and guests in London. There was liquor served there. I think I am quite within my rights in having liquor served at a reception.

I might as well add this, that I paid for all of my hotel expenses in every place I visited. When I was in London in November and December of 1944 I had a car which I used on official business, and I paid for that. I think I am safe in saying that no part of any of my expenses has been charged to UNRRA with my knowledge, save overseas transportation.

Mr. JONKMAN. May I suggest that when you say "I paid," you of course mean personally out of your own pocket. It does not show on the record. I want to make that correction, because I think you are entitled to that correction.

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes; I paid it out of my own pocket.

Chairman BLOOM. I believe at one of these dinners that they have been talking so much about you paid $1,600?

Mr. LEHMAN. The reception in London I think was $1,600. The one in Montreal was more expensive.

Chairman BLOOM. And you paid that out of your own pocket?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. There has been a good deal of criticism about the fact that the London office seems to be running UNRRA to a large extent. As long as relief is in the European countries, would it be practical to have your office elsewhere? I mean, the main office for distribution. I understand that when the Far Eastern section is opened the headquarters may be elsewhere; they might be in Washington?

Mr. LEHMAN. May I just talk about the London office. Many of my associates and I, many of the members of the Council of UNRRA, agreed that in order to do this job, which is complicated, it was necessary to decentralize. We have decentralized so far as was practicable, and for the purposes of operating in the European countries we have placed the responsibility in our European regional office. I think it was a wise move, and I think that on the whole it has worked out very well. In fact, I want to say that it would have been quite impossible for us to have handled the missions we now have, 10 or a dozen, in Europe from Washington. So I am thoroughly satisfied with the arrangement.

So far as the Far Eastern purpose is concerned, we now have a considerable office in China; we have one in Australia; we have a very small office in Manila. Our main activity, of course, in the Far East, so far as operations are concerned, will be in China. Our

Australian office has been more for the purpose of acquiring supplies and providing expert services. Where we will head up all of our activities in the Far East I cannot tell you at the moment. We are studying the matter. One of my chief lieutenants is now in China as my personal representative. We shall await his report.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. There is also a good deal of criticism because so large a proportion of the staff are British. I suppose that in the London office it actually saves money to employ the British instead of importing a larger proportion of Americans for clerical and secretarial work, and it also eases the housing problem, does it not?

Mr. LEHMAN. There is a very great saving in the first place. It would be unwise to send over secretaries in large numbers from this side. They are paid much higher salaries; and in addition to that, we found that in an office operating in a great center, the Capital, and dealing with the national agencies, it is wise to have largely the nationals actually employed. So, almost all of our staff in London are English; and, by the same token, all of our people in the Washington headquarters are Americans, I would say about 85 percent.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Since there is talk in Congress of the possibility, perhaps, of starting far-eastern relief with a new organization, and there is criticism of the present administration in some of the countries, let me ask you who is now heading the Chinese mission.

Mr. LEHMAN. A man named Benjamin Kizer, of the State of Washington.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Is that the Kizer who is considered the first citizen of Washington, a very prominent lawyer, the head of the Washington State Planning Association, and probably the most civic-minded man in the State? He is an extremely successful lawyer, is he not?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is the man.

Chairman BLOOM. You are not from Washington, are you?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. No; but I have friends who are, and I have heard about Mr. Kizer. That is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Vorys?

Mr. VORYS. I find that I have to leave in a few minutes to catch a plane, but I wondered whether you could have Governor Lehman back at some other time. I have a number of questions that I would like to put to him or to somebody from UNRRA. I wondered when the Governor might be back.

Chairman BLOOM. We will not meet tomorrow, but we will meet Monday morning. I understand that you will not be here on Monday either?

Mr. VORYS. I do not think I will be here Monday.

Chairman BLOOM. On Tuesday?

Mr. VORYS. I will be back here Tuesday if the Governor will be back.

Chairman BLOOM. Governor, will you be here on Tuesday?

Mr. LEHMAN. Of course, I will, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Suppose you come back Tuesday, then, Mr. Vorys, and finish up. Do you want to withhold your questions until then?

Mr. VORYS. Yes; I think I had better do that.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. Governor Lehman, first I want to compliment you on the tremendous job you have accomplished and are accomplishing under great handicaps and despite the fact that somehow we still do not understand what we face in the world. We still do not understand that the job which has been given to you to do, if not carried out, will endanger the peace that is so tenuous. If we do not win the peace, it means that man faces destruction and the end of this civilization. We are grateful that you are in the job that you are.

Mr. LEHMAN. Thank you.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. We hope that you are not discouraged because people do not understand that soap is needed.

I would like to be furnished with material on Greece. I know the very difficult situation that exists there now politically. It would be interesting to know how much UNRRA and other such agencies have to add to their administrative costs when they answer such complicated questions as are put to them by the representatives of the people, and whether or not that should be added in under the heading of "Administrative costs." If it does not cost too much, there is an article in the Nation this month, which I appreciate goes over a little bit into politics, to which I would like to have an answer with regard to it.

Mr. LEHMAN. I have not read the article. Is that in this month's issue?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. Yes.

Mr. LEHMAN. I will get it and read it.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Mundt?

Mr. MUNDT. If I may I would like to defer my questions until Monday, because I have an appointment at quarter of 1 and it is 25 minutes to 1 now.

I have one suggestion that I would like to make, however. It does not involve the Governor, but it is addressed to the Chair. It seems to me it would be helpful to our committee to get as complete a picture of UNRRA from as many different sources as possible. We get a lot of reports and newspaper comments and rumors of some which are probably completely unfounded, some of which convey twisted facts, some of which may be partially correct; but there is another source of information which I would like to have made available to the committee. I would like to suggest that the Chair write letters to the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of State asking them to make available to the members of the committee, who would show enough interest to call at their offices, reports from the field that come in with regard to UNRRA.

Chairman BLOOM. The chair wishes to state, Mr. Mundt, that he will be very glad to write the letters, but I cannot imagine that the Secretary of State or the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy would refuse to give you that information.

Mr. MUNDT. I do not think they would, either.

Chairman BLOOM. I will be very glad to write the letters. Be kind enough to tell the secretary what kind of a letter you want written.

Mr. MUNDT. I will confer with him. Thank you very much.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Ryter?

Mr. RYTER. Governor, I assume that periodical reports are furnished by the various missions that are in the various countries in which UNRRA is operating. How frequently do you receive such reports?

Mr. LEHMAN. I suppose we receive or send between 200 and 300 cables a day. They report on operations very fully, and then, in addition to that, we get written reports, and in addition to that we meet with our chiefs of missions and our supply staff very frequently. For instance, there was a meeting held in Rome at which the senior deputy was present and at which the various chiefs of mission came in from Yugoslavia, Greece, and other countries affected, to discuss matters together and to develop certain policies or decisions. In addition to that, we have just completed here a meeting between the heads of our supply division and our chief supply people of our country missions for the purpose of reviewing what we have done and working out a tentative program on the assumption that we are going to get the money we need. I sat in on a number of those. We are in continuous touch either by cable or mail or personal contact, and we receive constant reports, a great amount of them.

Mr. RYTER. It has been brought out here that some of these missions are headed by individuals who are citizens of other countries. Do you receive reports from American staffs that are connected with those missions that are headed by citizens of other countries?

Mr. LEHMAN. We have correspondence with them.

Mr. RYTER. Sent by mail, cable, or what?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes; by mail.

Mr. RYTER. From our own American citizens attached to those various missions?

Mr. LEHMAN. We get letters. Any cables would come through the chief of mission but they would, of course, be prepared by the mission staff member concerned.

Mr. RYTER. Are the cables and letters subject to censorship by the various countries, the countries in which they originate?

Mr. LEHMAN. I did not get that question.

Mr. RYTER. Are the letters or cables which you receive from our own citizens attached to those missions subject to the censorship of the country in which they originate?

Mr. LEHMAN. No; and I certainly have had no cases where people have not been able to correspond with us freely.

I can make my statement categorical that there is no censorship. Our agreements with the various governments provide that our official correspondence shall be exempt from censorship.

Mr. RYTER. As a practical matter, would it have been better if you had this information conveyed to you by diplomatic pouch? Have you given that any thought?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes. We have not as yet succeeded in getting diplomatic pouch privileges in all places. A resolution passed at the first meeting of the Council called for those privileges. Some countries have respected that and passed legislation to that effect, including the United Kingdom. We have not in this country passed such a so-called Privileges and Immunities Act; but there is one now before Congress which would cover all public international agencies, including UNRRA. In some countries we do use the State Department pouch and cable facilities; in Poland, for instance, we do, and also in Greece, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia.

Mr. RYTER. Has our own State Department been cooperative in that regard, in accepting the various material sent in their pouches?

Mr. LEHMAN. I would say it has been cooperative in every way. They have tried to help us. I cannot tell you in detail just what they have done regarding the mail, but they have carried a great deal of our correspondence with our missions.

Mr. RYTER. Yesterday I requested a break-down of the allotments to the various countries of this new proposed authorization. Do you have that information available?

Mr. LEHMAN. It is rather complicated, and I hope it will be clear to the committee. If not, I will be very glad to answer any questions concerning it. I would prefer to give this information to the committee in executive session primarily, because the responsibility for those decisions rests with the central committee which has not yet acted or even seen my very tentative figures. I want to make this very clear, that these figures which I have available containing allocations or proposed allocations must be considered as wholly tentative. They do not represent necessarily the final decision. I say that because they are affected by certain very definite considerations. One is that under our arrangement, before a program for a country is finally adopted, it must have the approval of the central committee which, as you know, is just like an executive committee which acts for the Council in between meetings of the Council. It is also dependent, of course, on funds being received and made available to UNRRA. I would like to make that very clear, because there is danger otherwise that these sums will become fixed in the minds of this committee or of Congress or in the minds of the governments themselves. It is just not possible to consider these as definitive allocations.

I have discussed that at some length because I want to make it very clear that the allocations are purely tentative.

Mr. RYTER. In order to avoid such a possibility, may I suggest that the information not be published?

Chairman BLOOM. I was going to suggest that under the circumstances the confidential report be given to the committee, and it will be considered in executive session when the time comes.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is satisfactory.

Chairman BLOOM. It is so ordered.

Mr. RYTER. On pages 47 and 48 of this black notebook, referring to the fifth item on both of those pages, "Displaced persons operations (including supplies), "the figure on page 47 is $56,000,000 and on page 48 it is $35.2 millions. Does that include the expense of personnel that UNRRA has?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes. That would include the personnel. It would include also an estimate of supplies, which is very difficult to make.

Mr. RYTER. Would it include their salaries too?

Mr. LEHMAN. It would include their salaries.

Mr. RYTER. So that in computing the administrative costs, about which there has been much talk, some portion of this item ought to be included in arriving at a percentage of administrative expense?

Mr. LEHMAN. This item includes truck drivers; it includes everybody on the pay rolls, regardless of their capacity. Such expenses would be included in the displaced persons operations. They cannot be included in administrative expense. The UNRRA council has instructed us to charge these expenses, as well as mission operating expenses against operating funds rather than administrative funds,

because it considered the activities operations rather than administration.

Mr. RYTER. There has also been much talk about the International Red Cross, Governor. Do you know whether or not the various Red Cross agencies of the countries in which UNRRA is operating are also operating?

Mr. LEHMAN. I should think that in every country there is a Red Cross organization working.

Mr. RYTER. Are they assisting in relief for the people of Europe?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes. And may I also say this, that we are receiving assistance from a great many volunteer agencies in this country and in England and Canada and some in Australia and New Zealand.

Mr. RYTER. I am glad you made that certain, because I think Secretary Clayton was in error when he testified that no private agencies were operating.

Mr. LEHMAN. They certainly are. Those that come from the outside, in other words, American, British, Australian, have to be approved by UNRRA before they operate in a country receiving UNRRA assistance. UNRRA coordinates their efforts to avoid waste and confusion.

Mr. RYTER. Is our own American Red Cross operating in some of these countries?

Mr. LEHMAN. I cannot tell you that. I doubt it. I do not think it is operating in any of the countries which are UNRRA's responsibility. I think they may be operating in some of the countries where UNRRA is not furnishing supplies, I doubt if they are in any other countries. However they may possibly be sending some supplies to the National Red Cross societies of those countries.

Mr. RYTER. The supplies I presume are mostly medical supplies. They do not send any food or clothing or things in that category?

Mr. LEHMAN. The Red Cross has given us some clothing in some of our camps for displaced persons, not recently but in the earlier days. For instance, in Egypt, where we took over camps from the military housing between 40,000 and 45,000 Yugoslavs and Greeks, the Red Cross had some supplies of clothing which they made available to us; not in any great amount.

Mr. KEE. Will you yield?

Mr. RYTER. Surely.

Mr. KEE. Do you take care of any duplication of effort between you?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes. In the countries where the volunteer agencies work they are required to work under the supervision of and in coordination with UNRRA. We have in Greece, quite a few such agencies, both British and American, and they are doing certain jobs to which they have been assigned by UNRRA. I think, as a matter of fact, that many of them will continue their work on a much more permanent basis than UNRRA can.

Mr. RYTER. Are you not also making arrangements with other war relief agencies to enter those countries and coordinate their efforts, like the Polish War Relief in Poland and other countries?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes. Of course, agencies from the outside have to be acceptable to the countries.

Mr. RYTER. That is one handicap, then, in connection with getting in?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mr. RYTER. You stated that in the distribution of these goods a lot of the people have local currency with which to purchase commodities. In your travels did you chance to visit Poland?

Mr. LEHMAN. No. I had hoped to visit Poland and Czechoslovakia, but I found it was necessary to come back here to get some money, and I had to forego the pleasure of the trip.

Mr. RYTER. I was very much interested in that aspect of it, as far as currency is concerned, because when we were there we were informed that when the Soviet Armies drove out the Germans they outlawed the use of the prior existing currency and allowed the exchange of only enough currency to give the people 500 zlotys apiece. I was wondering how the poor people had the currency to furnish these supplies if they were only allowed such a small sum.

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not know the details of the exchange. I cannot answer that question; but I do want to say this, that in Poland a very great percentage of our supplies were given away without charge.

Mr. RYSTER. Of course, the figures that you will submit will substantiate that, I presume?

Mr. LEHMAN. So far as we can give the figures. We do not have figures for all the countries.

Mr. RYTER. There is only one more question, Governor, and I do not know whether you are capable of answering it or not, but I understand that recently postage facilities have been extended to allow the sending by private individuals of food and packages of clothing to these various countries, and I received numerous complaints that the governments involved are charging tariffs on these articles before they allow them to enter the various countries. Do you know anything about that, or whether UNRRA is making any effort to persuade these governments not to impose any tariff rates?

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not know anything about that.

Chairman BLOOM. Have you had any complaint about that?

Mr. LEHMAN. No. UNRRA is not handling these individual cases, because they can be handled through other channels.

Mr. RYTER. But your policy would be, Governor, that all of those packages should get into those countries, would it not?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes. We would be glad to see as many donated supplies get into those countries as possible. UNRRA, of course, would have no control over the charging of customs duties, because that is entirely within the authority of the countries concerned.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to state that if you can name any country that charges any duty or tax in such cases, the Chair would be glad to go into the matter and see that it is taken up with the respective countries to see if it cannot be waived.

Mr. RYTER. I have information only as regards Poland.

Chairman BLOOM. Then we will look at Poland.

Do you have any further questions?

Mr. RYTER. No, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jonkman?

Mr. JONKMAN. Do you keep inventories of stocks that UNRRA has on hand?

Mr. LEHMAN. Do we?

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes.

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes; to the extent that we can get them. By that I mean we do keep inventories of any supplies we have paid for. We

have not got inventories as yet, and probably will not for some time, of all of the supplies we have taken over from the military. The military has not given us those inventories yet. We have no substantial stocks. We have some, but they are mighty small.

Mr. JONKMAN. I would like to find out what they are. Of course, when you turn the goods over to the recipient country they are off your shelves; are they not?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes; but generally speaking we receive the supplies at shipside from the contributing country, so that, practically speaking, we have virtually no inventory ourselves.

Mr. JONKMAN. You have no further concern with them?

Mr. LEHMAN. We have concern with observing their distribution.

Mr. JONKMAN. I mean, as far as inventory is concerned you have lost control of them?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is right.

Mr. JONKMAN. How do you acquire these supplies—from the FEA?

Mr. LEHMAN. We did place our requisitions with FEA. Now we place them with the State Department, because the State Department has taken over FEA. They process them, and if we have the money or if they are available they pass those requisitions on in the form of regular orders to the procurement agencies, which are, in the case of food, the Department of Agriculture, and in the case of other supplies, such as processed or manufactured goods, the Treasury Procurement Division. UNRRA has no direct procurement unit except for small items which cannot conveniently be purchased through Government agencies.

Mr. JONKMAN. I understand that; but there comes a time when it is appropriated to you, and I want to find out when it becomes UNRRA property.

Mr. LEHMAN. Normally we take title to the supplies at shipside.

Mr. JONKMAN. You must have a bookkeeping method by which you enter the acquisition when it becomes your property at dockside. That is a rather simple process. Can you not furnish us an inventory of what stocks you have on hand between those two points?

Mr. LEHMAN. They are at shipside except for the very short period they stay on the dock. They are shipped almost immediately. The supplies remain on property only during the ocean voyage. Title is normally transferred out of UNRRA on unloading. We have been working on a hand-to-mouth basis. We have very few stocks.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is, of course, indefinite. Can you give us figures on what stocks you have on hand?

Chairman BLOOM. Do you want them for the record, or do you want them?

Mr. JONKMAN. It is quite immaterial. I might want to put the information into the record.

Chairman BLOOM. There is no objection at all to that.

Will you furnish the information, Governor, and then we can decide whether to put it into the record or not.

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONKMAN. As I understand, you have no funds on hand at the present time; you have made commitments for all the funds you have?

Mr. LEHMAN. None out of the American appropriation.

Mr. JONKMAN. Well, out of the general fund?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes; we have some and we are spending that just as rapidly as possible.

Mr. JONKMAN. How much does that amount to?

Mr. LEHMAN. These are round figures, of course. In addition to the $800,000,000 already made available by the United States there has been made available from other contributing countries the sum of $485,000,000. The status of those funds is (1) $183,000,000 spent for supplies, operating expenses, displaced persons operations; (2) $122,000,000 obligated to supplies for delivery in November and December; (3) the balance of $180,000,000, consisting chiefly of sterling from the United Kingdom contribution which will be spent for commodities in Great Britain.

It will be appreciated, I am sure, that the supply position of United Kingdom and the other countries, with the exception of Canada which has made available its full contribution, all of which has been spent, is less favorable than that of the United States. The supplies that can be bought with sterling are extremely limited.

Mr. JONKMAN. That still does not answer my question as to how much you have left. You have given me some of the items of expenditure; but how much have you left?

Mr. LEHMAN. I thought I had given it to you. I said we would have $180,000,000 left on December 31, 1945, from countries other than the United States, and I again repeat that it consists mostly of sterling from the United Kingdom contribution which would have to be spent for commodities in Great Britain. You understand that under our arrangement all but 10 percent of the contribution of a country is spent within that country.

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes; I understand that. With the $180,000,000 that you have left as the balance at the present time, together with the $550,000,000 you would have $730,000,000.

Mr. DAVIDSON. We do have a complete statement on the subject of our financial resources, and that statement shows that as of the first of the year we will be completely out of funds from the American contribution. The shipments that can be made out of that $550,000,000 will last no longer than the middle of February if our shipping program is to be met.

Mr. JONKMAN. It still does not answer your question. I want to know how much you have now.

Mr. LEHMAN. I told you that the money which we have in Great Britain cannot be used to acquire many of the articles of which we are in urgent need. We cannot, for instance, get wheat in Britain; they do not have it. We cannot get meat in Britain; they have not got it. We cannot get sugar; we cannot get clothing; we cannot get any of those things in Great Britain. We can get certain other items, particularly processed or manufactured articles, which we are getting; but the fact that we have not been able, and are not today able, to obtain some of our most urgently needed supplies in Great Britain is the reason why we have that balance still on hand. It is not going to help us one little bit in getting wheat into those countries.

Mr. JONKMAN. There is $183,000,000 available from Great Britain which you cannot get because they cannot furnish commodities you want?

Mr. LEHMAN. Not $183,000,000; it is less than that figure.

Mr. JONKMAN. You have $183,000,000 of available funds in the general fund at the present time, but it is not cash?

Mr. LEHMAN. Certainly not. Only a small part of it is cash.

Mr. JONKMAN. You use a term in your financial statement that I do not like. I have referred to it before "contributed and available on request." Does that "available on request" contain or include subscriptions that are offered in commodities that you cannot accept because you cannot use them?

Mr. LEHMAN. No. No country tries to force commodities on us.

Mr. JONKMAN. Why do you use that term, Governor?

Mr. LEHMAN. That term means that this money is available and that the countries will recognize our requisitions. It is as much available as the $800,000,000 provided by this country is available. This country is not going to force us to take supplies which we do not need, although there have been suggestions made that we do buy certain surplus articles, which we are trying to do. Great Britain made available $322,000,000, and it is available tomorrow for goods that we want to buy, but all of which cannot be procured in Great Britain. There are no strings attached to it at all.

Mr. JONKMAN. With the financial condition that UNRRA finds itself in should there be any money that is available on request that UNRRA does not collect immediately?

Mr. LEHMAN. We have collected it. It is in the Treasury ready to satisfy our requisitions; but if we need wheat and there is no wheat in England we cannot buy wheat in England. We have to buy it in this country or in Canada, or wherever it is available. What we want is to be able to buy the supplies that are most urgently needed. You cannot get wheat from Great Britain.

Mr. JONKMAN. I understand that full well. Great Britain has got to import wheat. There is no question about that. She always has.

Mr. LEHMAN. Surely.

Mr. JONKMAN. You also say in your statement that up to June 30 the total expenditures were $115,643,000. That would be about $40,000,000 or $45,000,000 a month for 3 months, assuming that you did not begin until April—April, May, and June?

Mr. LEHMAN. That refers to the actual cash. That is the actual cash paid out from the United States Treasury. These bills are coming in months and months late to the United States Government. They do not come in to UNRRA. The United States pays out the money. The expenditures are running months behind the actual performance of the service. The expenditures are very far behind the actual obligation of the funds.

Mr. JONKMAN. Take the obligations; they are $299,000,000.

Mr. LEHMAN. What time was that?

Mr. JONKMAN. June 30, according to your report.

Mr. LEHMAN. Congressman, I have shown you how our deliveries went up month by month. The first quarter we shipped 37,000 tons. It went up each month, so that in October it was 520,000 tons. It would have been larger if it had not been for the strike. In November and December we are counting on shipping 800,000 to 900,000 tons.

Mr. JONKMAN. A moment ago you said that the figure for November and December would be $122,000,000.

Mr. LEHMAN. Oh, no. That is from sources other than the United States. Our major supplies, of course, come from the United States.

Mr. SWERDLOW. I think it would help you if you turned to page 52 of the black book, where there are more current figures. That shows $690,000,000 obligated by the end of October.

Mr. JONKMAN. That does not give any totals.

Mr. SWERDLOW. The total is on top of the table: $690,000,000 obligated as of October 31. That is the actual amount that the United States Government has let out in contracts. The difference between the commitments and the obligations is in process of being obligated by the United States procurement agencies.

Mr. LEHMAN. And the commitments are $800,000,000.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is commitments again. You may have enough in those commitments to take care of the situation for 3 or 6 or 9 months, for all I know.

Mr. SWERDLOW. As of October 31, 1945, we had approximately $102,000,000, or, in round figures, slightly over $100,000,000 left of the $800,000,000 which has been authorized. Our shipping program for December is $280,000,000, which indicates that we do not have enough for our December loading program.

Mr. JONKMAN. In other words, you have $187,000,000 to meet that right now, assuming that you could convert that $187,000,000 into the commodities you want and get them from the countries you want to get them from.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Let us not get confused.

Mr. JONKMAN. I am confused, I am frank to say.

Mr. DAVIDSON. If we divide the contributions to UNRRA into two classes, we have from sources other than the United States, we estimate, as of the first of the year, approximately $180,000,000. We had as of October 31 from the United States contribution slightly over $100,000,000. The sterling cannot be used for the reasons that Governor Lehman has stated, any more than we can use dollars to buy fats and oils and certain other essential commodities in the United States today. The supplies are not there; you cannot use the money for them.

Mr. RYTER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield.

Mr. RYTER. Does that $100,000,000 include the appropriation that is still to be voted?

Mr. DAVIDSON. No; I am speaking of the money left from the $800,000,000 originally authorized.

Mr. RYTER. If you had the additional 550 millions you would have 650 millions still left?

Mr. DAVIDSON. That would be correct.

I think, Governor, perhaps you would want to go through this entire statement.

Mr. LEHMAN. I have a statement here which I would be glad to read and put into the record.

Mr. RYTER. Now I am confused.

Mr. LEHMAN. Of course it is confusing. Frankly, we have had to go from hand to mouth in this operation, and also because of the provision that is in all the appropriations that 90 percent has to be used within the contributing country. It is pretty hard to be able to spend an available balance for urgently needed goods if those urgently needed goods are not available within the contributing country.

Mr. RYTER. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. JONKMAN. Gladly.

Mr. RYTER. Will you straighten me out? There is $180,000,000 available from other countries than the United States?

Mr. LEHMAN. I think it would be much better if, instead of trying to get this piecemeal, I read a memorandum which will give the whole picture.

Mr. JONKMAN. At page 28 it speaks——

Mr. WADSWORTH. Do I understand that the Governor is not to read the statement to which he has referred?

Chairman BLOOM. He can read it if he wishes to.

Mr. JONKMAN. I think it would be more appropriate, Governor, to get through with this first. You probably can straighten us out.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jonkman said he wanted to get through with what he was asking before the Governor read the statement.

Mr. JONKMAN. Of course I am doing the interrogating.

Chairman BLOOM. Go ahead, Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. LEHMAN. What page is that?

Mr. JONKMAN. Page 28 of the fourth report to Congress. If you have expended $1,500,000,000, without the $550,000,000 from the United States, and you have $187,000,000 left, you have spent practically a billion dollars in 8 months. Is that correct?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes; that was the total committed.

Mr. JONKMAN. And according to this report you have spent only $40,000,000 a month for the first 3 months—April, May, and June. So there must have been a tremendous speed-up.

Mr. LEHMAN. There has been.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is what I want to get. If we get to the figures that you say are of a later date, if you can show what the expenditures were in the months of July, August, September, and October——

Mr. LEHMAN. That is all a matter of record. I have not got here the shipments in April, May, and June, but in my statement I said that to indicate the acceleration of UNRRA's operations, in July 1945, the shipments amounted to 296,000 tons, which was a great increase over May and June. They were speeded up to 318,000 tons in September. They rose to 418,000 tons in October. We are now entering a period when our shipments will be in the neighborhood of 1,000,000 tons a month.

Mr. JONKMAN. Have you the dollars and cents figures for those months?

Mr. SWERDLOW. We can give you those figures. I have the figure in October here, $116,000,000.

Mr. JONKMAN. Is that the highest figure you have reached in any 1 month?

Mr. SWERDLOW. The November figure would call for $198,000,000 and in December for $280,000,000.

Mr. JONKMAN. Assuming you had for July, August, September, and October a figure of $117,000,000, four times that would be $468,000,000 and you would still not have expended as of October 1 more than about $600,000,000.

Mr. LEHMAN. But that does not include commitments we made, which also have to be taken into account. We make commitments of great quantities of goods we are buying from the Army amounting to $159,000,000, which had to be cut back by $50,000,000. We also have bought goods for future shipment. As I explained to you, you just cannot go out and get your goods and put them on a ship. It takes time. The figures given are the actual figures.

Mr. JONKMAN. But, Governor, is not that the very thing that we are entitled to know before we make another appropriation?

Mr. LEHMAN. You are entitled to know anything you want. I do not have the slightest objection to any of your questions.

Mr. JONKMAN. If, as you say, up to October you have spent only $600,000,000, you may have made commitments for goods that will take care of you until spring, as far as I know.

Mr. LEHMAN. But it is all included in the sums I have given you.

If you do not mind, I would like to read this statement, because it will clarify it very much.

Mr. JONKMAN. I would like to hear it.

Mr. LEHMAN (reading):

I. The $800,000,000 already appropriated by the United States has been completely exhausted

This money as of October 31 was used as follows:

1. $485,000,000 was spent for supplies actually shipped.
2. $15,000,000 was spent for displaced persons assistance, for mission operating expenses all over the world and for general administration.
3. $198,000,000 has been committed for supplies immediately available and scheduled for November shipment.
4. $102,000,000 has been committed for supplies which will be delivered after November, including a substantial amount of funds for Army surpluses.

Thus UNRRA has used every dollar made available by the United States.

II. The delay in appropriating the remaining $550,000,000 previously authorized has compelled serious cut-backs and shifts in the supply program

As a consequence, our funds have not been used to the best advantage—at the expense of human suffering, which we otherwise could have averted. For example, $50,000,000 worth of orders, including large quantities of medical supplies critically needed in the coming winter, have been suspended in order to maintain current food shipments. This cut-back will mean more disease and continued misery.

Every day's delay in appropriating this money slows our operations, at the very time when they should be accelerating.

It means less value for every dollar spent.

III. The contribution of $550,000,000 when made available will be used before the end of 1945

Here is how the money will be spent:

1. $368,000,000 will be obligated immediately upon appropriation:

(*a*) $100,000,000 will be turned back to the United States Government to pay for United States Army surplus foods now available in the United States, ready for immediate shipment awaiting only the availability of these funds.

(*b*) $50,000,000 will be turned back to the United States Government to procure Army surpluses overseas. This will replace $50,000,000 which we were forced to withdraw from funds previously earmarked for Army surpluses in order to maintain our current food shipments.

(*c*) $50,000,000 will be used for the medical and other supplies for which the orders were suspended as I have already stated.

(*d*) $60,000,000 will be retained by the United States Government to offset the cost of relief supplies involved in the take-over by UNRRA of relief operations from the Allied military authorities in Greece, Yugoslavia, and Albania.

(*e*) $30,000,000 will be turned over to the Department of Agriculture to finance contracts resulting from Army cut-backs immediately after VJ-day. This arrangement was made contingent on the appropriation of the $550,000,000.

(*f*) Also contingent on this appropriation, UNRRA has agreed to accept up to $3,000,000 worth of dehydrated sweetpotatoes and $5,000,000 worth of dehydrated white potatoes available as the result of Army cut-backs. In addition, $5,000,000 will be used for canned horse meat—making $13,000,000 under this item.

(*g*) At least an additional $15,000,000 will, immediately upon appropriation, be committed for the procurement of rice now available in the Far East for shipment to China.

(*h*) $50,000,000 will be required to pay for ocean transportation.

The necessity for spending so much so quickly arises directly from the delay in receiving the balance of the United States funds authorized.

2. The remaining $187,000,000 will be obligated before the end of December for food, coal, seed, medical and other relief supplies.

IV. Unless the new 1 percent contribution is made available before the end of December, there will be a break in our supply line in February

As indicated in paragraph I–4, the committee will have noted that $102,000,000 worth of supplies remain for delivery after the end of November. When the $550,000,000 are made available, total funds from the United States will be $652,000,000. However, UNRRA's shipping program for December will absorb $280,000,000 and a similar sum for January—a total of $560,000,000.

The remaining $92,000,000 will also have been committed before the end of December for supplies which will be loaded after the end of January.

This means that UNRRA will have to stop loading supplies by the middle of February. Procurement operations will actually have ceased in December.

Thus new funds will be essential before the end of December to ensure that procurement can continue and prevent a break in the supply line in the middle of February.

Let me show you why all this money, as indicated above, will necessarily have been committed before the end of the year.

With respect to food: Grain, which is the basic commodity in the UNRRA food program, must be ordered from 4 to 6 weeks before it can be loaded. Therefore, food for February loading must be procured before the end of December.

It requires at least 90 days for most medical items and a much longer period for clothing and footwear. Therefore, in order to permit the loading of these items in March, procurement action must be initiated before the end of December.

Seeds, which are the most vital factor in the restoration of food production in the devastated areas of Europe and the Far East should be procured in December and shipped not later than the end of January in order to be available for spring planting.

Agricultural machinery must be ordered 6 to 9 months in advance of shipment. This means that orders should be placed not later than the end of December if equipment needed for next year's harvest is to be delivered in time for effective use.

Status of funds received from other countries.—You will recall that in addition to the $800,000,000 already made available by the United States, there has been made available from other contributing countries the sum of $485,000,000. The status of those funds is—

1. Spent for supplies, mission operating expenses, displaced persons operations, and administration management, $183,000,000.

2. Obligated for supplies for delivery in November and December, $122,000,000.

3. The balance of $180,000,000 consisting chiefly of sterling from the United Kingdom contribution will be spent for commodities in Great Britain. It will be appreciated, I am sure, that the supply position of the United Kingdom and other countries, with the exception of Canada which has made available its full contribution, all of which has been spent, is less favorable than that of the United States and that the range of commodities, particularly in foodstuffs, which can be bought with sterling, is extremely limited.

Therefore, if UNRRA is to do the job for which it was created and not suspend its work at the time when the very lives of millions of men, women, and children depend upon it, an additional 1 percent contribution from the member governments will be imperative before the end of 1945.

(See p. 147 for further break-down on status of funds from other countries.)

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair will state that it is about half past 1. Do you want to continue now or come back on Monday morning?

Mr. JONKMAN. I would just as soon discontinue.

Chairman BLOOM. Senator, is that agreeable to you?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes. I would hesitate to impose upon the patience of the governor and the members of the committee by embarking upon some questions at this time. I would, however, like to ask the governor some questions on a phase of this subject which has not been touched upon. I would much prefer, however, that it be done after he has had a rest.

Chairman BLOOM. Will Monday morning be agreeable to you as the time for your questions?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Entirely so.

Chairman BLOOM. You, also, Mr. Jonkman?

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes.

Chairman BLOOM. We will recess until 10 o'clock next Monday morning.

(Whereupon, at 1:30 p. m., a recess was taken until Monday, November 19, 1945, at 10 a. m.)

FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN WORK OF UNRRA

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1945

House of Representatives,
Committee on Foreign Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

The Committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Sol Bloom (chairman) presiding.

Chairman Bloom. The committee will kindly come to order.

In further consideration of H. R. 4649 Governor Lehman is present. Mr. Wadsworth, I believe you had just started your inquiry at the last session and you may continue.

STATEMENT OF MR. LEHMAN—Continued

Mr. Wadsworth. Governor, I know the members of the committee would be very much interested in having from you a story as to displaced persons, let us say, from the date of Germany's surrender. Doubtless you are familiar, more so than the members of this committee, with the work which the military has done and the work which UNRRA has been doing since UNRRA took over.

Mr. Lehman. Yes.

Mr. Wadsworth. And if you will describe that I, for one, will be very grateful.

Mr. Lehman. Before the surrender of Germany it became evident that a very large number of displaced persons would be found in Germany. By displaced persons I mean nationals of the United Nations, a certain number of Italians, stateless people, and people who were driven from their homes or transplanted to Germany by reason of religious or political persecution or because of the assistance which they had given to the Allied cause. It became evident that there would be upward of 6,000,000 such displaced persons found in the American, British, and French zones. When I was in France in November 1944 I discussed the matter at great length with the Allied commander, as I had done previously with the War Department here, and as a result of long negotiations and discussions an agreement was entered into by the military, represented by General Eisenhower, and UNRRA, represented by myself, by which UNRRA would assist the military in the care and repatriation of the displaced persons I have described. The military had set up an organization known as G-5. The military maintained over-all direction of all operations. But they asked UNRRA to organize a substantial number of teams which would gradually take over the administration of assembly centers for the housing of displaced persons, pending the time they could be repatriated to their own countries. In addition, the military asked UNRRA to assist them in such steps as

would be necessary for the repatriation. In addition to the UNRRA teams and the military forces, governments were invited to send a certain number of their own nationals to act as liaison officers with the military to expedite the repatriation of the displaced persons.

UNRRA was asked to organize 450 teams. A typical team consists of 10 to 14 persons. In this black book before you, you will find the make-up of a typical team. We were asked to organize these teams promptly and to have available, I believe, upward of 300 teams by the middle of April. Some were to be created early in January, others in February, and others in March, but upward of 300, I believe, teams were to be ready for action by the 15th of April.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Of 1945?

Mr. LEHMAN. Of 1945. Fortunately UNRRA did not organize these teams on the magnitude they had been asked; if it had they would have been sitting around and there would have been four to five thousand people waiting for a period of several months before they could get into action. We did have a certain number in reserve but that number was relatively small as compared to the number we had been asked to have by the military. It was a very natural request by the military, because at the time the request was made it looked as if hostilities would come to an end much earlier than actually proved to be the case. We set up a mobilization and deployment base in France at a place called Granville, close to the coast. It is interesting that Granville was raided by the Germans and some of our people seized and taken prisoners. We had there some people ready to go and a certain number of trucks for our own use.

When VE-day came we called up and sent forward large numbers of teams, and we proceeded to recruit and prepare the additional number that was necessary. Some of our teams went into Germany with the military immediately after VE-day and assisted the military in many ways. Our agreement provided that they were to act on the orders of the military and that the military was to have the responsibility—which it has still—for providing basic supplies and transportation for displaced persons in Germany because the military, obviously, is the only agency that has the necessary authority.

We sent in the teams in gradually expanding numbers. Each team, as I say, consists of from 10 to 14 persons. Under Army supervision and control it is responsible for the administration and organization of one or more camps and the securing of supplies and other facilities from the military. In certain instances an assembly center may consist of a good many different buildings, pretty widely scattered houses, barracks and homes, and covers a large area

Obviously it is the supervision and the administration of the assembly centers which is the responsibility of UNRRA, and most of the actual labor involved in the running of the centers is done by the displaced persons themselves. Our teams are in supervisory and administrative control but since these assembly centers house all the way from a thousand to 10,000 persons, it is clear that a small team of from 10 to 14 people could not carry on the manual work. We have a doctor, we have a director and an assistant director and a welfare officer, and mess officers and a storage officer, and officers in various other categories. But the actual physical work naturally has to be done by a much larger number and we are using the displaced persons themselves wherever possible. Our teams select from the

displaced persons those that are able to do this work; they are instructed and directed in all phases of the work. The supplies for the assembly centers, as I have said before, continue to be furnished by the military, but all of the other work involved in running these centers is being done under UNRRA direction. I believe that the military has had as many as 30,000 men, or more, engaged in this work. Some of the centers have been taken over by UNRRA and the load on the military has been vastly decreased. I am quite certain if General Eisenhower can testify before this committee he will tell you the extent of the assistance which UNRRA has given to the military and which I think is appreciated by the military.

We had a great deal of difficulty in recruiting people for these UNRRA teams. We recruited them from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Holland, some from Poland, and some from other countries. We have recruited, I believe, between 5,000 and 6,000 persons. They were screened by UNRRA, so far as they could be. In the case of the continental recruitment they were screened largely by their own governments. On the whole I think that the recruitment was pretty good, but because of the great haste of the recruitment and the unknown character of the work, a character of work which was entirely different from anything that had been done before on a large scale, undoubtedly we got some misfits. Those misfits have been weeded out as rapidly as possible and today I believe that we have, on the whole, the right kind of personnel.

When the Army got into Germany, it was established that there were about six and a half million displaced persons in the western zones. From VE-day to the present time the Army has had the assistance of UNRRA, which screened these people, prepared them for travel and saw that arrangements had been made for feeding en route, that the people were properly clothed so they would not freeze to death, and that instructions had gone forward to the receiving countries. With this assistance the Army has repatriated upward of five and a quarter million people. I think that is a record of which the military, and incidentally UNRRA for its assistance to the military, can feel extremely proud. If anybody had predicted to me that five and a quarter million people could be repatriated within the few months that have elapsed since VE-day I would not have believed it possible.

Mr. WADSWORTH. When you speak of the Army I suppose that includes the British as well?

Mr. LEHMAN. The British.

Mr. WADSWORTH. And the French?

Mr. LEHMAN. The French and American; not Russian; because UNRRA is not operating in the Russian zone at present and of course the military forces of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France are also not operating in the Russian zone.

Chairman BLOOM. Dr. Eaton.

Mr. EATON. Governor, I have been wondering as you went along with your very interesting statement why the Russian area was left out of this. Could you give us any particulars as to that? Of course, in this country at the present time there is a great volume of demand that we cooperate with Russia in every particular. But will you tell us why UNRRA has not been permitted to enter into the sacred precincts of Russia's domain in Germany?

Mr. LEHMAN. Well, according to our agreement and according to our resolution it is provided that UNRRA can operate in an area occupied by military forces or by a government only with the approval of the occupying forces or the government or the agency in effective administrative control. UNRRA could not possibly have gone into the Russian zone of Germany without the invitation and approval of the Russian military forces.

Mr. EATON. Your organization could not initiate a movement for having an invitation extended to you?

Mr. LEHMAN. We have made it perfectly clear that we are ready to act on such an invitation. Let me give you an example of what I mean in the case of Austria. In the last meeting of the UNRRA Council, UNRRA was authorized to undertake relief work of a general character in Austria which has heretofore been carried on exclusively by the military. We were given the same authority in the case of Korea. However, we can go into Austria, which is still an occupied country, only with the approval of the occupying forces. We had already received an invitation to go into Austria to work among displaced nationals of the United Nations, and we have our teams operating in Austria now. So far as general relief in Austria is concerned, which I think is very greatly needed, we have now been asked by the Allied Council in Vienna to send in our delegates to discuss the possibility of UNRRA's taking over the work which heretofore has been done by the military organization. As a result of that discussion we expect to receive an invitation to assume the responsibility. I have also discussed the matter with General Clark when he was over here, so that I think it is a fair assumption that UNRRA will be able to operate in Austria as soon as we get the necessary funds. I am not going to extend general assistance, however, unless we do get the necessary funds.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, will the Governor yield for a question?

Chairman BLOOM. Do you yield to Mrs. Bolton, Mr. Wadsworth?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Certainly.

Mr. LEHMAN. Just one more brief statement. I did want to make it clear that under our basic agreement and under our resolution UNRRA cannot go into any occupied country without the approval of the occupying military forces.

Chairman BLOOM. That is the law.

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes; it must be upon invitation.

Chairman BLOOM. The invitation and approval?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mrs. BOLTON. When you say Austria, do you mean all of the various nations in the zone of Austria?

Mr. LEHMAN. This invitation from the Allied Council relates to all zones.

Mrs. BOLTON. Thank you.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Flood.

Mr. FLOOD. Who determines the policy having to do with the displaced persons, as to whether or not they will be sent back to their own homeland? Does UNRRA participate at the level of policy making?

Mr. LEHMAN. It does very definitely, and I think if I may go into the situation about that it may be interesting, because it was one of

the subjects that was debated at the recent meeting of the Council in London. The proposal was made by some of the governments that UNRRA should not care for any displaced persons unless the approval was given to UNRRA by the government whose nationals were involved. That would mean, in practice, that UNRRA would have had to say to these people coming from various countries that they must agree to go back or we were not going to help them in any way. That would have meant a choice of return to their countries or virtual starvation.

That proposal originally came up, I should say, early last spring, and I opposed that on the ground that UNRRA should, at least for the time being, take care of people who could not be repatriated or who were unwilling to be repatriated for one reason or another, with the understanding that UNRRA should do everything it can to make repatriation possible for these people. In other words, it should lay the facts before them, and give the governments at least, the opportunity to give the facts concerning conditions in the countries to which these people were to be returned, and it should facilitate their return, provided they could be and were willing to be repatriated. That principle was proposed at the London Council meeting, and it was debated for a period of several days. There were those who wanted the governments to have the right to determine which of their nationals should be helped by UNRRA, but those who were opposed would not recede from their position. As a result a vote was taken, and it was determined, I think by a vote of 31 to 4, that UNRRA should take care of displaced persons for a period of 6 months until they could and were willing to be repatriated. At the end of the 6 months the Council would decide, if the Council were in session, or if not, a committee would determine, what the future policy of UNRRA would be. At the present time I can make the categorical statement that so far as UNRRA policy is concerned any one who chooses to return to his country can, if he is willing to go back and that no one who does not desire to return need return.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Governor, you stated that when Germany surrendered, or at about that time, there were 6½ million of these unfortunate displaced persons and that 5¼ million had been returned to their respective countries, leaving about 1¼ million. What are the prospects of these million and a quarter; what sort of people are they?

Mr. LEHMAN. We have the population of the assembly centers here by nationality. The largest number of nationals represented in that 1¼ million are Poles. On the 8th of October, the last date on which we have figures—and these figures come from the military—out of the total of 1,342,000 remaining to be repatriated, there were 817,000 Poles, 207,000 ex-enemy nationals, 35,000 Russians, 234,000 miscellaneous and unclassified. A large part of the last number are stateless persons, namely Jews, and persons whose status has not as yet been definitely determined. It also includes a certain number of Yugoslavians. Virtually no French, Dutch, or Belgians are left. They were all repatriated relatively early in the operation.

In each of these centers are a substantial number of liaison officers who can talk with the displaced persons, giving them the latest reports of the happenings in their own country and trying to assure them that they will be fairly treated, and able to make arrangements for their repatriation. I have no authoritative figures on this, but the best

estimate I have in regard to the Poles, which comes from the military, is that between 60 and 70 percent will be repatriated over the next few months. Possibly there could be a repatriation of an even larger number of Poles were it not for the transportation difficulties at this time. The military report that repatriation of Poles has given them a great deal of difficulty also because Poland has not yet made proper plans for receiving them. I think it is fair to say that the Poles are anxious to have their people back and need them because of the existing manpower shortage, but with the present difficulties they are not prepared to receive them now. Moreover, the demands on the transportation facilities in every zone of occupation are very great. The best estimate we can get is that within a few months this number of displaced persons, amounting to 1,340,000 in October, will be reduced about one-half. It is hoped that the only ones that will be remaining will be stateless persons, that is, German Jews, and a relatively small number of people who were forced from their homes because of religious and political difficulties and who will have trouble in going back.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I gather from your observation that a considerable percentage of these people dread going home?

Mr. LEHMAN. I think a considerable number of people did dread going home.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Does that still exist?

Mr. LEHMAN. I think the dread has been mitigated because of assurances which have been given by the governments that they would be fairly treated on their return.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Do you think that the dread then always was not justified?

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not know enough about the internal political situation in those countries to answer that question categorically. My feeling, however, is that virtually all of these people will be received by their countries and do not need to fear reprisals. In some instances that may not be true, but I think generally speaking that the governments are now giving assurances to these people in a more successful and forceful way, that if they want to return they will be fairly treated and will be merged into the economy of the country.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Going back for a moment to the mechanics of this operation, the distinction between the displaced persons problem and the general relief problem; who is actually feeding the displaced persons today and clothing them insofar as they need clothing; the military or UNRRA?

Mr. LEHMAN. The furnishing of the basic supplies is the responsibility of the military. I am advised, although I hesitate to make it as a categorical statement, that the military has thus far been able to obtain from the German economy itself the supplies necessary for maintenance of a reasonable standard for the displaced persons at the assembly centers. However, if that economy could not provide the supplies undoubtedly the military would have to furnish them under the resolution which was adopted by the UNRRA Council at its recent meeting on motion of the United States representative. The way it is actually done now—I can only speak in broad terms—is that if the camp required a certain amount of flour or vegetables, or other supplies, a requisition is made upon the local authorities, the local German authorities. If the local German authorities are not able to

furnish those supplies or are unwilling to furnish the supplies, then the UNRRA representative who made the requisition immediately gets in touch with the military, and the military takes steps to furnish the supplies, and the military, it is expected, and by the military I mean the United States, the United Kingdon, and France, will obtain reimbursement for the supplies which they are furnishing from the German economy.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Not from UNRRA.

Mr. LEHMAN. Not from UNRRA. That is, UNRRA does not pay for the supplies. They will obtain reimbursement in time from the German economy either through reparation or through export which Germany may be able to develop. The reason why the United States representative introduced and advocated the passage of the resolution placing responsibility of furnishing supplies on the military was because of the realization that UNRRA could not possibly recoup from the German economy because UNRRA will be out of existence within a year or 15 months, whereas the Government or the military will be in position to recoup the cost of these supplies. Now when you say that UNRRA does not bear the cost of these supplies that applies only to Germany. In Austria UNRRA will have to bear the cost of the supplies.

Mr. WADSWORTH. For displaced persons.

Mr. LEHMAN. For displaced persons. That also applies to the other counties such as Italy, Greece, and Yugoslavia, in which displaced persons work is being carried on, in which UNRRA will have to bear the cost of supplies. It also covers the cost of any supplies, over and above the basic supplies, which are needed to maintain the morale and properly take care of these men, women, and children at the assembly centers, who after all are not our enemies, but are our friends, and have been our friends and who have made a heavy sacrifice. So there will be a very considerable financial responsibility upon UNRRA over and above the cost of the basic supplies which are provided by the military.

Mr. WADSWORTH. What is the average ration now afforded to the displaced persons in terms of calories?

Mr. LEHMAN. The average ration, I am told, is now somewhere between 2,300 and 2,500 calories. It was much lower than that until the last 2 or 3 months, when President Truman became concerned with the situation and also when the military became concerned over the situation. The clothing is, of course, not ample, and UNRRA is sending in a considerable amount of used clothing to be used over and above the amount that will be supplied by the military. Of course the military did not have much children's clothing or women's clothing, which UNRRA has made available now from the used clothing which has been collected by the United Nations clothing collection movement, and more than 5,000,000 pounds are about to be shipped which will be used over and above the very meager clothing that has been given by the military.

Mr. WADSWORTH. How does the ration of from 2,300 to 2,500 calories compare with the average ration of the German civilians?

Mr. LEHMAN. I cannot answer that, Mr. Wadsworth, I do not have all the facts, but it is very considerably more. UNRRA, you understand has absolutely no responsibility or relation to the feeding of the German civilians.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I understand that; yes, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. It does not direct its efforts or enter into whatsoever that control in Germany. It is possible it may have to be augmented later on by the military forces in order to bring the assistance up to the minimum needed to prevent disease and unrest, but I do not know. All I can tell you is what I have seen in the papers, and from what conversations I have had it probably ranges between 1,600 and 1,700 calories for the civilians.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The German civilian population?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes; but I would not want to have that used as an authoritative statement.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I was trying to ascertain, and perhaps General Eisenhower, when he appears before the committee, can give us a pretty accurate picture of the extent of the burden still on the shoulders of the military, financial burden, as to the value of supplies which the military must provide and which UNRRA, of course, is not in position to provide. I suppose that links up somewhat with the German civilian situation. The other day I read a statement Mr. Benton made in the House of Commons which I may have misunderstood, in which he describes the desperate situation in Germany and the food problem in Great Britian itself, and that the British were feeding 25 million people in Germany, and that they had to dig deep in their own reserve supplies in Great Britain in order to prevent wholesale starvation, but that does not come under your jurisdiction.

Mr. LEHMAN. It does not; no.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if I would be permitted to ask one or two questions on this point at this time.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. As I understand it, all displaced persons are treated alike, regardless of race, religion, or anything else?

Mr. LEHMAN. As far as I know, they are. That is our policy.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mrs. Douglas, Mr. Jarman, and myself——

Mr. LEHMAN. May I make this clarification. It is according to need. If there are two people, one in good physical condition, and the other, because of his experiences, in a very weakened condition, we probably would feed the second one better than the first.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I understand that. Mrs. Douglas, Mr. Jarman, and myself went into a displaced persons camp in Berlin and we discussed the situation—and, incidentally, this camp was just as neat and clean as it could be; it seemed to be very well run—and I asked the question, if the military should withdraw from aid would UNRRA be able to carry on, and I was told—and I am sure that Mrs. Douglas or Mr. Jarman will correct me if I am wrong in my statement, because I am recalling it from memory—they said that UNRRA needed the Army, just as you have said, in connection with requisitions of food. UNRRA needed the Army for transportation, and they needed the Army for security purposes. As I recall it, when we were there we watched just incidentally some of the screening processes, and I believe the military had been trained in that kind of work and they were doing some of the screening of the people that would drop into this camp. Am I wrong in that impression?

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not know that camp, but I have no doubt you are right.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You said that no one was forced to go back to their own country if they did not desire to do so. As I understood

the situation, when these various areas were taken over by the United States, France, and England, if the displaced persons were in those areas at the time, the situation you have described is accurate, but I certainly got the impression that after those areas were determined, for example, as at the camp which I described, which would be nearer the Russian line, if a displaced person had been living in the Russian area and in some way had gotten over into the American area, UNRRA was not permitted to take care of him, but he was required to go back to the Russian area from which he came. Can you tell me about that?

Mr. LEHMAN. As far as I know, that is not the case. I do not know what steps might have been taken by the military to prevent the movement of refugees from one military zone to another, but if a man once came within the field of UNRRA's activities, UNRRA would screen that person, and if he was a bona fide displaced person, UNRRA would take care of him.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is one of the problems of displaced persons from other areas trying to get into our zone or maybe some other zone. They may have gotten there in violation of military regulations.

Chairman BLOOM. You don't blame them for that, do you?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. No; I do not. I am not criticizing them; and I am not criticizing this other matter that I am going to call to your attention, and I make no statement of either approval or disapproval.

While we were at that camp they were describing the requirements that were needed for displaced persons, and UNRRA officials said that one of the requisitions that they had recently made was 5,000 pairs of silk hose. That does not come from our economy; it would come from the German economy. Perhaps Mrs. Douglas will explain that.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I think what you have said is correct. The manager of the camp said that he had no idea whether or not his requisition would be filled. But he said that he did not see why the displaced persons should not have silk stockings as well as the German women, who today possess most of the silk stockings of Europe. Practically all of the silk stockings, as well as other luxury goods, were siphoned off into Germany during the Nazi conquest of Europe. When I first crossed the frontier into Germany, I at once noticed that instead of bare legs and wooden sandals which we had seen throughout France, Belgium, and Holland, the women were wearing silk stockings and leather shoes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I do not want to go into the question of whether they should wear silk hose or not. That is just one of the matters.

Mr. LEHMAN. What the military would be willing to do in the way of taking silk hose away from the German ladies and giving them to displaced persons I do not know.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is all.

Chairman BLOOM. The next witness is Mr. Eugene Meyer.

STATEMENT OF EUGENE MEYER, PUBLISHER OF THE WASHINGTON POST, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. MEYER. Mr. Chairman, I do not know that I have a great deal to add to the illumination and information of your honorable committee. In 13 years only once before have I appeared before a committee of Congress.

Chairman BLOOM. You ought to get the habit.

Mr. MEYER. I always enjoy my contacts with the members of the committee. But the urgency and importance of the measure under consideration impels me to respond to the call to come here today. I feel that the thinking of our people is clouded because of the failure of words accurately to define and describe the facts of life, as they now impinge upon us.

War and peace are two of the words that most mislead us. A good many of us realize now that war did not begin with shooting. But most of us still feel that it ended when shooting stopped. The cables recently quoted from a Goering document a statement made as far back as 1935. "We are at war all except the shooting."

When shooting stops we do not achieve peace in a day or in a year. Victory does not automatically produce the peace we fought for. That peace must be fought for after the shooting stops.

We know what are the munitions for war. The measure you are considering concerns the first-line munitions for peace. The failure to supply that first line adequately would threaten the achievement of the kind of peace for which we fought and sacrificed so much in blood.

Some say we cannot afford to do what is here proposed. The fact is we cannot afford not to do what is here proposed.

No other nation has the economic strength and supplies materially to mitigate the threat of starvation and anarchy that threaten middle and parts of eastern Europe. The solemn responsibility that goes with strength and power in men and resources is upon us. Our future self-respect as a nation is at stake. Perhaps in spite of anything we can do many will die of hunger, disease, and cold in this nearby winter. Many reports say this is inevitable. But at least Americans must be able to say to themselves that they did what they could.

Our hearts' desire for the past few years has been for peace for ourselves and for our neighbor nations. We have grown to understand that changes in time and space have made us all neighbors whether we like it or not.

We cannot ignore great masses of starving people without our desired peace being threatened.

The Catholic bishops of the United States assembled here issued a statement based upon information from reliable sources. I quote from it:

> Acute suffering is the daily lot of whole populations in many war-torn lands. Every report indicated that unless heroic measures are taken at once, millions will die from starvation and exposure during the coming winter. The feeding and clothing and sheltering of these suffering people is not a work which can be left to some future convenient date.
>
> Our country, because of our great resources, must do the major part of this work of relief. In it we have the right and duty to insist on the leadership which corresponds to our sacrifices and contributions. It is imperative that Congress make adequate appropriations for this work from the public treasury.
>
> Ours is a grave responsibility. The heart and hand of America are called upon in a way that is unique, not only in the history of our country but even in the annals of mankind. We know that democracy is as capable of solving the admittedly difficult problems of peace as it has shown itself in war.

Many Americans, returning home from Europe and the Far East, whom I have met—and I have met many and discussed conditions with many—unite on one thing with great unanimity; that is, the

hopeful yearnings and prayers that we may be strong and humane and wise enough to meet the call that destiny has thrust upon our great people. Never before has a nation been so clearly appointed to be the savior of nations.

Mr. Chairman, there are some conditions which have been introduced in connection with this legislation, and the worthiness of the purposes is not in question; but, to me, this legislation deserves to be passed without conditions. They affect questions of news gathering, the securing of information, which is desirable, but I feel that although we are the largest participant of the 47 nations concerned in this UNRRA activity, we have no right and we should not begin to introduce conditions unless we are willing to have 46 other nations introduce conditions, which would mean, of course, infinite delay when delay is disastrous.

As a publisher I am very much interested in news gathering. We were obedient to censorship and observant of it, but we do not like it at home or abroad. I have asked you kindly to permit me to bring up Mr. Jones, our managing editor, who all his life has been concerned with the collection and distribution of news and publishing. He is a "news hound," if ever there was one. I never before met a man who fights for news harder, always, and almost at any price; and I would like very much for your committee, which has only heard an expression of faith, insofar as you could get any understanding from my statement, to have Mr. Jones discuss briefly the aspect of the news conditions that have been introduced.

Mr. Corson, former deputy administrator under Governor Lehman, is also here, and if any member of the committee would care to ask him any questions from his experience, you will find that he has informed himself in an up-to-date way since last week. He was with UNRRA until last April, and it might be of interest to some of the members to ask him to express himself in connection with these matters.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you, Mr. Meyer. But we would not want to slight you in the least. So we will start to ask you some questions. How about that?

Mr. MEYER. That is perfectly all right. If I do not know the answers, I will say so.

Chairman BLOOM. Judge Kee?

Mr. KEE. Mr. Meyer, the resolution before us involves the authorization of an appropriation of funds for the relief and rehabilitation of distressed peoples of Europe, without any restrictions upon the use of the funds, that is, any substantial restrictions, in connection with the use for which the funds are intended. I would like to ask you whether or not it is your view that restrictions should not be inserted in the resolution, that is, restrictions providing that certain things must be done and certain provisions must be complied with before the funds can be used for the purposes intended. What is your view?

Mr. MEYER. There is an agreement with 44, now 47 nations, and almost any amendment or restriction would tend, it seems to me, to make difficulty. I wonder if you cannot accomplish any desirable purpose in guiding the policy—which is what you are talking about, the policy in administration of the funds of UNRRA—by other methods.

It seems to me that when it comes to passing a measure which has been adopted in principle, it is necessary to pass it substantially in harmony with the actions preceding, and it does not seem to me possible for 1 nation out of 47 to begin to impose conditions and to amend the actions taken by 47 nations without introducing delay. You have here in Governor Lehman and his organization a body that presumably is striving, according to the best of their ability, to accomplish the purpose; and I am not a judge of the ability of any member of the organization. I do not pretend to know. You members of the committee who have been abroad know more about it than I do. But in this emergency work I am in favor of the broadest possible power and the appointment of the best possible people, and in the operation, if things arise which seem to be unwise or subject to criticism, you have here in the Halls of Congress ample opportunity to make yourselves articulate on the subject, for no administrator with broad powers is exempt from criticism, and assuming good faith in the administration, which I assume and believe must be given, otherwise you would not be interested in discussing it at all, I think that the widest possible latitude should be given in its administration. I have had some powers in connection with Government matters in the past.

Every area in Europe or the Far East which is covered by this activity will present a different kind of a problem, so that if you begin to hamper the elasticity in administration by general regulations, you are going to find it very difficult in the first place to do it in a way that would not hamper the work and undo what you are trying to do. I think that emergency work, in which great numbers of starving people are involved, has to be conducted with wide power and competent people. I do not think it can be done any other way.

Mr. KEE. In your view, then, this authorization should conform to the same rules of UNRRA which the other nations have which have entered into this undertaking; in other words, we should all cooperate?

Mr. MEYER. Yes; I do.

Mr. KEE. You are familiar, no doubt, with the restriction or inhibition that was contained in an amendment to an appropriation recently made for UNRRA for the purpose of securing, I believe, a free entry of the press in the countries where UNRRA is operating or expects to operate. What is your view with reference to putting a similar limitation into this legislation.

Mr. MEYER. I am opposed to it. I am for freedom of the press. I would like to see every country have the same freedom that we have. But it does not seem to me that a rider of that kind has anything to do with the purposes of the legislation, which are to relieve starvation. I have a high regard for freedom of the press and value it in this country. I believe that nothing is more responsible for our freedom in this country than freedom of the press. There are countries where it has not existed, and there are reasons why it is difficult. At the same time, all riders not on germane subjects are undesirable. You could introduce 20 such riders, and maybe some of them would be even more desirable, but they have no part in this measure, as far as I can see, or should not have.

Mr. KEE. It certainly would have a tendency to induce other countries to place the same or other restrictions in their appropriation measures, would it not?

Mr. MEYER. It seems to me it would tend to delay and possibly completely obstruct the action contemplated.

Mr. KEE. I think that is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Dr. Eaton?

Mr. EATON. I was greatly interested in Mr. Meyer's tribute to his editor, Mr. Jones, and I hope that Mr. Jones, when he reads the report of these hearings, will recognize that there is a good basis for an advance in salary.

Chairman BLOOM. The Governor did not hear that.

Mr. EATON. There is one question, Mr. Meyer. The Judge has referred to it. I read the Post every morning, the first thing I do——

Mr. MEYER. Thank you.

Mr. EATON. This morning I was greatly discouraged by it.

Mr. MEYER. There was a discouraging first page.

Mr. EATON. Yes; and all other newspapers are discouraging, because they indicate world-wide unrest, passions, force, murder——

Mr. MEYER. And violence.

Mr. EATON. Violence of every description. Your paper and every paper carries the terrible message to us that we are worse off at this moment than we were when the actual battles were going on.

Now, I think I will ask you as a statesman and a very distinguished thinker if you could cover for us what the Judge has hinted at. There is a growing feeling among all our people, that is manifest, as to the possibility and practical necessity of this greatest of all nations, since it has to carry the chief burden of meeting this starvation condition through UNRRA and other agencies, exercising its authority further to quell some of these disturbances and insist upon decent conditions throughout the world. In other words, so far we are taking our place in the world as an eleemosynary institution, as the greatest in all history, and as an international power with authority to get things based upon a reasonable peace basis throughout the world in which we have to live and where we play a very important part. Can you give us any suggestion how to formulate that and make it possible for our statesmen to begin at least to show that this country, while it has responsibilities of a moral character, also has the responsibility inherent in its power to assist the world to get rid of the conditions that make our eleemosynary work so absolutely essential?

I do not know whether I make myself clear or not.

Mr. MEYER. I think you do, perfectly clear. I hinted at the fact that we have got to watch peace as well as war, and in the fullest sense of the word. This feeding is merely to create a condition through which you can do anything at all, because if you are going to have starvation you are going to have anarchy, disorder, rioting, shooting, burning, and inability to do the constructive thing that you are talking about. With the preliminary of feeding adequately—and I do not mean bounteously—you can then begin to work on economic reconstruction. Again, that is our power and our responsibility, and no one else has the ability to do it. Therefore the burden is on the strong. We recognize it at home. Economic reconstruction may furnish opportunities where conditions can be properly imposed which will tend to accomplish a better order in the world and a better standard of living for the people whose standard of life is so low as to tend to produce disorder. The kind of a world we want to live in is our kind of a world, where we have freedom of opportunity and liberty

without license. But how to get that in countries which have been, as Russia was, 250 years behind the times not very long ago, as to her standard of living, and although better, it is still very low, and in China and among the peasants of Spain and all the rest of the world, is a long, hard program, and it can only be done with a consistent policy and an intelligent policy; and we need it, if we want order in the world, because of a very simple fact, I think, which in the rapid course of events we overlook.

As long as there was no communication of ideas between the oppressed people or the backward people or the low-standard-of-living people, if they did not see pictures of workmen in America going to their factories in automobiles, they had no desire for such a condition and they had no knowledge or ever dreamed of anything like that. But today the backward peoples are in position to hear and learn and see a very different standard of life, and that creates a demand in them and a basis for progress ultimately, and it threatens disorder if they do not see progress in that direction.

I am quite convinced that the Government of Russia is disturbed over the fact that their standard of living 25 years after their revolution is as low as it is. I am not saying that anybody is to blame. Certainly in the last 15 years they have been at war or preparing for war; but they know that their people have been out in the world and have seen and come back and talked about a different way of living, and it worries them.

I think the revolution in Spain was definitely the result of more information about a better way of living in more progressive countries; and I think there is a great change in the speed of transmission of ideas in the last 20 years, which is a disturbing factor. It is a basis for progress, properly controlled and not having restrictions against it. On the other hand, it cannot be done overnight, obviously, in any of these countries. But the job of making progress in an orderly way is a big and complicated operation. It takes time and strength and power. We have the strength and power. Have we the time, is the question.

Mr. EATON. I sincerely hope that you and Mr. Jones will show us the way, because I do not believe that our Nation can go on very long carrying a bread basket to a gangster world without carrying a club along also to make the gangsters behave.

Mr. MEYER. There is one thing sure, that if you do not take the bread basket you will have a gangster world.

I do not think you ought to be too surprised, when forces as violent and as extensive are at play over a period of years such as we have been through—you cannot expect a hurricane to become a dead calm the next morning. I do not think that you and I ought to be too pessimistic about that. I believe that the world desires to survive. You like to survive, do you not?

Mr. EATON. Yes.

Mr. MEYER. I do, and the world as a whole does. So always remember that. The world is not hari-kari minded.

Mr. EATON. You have said that I ought not to be surprised. I have been dealing with what is inside men and women all my life. That is my job. I am never surprised at anything, either good or bad, in myself or in anyone else, and I would be surprised if the world were not in chaos; but I am eager and have been for years to have these unconscious and half-conscious feelings of our people turned toward a

policy which will make this country have the authority, after it carries the bread basket and the clothing through UNRRA and other great institutions to the starving world, somewhere, somehow to see to it that conditions are established that will bring peace. I do not expect that we are going to have a world civilization in less than a hundred years. You and I will probably be valetudinarians by that time.

Mr. MEYER. I am sure that I quite share your worries and apprehensions, but I am not a defeatist and I am not going to be one. I have been optimist from conviction, but if I were not I would be one from necessity. So we agree thoroughly.

Mr. EATON. Yes. I do not want to be stigmatized here as a pessimist. I believe we all agree that this is God's world and He never created mankind to send them over the precipice into irretrievable ruin and failure, although I have sometimes questioned whether an error was made when He took the monkeys out of the tree and cut their tails off and made men of them. I think they would have had a better time heaving coconuts at each other instead of bombs. I might suggest that with your financial background you are in a better position to be an optimist than the ordinary Congressman.

That is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Richards?

Mr. RICHARDS. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Rogers?

Mrs. ROGERS. I am delighted to hear Mr. Meyer. He has done much for the national defense. I am very sorry that I was late. Our Governor is here, Mr. Chairman, just prior to his sailing for Europe in order to try to secure the city of Boston as the seat of the United Nations, and I would like to ask Mr. Meyer if he will not give us an editorial along that line.

Mr. MEYER. I am a native son of California, Mrs. Rogers. I grew up in San Francisco. I am afraid of doing something that might make some old friends call me a native son of a different kind.

Mrs. ROGERS. Massachusetts is the second best place.

Mr. MEYER. I do not think I have much influence in that matter.

Mrs. ROGERS. I am not going to ask any questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jarman?

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Meyer, you made some reference to some people thinking the war ended when the shooting stopped. That reminds me of the probable reason for the desire of so many wives and mothers and fathers to have their sons come home immediately, because they are tired, because they want them to continue their education or because they need them at home. While the war was on they were perfectly willing to make any sacrifice necessary, and their sons were too, but now that the war is over they think their sons ought to be home day after tomorrow.

Mr. MEYER. Somebody said last night, in a conversation to which I was listening, involving the discussion of what the foreign policy of the United States is, that the answer is: When will they come home? I am afraid that is unfortunately, yes tragically, true.

Mr. JARMAN. I am convinced that the main reason prompting the desire of so many of them to return home immediately and that of their relatives that they do so, is the inability to understand that

their presence in the service perhaps in a foreign land, is a part of the war. It is at least an aftermath of it.

There are a number of bills before the House on that subject. I think there is a bill to bring everybody home who is under 21; another bill to bring everybody home who is between 21 and 26; another to bring everyone home who is between 26 and 32. I think there is a bill before the House to bring every soldier and sailor in the United States Army and Navy home immediately, which is of course impossible. Furthermore, nearly all of the authors of those bills have filed petitions to bring the bills on the floor under a 20-minute discussion rule and to pass them or fail to do so after such limiteddiscussion. For my part, I sign no petition and vote for no bill brought on the floor in that way, because I do not think that that is the proper way to legislate. But your reference to the war ending when the shooting stops impressed me with the belief that that was probably responsible for this general unfortunate attitude.

You referred to the delay which would probably result from our amending the legislation relating to UNRRA and thereby possibly causing 44 other nations to do the same. I think we should not overlook the fact, in considering that delay, that UNRRA in its very nature is an emergency proposition, of which time is the essence. Therefore delay is more dangerous and harmful in this particular endeavor than possibly in any other endeavor in which the United States and the world are engaged at this moment.

I thoroughly agree with your desire for freedom of the press in the United States and in the world, but I am wondering what you think about the possibility or the desirability for the United States dictating to other countries whether they shall have freedom of the press in their own countries. Should we do that?

Mr. MEYER. No; I am opposed to that without qualification. I am opposed to all new conditions introduced into the agreement previously reached. I think influence can be brought to bear on the administration of UNRRA that is satisfactory. Certainly it has no part in this legislation and would only delay action.

Mr. JARMAN. Thank you very much.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Mundt?

Mr. MUNDT. I share entirely the statement that Mr. Meyer made insofar as the bulk of the testimony was concerned which dealt with the need for relief in various portions of the world and the responsibility which the United States has in that connection. Of course that was the gist of his testimony, because he looks at it from the outside, as a citizen interested in having America play its full part in matters of that kind. I do not know how far to interrogate him concerning methods, because that is something beyond his control and beyond his immediate concern. I think that most of the members of the committee, probably all, subscribe a hundred percent to your statement, Mr. Meyer, when it refers to the terrific conditions which confront the world from the standpoint of food and clothing and medicine and rehabilitation and from the standpoint of our responsibility.

Some of us who have seen UNRRA in operation in various portions of the world are a bit concerned about some of the methods being employed. You have made the blanket statement that you do not believe Congress should add any riders or amendments or

directives concerning the administration of UNRRA, and with that I cannot quite agree. I could not even agree that if we should make such attempts to do so it would mean that some of the other 44 contributing nations might also make attempts. That may be correct, but I feel as Congressman Eaton does, that our responsibility to the distressed world goes beyond the mere contribution of cash.

I think the world needs our money in this situation; it needs food and clothing. It needs them beyond the amount provided for in the sum of $1,350,000,000 which is proposed. I think it needs a lot of assistance to provide relief organizations and other groups, but I think that fully as much as it needs our money and our food, the world today needs our leadership and our administrative genius, and I am not at all sure but what it needs it in the same proportion or more than it needs our money.

We contribute 72 percent of the finances for UNRRA. Certainly in the field where the actual administrative decisions are made we contribute substantially less than 72 percent. I do not believe that we should hog-tie Congress in an appropriation of this kind and say that America, which contributes $1,350,000,000, should have no more say in making that contribution than El Salvador has,which contributes $5,000, simply because we both contribute 1 percent of our national income. I think the mere fact that we have this considerably larger income and that 1 percent of it means a contribution of $1,350,000,000, indicates that probably the genius of America that helped produce this greater income, its greater development, its greater leadership, its greater contribution in the war, means that we should make a substantially greater contribution from the standpoint of leadership and administration in the making of the peace and in the handling of these relief problems. I think that sometimes riders or amendments to this end are very important.

You have said that you were opposed to the so-called freedom-of-the-press amendment. I knew that before you came, because, like Mr. Eaton, I read the editorials in the Post. I will not go into any argument with you, because that is a matter that I shall take up with Governor Lehman at the proper time since he is the administrator of UNRRA.

But, to demonstrate what I mean when I say that I do not think we should tie the hands of Congress, I refer you to another amendment which you did not mention but which you are opposed to, I presume, on the blanket theory that all riders suggested by Congress should be defeated because they might in some way or other delay operations of UNRRA or might encourage other amendments.

Congressman Herter, of Massachusetts, who has, among other Members of Congress, visited UNRRA and studied its operations in Europe this summer, suggested during the proceedings of the House that an amendment be added. I have the exact wording here, but it is not necessary to read it. It would authorize the administration of UNRRA to retain title to the trucks which are used in the distribution of UNRRA supplies and would provide UNRRA with the authority to direct the utilization made of the fuel which is supplied by UNRRA for transportation purposes.

Some of the reasons for that amendment, which I think led to its approval by Congress and which I hope will lead to its approval by the Senate, grew out of the fact that we observed over in Europe

that sometimes these trucks supplied by UNRRA to the various governments who then operated them were not used exclusively for relief and rehabilitation, as was intended. In Yugoslavia we found them used in part to haul soldiers around for Tito. We found them in part used to haul politicians around preparatory to the election, if you can call it that. I refer to it as a political parade rather than an election. There was not any form of election from the standpoint of Americans, and scarcely according to Balkan standards.

I should hate to permit to be read into the record, without challenge of any kind, the blanket statement and the blanket proposition that Congress should attach no amendments to UNRRA, even though in our opinion they might lead to greater relief, greater rehabilitation, greater desired results than the money which we appropriate. I think that we have a responsibility which corresponds to the contribution which we make in that connection.

Let me give you another illustration, Mr. Meyer. In Yugoslavia, for example, we found that a specified quota of foodstuffs had been supplied Yugoslavia by UNRRA, and the same identical quota of the same specific types of foodstuffs was supplied by Yugoslavia in export shipments to Russia, which certainly is not in correspondence with the purposes that Congress had in mind.

Another illustration: The UNRRA administrator and his staff in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, told us when we were there conferring with him—and he was not an American; he was a Russian—that one of the big difficulties in getting foodstuffs to the native people of Yugoslavia, especially in the smaller villages and in the mountains where they are starving today, was the shortage of labor. He said that UNRRA foodstuffs had been supplied very effectively by the central UNRRA administration; they had been procured but were piling up in vast amounts in the seaports of Yugoslavia and they could not get them distributed. We said, "Why?" He said, "Because we are short of labor." So, in conference with Marshal Tito, we brought that point out and asked, "Why don't you demobilize some of the 800,000 troops that you have walking up and down the streets and highways of Yugoslavia?"

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair will have to insist upon your asking the witness a question. He is the witness, not you. Kindly ask the witness the question that you would like to have him answer. You have consumed 10 minutes already.

Mr. MUNDT. You may cut me off any time you care to, but I am going to continue.

Chairman BLOOM. Pardon me, but we have got to get along. Kindly ask your question.

Mr. MUNDT. I am not sure that I am going to ask a question. I am making an observation. You may cut me off if you wish.

Chairman BLOOM. Ask your question.

Mr. MUNDT. I am not sure that I am going to ask a question. May I be permitted to continue my observation?

Chairman BLOOM. You have been continuing for 10 minutes. You will go under the 5-minute rule unless you are going to ask him a question. Mr. Meyer is the witness. If you want to ask him a question, ask it. You are making a nice speech.

Mr. MUNDT. I will ask the reporter to read back the last part of what I was saying.

(The reporter read as follows:)

Why don't you demobilize some of the 800,000 troops that you have walking up and down the streets and highways of Yugoslavia?

Mr. MUNDT. That was a question I asked Marshal Tito—not Mr. Meyer. He said that the others could get material and aid in the distribution of UNRRA supplies required by the needy people of Yugoslavia; and his point of view was that they required 800,000 troops and that they hoped to demobilize them in the future, or words to that effect.

With that observation before you, Mr. Meyer, I wonder whether you do not share with those of us who are in Congress the feeling that we should exercise when we can and as we can the legislative procedure which is required to make certain that the maximum amount of UNRRA supplies is provided to the needy people of Europe in the shortest possible amount of time.

Mr. MEYER. I think, Mr. Congressman, that this is a proceeding under an arrangement made at a conference of nations, now 45, and subscribed to by 45 nations, and that the place for debating the terms and conditions is at the conference and no doubt other conferences where again matters of policy and administration can be raised; and I think there must be a procedure by which whatever is desirable to be done can be brought up at the conferences of UNRRA where all nations are represented, rather than by unilateral action, which is what you are suggesting, because we are the major contributor. There is a procedure by which desirable amendments can be made, I am sure, because this is not a permanent organization nor a long-time organization. Time is of the essence, as one of our friends said this morning; and if you are going to introduce conditions that are going to take time and cause delay, you might as well be honest about it and reject the appropriation, because indirect default by delay will result in the starvation that this whole measure is intended to prevent. If you are going to starve people by delay, you might just as well starve them by refusal to appropriate, and be done with it. That is the test we have got.

Mr. MUNDT. Delay is what we are trying to reduce by these amendments.

Mr. MEYER. I do not know anything about trucks in Yugoslavia or of soldiers, but if an abuse or mistake or fault exists somewhere, there are ways of curing it without introducing legislation which will delay action where time is of the essence. That is my view. I am not here to speak for Congress. I am cognizant of their responsibility and authority, but I do not think, Mr. Congressman, that you would go so far as to say, I am sure, that because we are the largest contributor we have a right to dictate, because if you do, we are also the largest and most powerful nation in the world, but we cannot dictate to our fellow nations. That is not a part of our program, as I understand it.

Mr. MUNDT. I certainly would not go so far as to say that because we are the largest and most important nation in the world we have a right to dictate, nor do I believe that the world is going to go along as well as it should if this largest and most important nation in the world supplies only the cash and not its counsel and advice on these very pestiferous questions.

Mr. MEYER. We have many places where we can supply counsel and advice and use our influence in behalf of the starving people.

Mr. MUNDT. I think that concludes my questioning, Mr. Chairman, with this observation, that in my opinion there are steps which Congress can take which will speed relief to the needy people of Europe, and that is the only thing in which I am interested; and it is that thing, I am sure, in which Mr. Meyer is interested. We may have different methods of bringing that about.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jonkman?

Mr. JONKMAN. I have no questions or observations.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Douglas of Illinois?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. If we make unilateral rules outside of the organization of which we are a member, do you think that that is a dangerous precedent in connection with our dealings with other United Nations machinery?

Mr. MEYER. I tried to indicate that I think it is a very dangerous thing to begin.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I think all of us feel that the best interest of the needy is the main objective of the functioning of UNRRA. I believe mistakes have been made, and probably there has been discrimination at times when we have local agencies and local governments in highly chaotic regions, and there doubtless have been mistakes. Do you think it would be legitimate for this committee, or perhaps the full House, to give instructions to our American representative at the UNRRA council to use our influence toward making certain that these errors or laxities shall not occur, perhaps insisting on labels being kept of the donor of the goods? I understand that at some places Members of Congress have thought the labels had been removed or changed. As a matter of fact, our representative this summer was successful in persuading the whole council to his view in connection with two major issues for which he was spokesman. Do you think it would be proper for us to instruct him, and the proper authorization would come, as you have suggested, through the UNRRA Council?

Mr. MEYER. I think congressional committees are accustomed to calling up administrative bodies in connection with advice. I have had a good deal of experience in that way myself, and in the way of inquiries and full discussion of matters that come before the committee. A committee of this nature that considers legislation and takes responsibility for it before the House certainly has a right, in case of questions which arise, or on information coming up after the legislation is passed, to inquire into it and discuss it frankly and freely. House committees know how to "make friends and influence people," I think.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. That is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Bolton?

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Meyer, I have been very much interested in your point of view as a member of the press and as so well known a publisher, that you feel there would be no particular benefit, but that it would make for difficulty to have in existence wider access to information in the UNRRA countries, and that you feel it would be detrimental to the whole program. Perhaps I have the matter very confused in my own mind, but my understanding of what you call the rider—it was an amendment, as I understood it—was that there

should be freedom of access to information regarding UNRRA, that there was not in any way, shape, or manner any desire on the part of this country to insist that the countries involved should give themselves over to an entirely new method, namely, the freedom of the press. Am I right or wrong?

Mr. MEYER. No; I think you are quite right. But it has been talked about as freedom of the press. Freedom of information as to the direction of UNRRA's activities would perhaps go a little beyond that. I can imagine that in the beginning there might have been some difficulty about it, from my information, in a general way. But Mr. Corson is here. You can ask him. Governor Lehman certainly knows. There has not been any difficulty of any substantial character in connection with UNRRA's operations since some time back.

Mrs. BOLTON I was asking particularly whether you had conceived of the amendment as I had.

Mr. MEYER. Yes; but whatever the amendment is, I think the information that is sought to be provided by the amendment is now available. Second, I think the objection to an amendment to an agreement already executed by 45 nations is dominant in my mind. I do not think it ought to be amended at all except by joint action with constituent members.

Mrs. BOLTON. I want it very clear on the record that I am not talking at all about freedom of the press in any one of these countries. I had in mind merely that we may have free access to knowledge of what goes on in the expenditure of all these dollars in connection with the work that we are trying to do. There are a great many things that slow up the task of relief, and not the least of them is the fact that it is an international organization that has the task to do.

Mr. MEYER. My objection is based on the principle that there should be no amendment by any one party to an agreement which affects the terms of the agreement. I do not care how innocuous it may be.

Mrs. BOLTON. Then, any other part of the bill you would object just as strenuously to, because there are certain parts of the bill as it came to the floor that already had changes before any amendments were suggested. But would you be just as opposed to any change in the original bill?

Mr. MEYER. I cannot generalize about changes in language, and so forth, or about innocuous or unimportant things. This has achieved importance due to the fact of discussion, perhaps, more than anything else. But, anyway, it is a rather substantial amendment, I think.

Mrs. BOLTON. I want it very clear in the record that I am not talking of insisting that those countries must go into "freedom of the press" as a policy for them. It is simply freedom to know what goes on with the UNRRA funds.

Thank you very much.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. Mr. Meyer, I wish your daughter could have been here this morning. I think she would have been very proud.

Mr. MEYER. She always is.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. I am in agreement with you about all amendments to this piece of legislation; but the State Department has said, the statement given by Congressman O'Neal, on the floor, that we have had observers in the countries where UNRRA is functioning who are able to make reports as to the work done by UNRRA, if this amendment were to remain and be passed through both Houses, do you feel that it would question the integrity of our allies and probably jeopardize the good will without which we can hope for no peace?

Mr. MEYER. I do not see how it can be helpful. It might be hurtful. But I cannot specify what foreign countries' reactions would be in the future.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. Just because we have the most powerful nation in the world, we should not make the mistake at this time of thinking that our leadership can be imposed by force?

Mr. MEYER. I am sure that our country does not want to do that. At the same time, other countries perhaps have a responsibility for our power and strength which could hardly fail to be translated into suspicion and fear if we began to take arbitrary unilateral action on almost any front. We know we are great; we have known that for a long time, but I do not think we want to junk the appreciation of the proportions of our power and strength that the people abroad have. They are respectful of it and hopeful of it. As I said in my statement, salvation to them must come from us if from anywhere. But I do not think we realize the true proportions of the relationship between the United States of America in its power and strength and the understanding and appreciation of the rest of the world, because we are so familiar with it over a long period, and we have seen it grow, and we understand it, but the rest of the world has only seen it in action and in full strength during the last year of the war. But their respect for power and strength is a kind of thing that, unless we exercise it wisely and intelligently and temperately and with justice and with respect for other people, may easily become the source of creating a body of nations afraid of us, fearing us, suspicious of us, and maybe united against us, because of our tremendous preponderance of power. That is the way I understand it.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. Thank you.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Wadsworth?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Ryter?

Mr. RYTER. Mr. Meyer, do you not think that the American public is entitled to information of abuses that have occurred in the distribution of these goods?

Mr. MEYER. I do; and I imagine it is available.

Mr. RYTER. Does it not strike you as rather a curious and unique situation that those things were not publicized until Members of Congress went on a tour and incidentally investigated the subject and found that those conditions did exist?

Mr. MEYER. I will say this: I do not know anything about the organization and the administration of UNRRA in detail, only what I get from the news. But to build an enormous organization at the time they started in, with the manpower situation as it was and with the demands from all the armed services, and every other kind of manpower consumer, it was a very difficult task; and if they did not

do a perfect job, I am not very much surprised. If there were lapses or omissions, I am not surprised. If things were called to the attention of the administration of UNRRA and it did not result in correction, I certainly would complain and criticize. But the building of the organization actually took place under very difficult conditions. Mr. Corson knows about that matter. I would have hated the job of trying to build it myself at that time.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Corson will be the next witness.

Mr. RYTER. May I continue?

Chairman BLOOM. Yes; please do.

Mr. RYTER. If these alleged conditions actually exist, do you not think that we need at least a tightening up in the administrative end of UNRRA?

Mr. MEYER. I do not know anything about the administrative end of UNRRA, because I have had no contact with it. I only know what I read.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYTER. Surely.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. UNRRA only started to function in Greece this last April, and the other countries came later. It would have been hard to have received many reports before the Members of Congress started on tour this summer and spring.

Mr. RYTER. We had observers in all these countries, and they furnished information, and that information should have been available if they made the reports.

That is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very much.

Mr. MEYER. Mr. Chairman, before I conclude, for fear that some of you gentlemen do not remember the papers they read in the past, may I be permitted to place some of our editorials in the record?

Chairman BLOOM. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The editorials referred to and submitted by the witness are as follows:)

[An editorial reprinted from the Washington Post, Tuesday, October 23, 1945]

FUNDS FOR UNRRA

There is occasion for concern over some of the amendments which have been proposed in connection with the $550,000,000 requested appropriation for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. This sum represents the balance pledged to the international organization when Congress authorized an American contribution of $1,350,000,000. It is needed now, urgently needed, for the purchase of foodstuffs and other supplies to be shipped into the liberated countries of Europe in which UNRRA is operating. UNRRA's activities were badly impeded in its early days by a scarcity fo shipping and supplies. Now that shipping and supplies are relatively plentiful, it would be tragic if the organization were hampered by a lack of funds. The needs of Europe are immediate and brook no delay. If we are to help the helpless through the desperate winter ahead, there must be no break in the UNRRA pipe line.

Representative Herter of Massachusetts, after a 2-month tour of European countries served by UNRRA, brought back to the House last week a lucid and illuminating report on the operations of the agency. It was an extremely favorable report for the most part, and Mr. Herter was wholly sympathetic to UNRRA's aims. He observed, however, that "in some of the countries which I visited, bitter criticisms were voiced against the UNRRA operation, often by our own officials, because of the feeling that too little was known as to what became of

UNRRA goods once they entered the country, and too little was known of the operations of the government with respect to its own economic problems."

To correct these defects, Mr. Herter has proposed that no part of the American contribution to UNRRA shall be used in any country unless it certifies, among other things, that press representatives "will be granted full liberty to observe and report upon the distribution and utilization of relief and rehabilitation supplies and services." There can be no doubt that UNRRA would be aided, and that American confidence in its activities would be enhanced, by unhampered reporting on the part of American correspondents. It is much less certain, however, that this freedom ought to be brought about in the manner suggested by Mr. Herter. We should like very much, of course, to have American newspapermen unleashed in countries where their movements are now restricted; and we hope that the State Department will continue to press for this right. But we doubt the wisdom of obtaining it through the threat of withholding food from the hungry. Freedom for American press representatives is a political matter, however desirable; and the attachment of it as a condition upon an act of charity smacks of playing international politics with relief.

The conditions under which UNRRA aid is extended were agreed upon by the representatives of 44 nations, and, properly executed, they afford abundant assurance that relief will go to the genuinely needy. If the United States imposes special conditions for the use of its contribution, other nations may be strongly tempted to do likewise respecting the funds that they donate. The upshot may be to hamstring UNRRA completely. The absurd lengths to which the attachment of special conditions can go was illustrated by amendments proposed by Representative Clarence Brown which would forbid the use of American funds in any country which interferes internally with freedom of the press or imposes any censorship upon information in time of peace. This would make impossible, for example, the provision of any relief for the Philippines, because General MacArthur feels that press limitations are still necessary there. Perhaps we had better let UNRRA tend strictly to the administration of relief and leave it to the State Department to bring about the political conditions we desire.

[The Washington Post, October 29, 1945]

Food for Europe

Britain's Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, made an impassioned appeal in the House of Commons for aid for millions of Europeans facing starvation or near-starvation during the coming winter. Reports of the debate in the House of Commons made it plain that the British have a sympathetic understanding of the urgency of relief needs that we as a people do not fully grasp. That is not surprising: The British have endured years of deprivation. They know the meaning of terror; they feel a sense of kinship with the Continent—spiritual as well as material kinship—that we cannot possibly share. Their concern for the future of Europe has already taken tangible form. In spite of the fact that rationing continues at home, the British have sent 800,000 tons of food to Europe since D-day, and shipments are expected to exceed a million tons before the end of the year.

But the feature of the Commons debate that sets it on a high plane is that Mr. Bevin's appeal for aid was made on behalf of "the ordinary man and woman who were not parties to the quarrel." Mr. Bevin and like-minded colleagues recognize a responsibility to succor the miserable Germans, millions of whom are the victims of mass deportations no less horrible than the mass displacements of alien peoples for which the Nazis were responsible. They realize, too, that the complete collapse of Germany, an integral part of the European economy, would be a calamity not only for Germans but also for countless other Europeans in need of German coal, of market outlets that a rehabilitated Germany could supply, and of goods that Germany could export in payment.

Some of the criticism of Russia and this country, charged by one speaker with following a "lunatic policy" in Germany, seems unjust not to say pharisaical. For, after all, the treatment of occupied Germany is based upon Allied decisions made at Potsdam. The British cannot dissociate themselves from mistakes and errors that they helped to bring about. Politically speaking, it would be wiser for them to make their appeals to their allies as penitents rather than as critics breathing an air of superior virtue. However, it is the substance, rather than the manner of appeal, that should engage our attention. We are pledged to aid and

assist the rehabilitation of Europe. Yet Congress delays voting the funds it has promised to enable UNRRA to continue its work of saving from starvation the peoples of the liberated countries of southeastern Europe, utterly lacking means of self-help. Without our contribution UNRRA will soon have to suspend operations. And unless the Germans get more food to supplement their present inadequate allowance—food that we alone are in position to provide—the situation there will go from bad to worse.

Until the threat of starvation is removed, Europe cannot effect those enduring political and economic reforms that our hard-won victories were expected to guarantee. But material aid alone will not solve Europe's problems. "I sometimes think," Mr. Bevin said, "that the awful black-out over Europe is creating a great spiritual hunger more devastating even than physical hunger." This is a timely warning that no nation, however self-centered, can afford to ignore; for spiritual unrest is likely to lead to political chaos and revolutionary unheavals that do not respect international boundary lines.

[The Washington Post, November 3, 1945]

Relief and Politics

The Brown amendment which the House on Thursday tacked onto the UNRRA appropriation is at once a mischievous irrelevancy and an administrative absurdity. It pretends to assure freedom to American newspapermen in countries where UNRRA operates. Press freedom is, of course, a laudable goal. And espousal of it, like espousal of the sanctity of American motherhood, seems an easy avenue to political glorification. It has nothing to do, however, with the filling of bellies which crave not news but food. We do not believe that the House Republicans were prudent, or even politic, in making a party issue of this specious amendment. They have laid themselves open to the ugly charge of playing politics with relief.

The Brown amendment has to be read to be believed. It provides that none of the funds appropriated "shall be furnished to or used in any country of which the controlling government * * * maintains any barrier—technical, political, legal, or economic—to obtaining, dispatching and disseminating the news * * *." Such barriers, wherever they exist, are lamentable. But the fact is that they do exist and are certain to be continued to some extent in a number of the countries which have undergone recent political upheavals. The people who live in those countries may be no less hungry, however, than the people in countries adhering more closely to our own concepts of press freedom.

In point of fact, every country maintains some barriers to obtaining news. Newspapermen were excluded, for example, from the executive session of the House Appropriations Committee which acted on the UNRRA request for funds. A literal interpretation of the Brown amendment would mean, therefore, that not even the United States would be eligible for UNRRA aid. General Eisenhower necessarily maintains certain barriers to dispatching news from Germany; the Brown amendment would make it impossible, therefore, for UNRRA to give assistance to the displaced persons now inside the Reich. The Russians—at whom the Brown amendment is patently aimed—are not going to be forced into abandonment of their deplorable censorship by this sort of blackmail; all that we can get out of such tactics is a further deterioration of our relations with them.

The Republican Congressional Food Study Committee reported just a few days ago that "the $550,000,000 remaining to complete the current contribution of the United States toward UNRRA's operating expenses should be made available immediately. This is a national obligation. It is unthinkable that the United States should now default on the commitments it has made to UNRRA and which UNRRA in turn has made, in reliance upon us, to the people of the liberated countries of Europe." We cannot now impose a special condition upon our contribution to UNRRA without just such an unthinkable default on our commitments. The Brown amendment imposes a condition which is, in any case, impossible of fulfillment and which, if enforced, will condemn millions to hunger. UNRRA was established not for the purpose of opening foreign doors to American newspapermen but for the simple, humanitarian purpose of getting food to starving human beings. We hope the Senate will have a better sense of values.

[An editorial reprinted from the Washington Post, Sunday, November 11, 1945]

OUR TRAGIC LET-DOWN

American prestige in the world had never before reached such a peak as was attained at the close of the war. Millions of people in all parts of the earth looked upon the United States as their chief liberator. By our tremendous contribution to victory we had earned and won the moral leadership of mankind in the fight for a better world. Now—less than 4 months after VJ-day—it must be acknowledged that our influence in the shaping of tomorrow is critically sagging.

In our opinion, every citizen ought to be asking himself with the utmost gravity what is the reason for this tragic let-down. Why have we suddenly relinquished our vigor in pursuit of aims which only a few months ago were deemed worthy of the sacrifice of our sons? Can it be that peace and democracy and decent regard for human life are any less desirable than they were at the height of our military effort? That is unthinkable. Yet we are confronted by a shocking failure to carry through some of our simple obligations growing out of the war.

The most glaring example of this dereliction is the failure of Congress to appropriate the funds that it had previously pledged for relief of the starving people of Europe and Asia. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which celebrated its second anniversary on Friday, is nearly at the end of its rope. Its food shipments to war-devasted Europe are being curbed for want of funds. For the great democratic power which poured out billions to supply the world with weapons is quibbling over a relatively small sum for starving women and children.

Our shameful position is exposed by a roll call of the nations in default in their obligations to UNRRA. A total of $598,594,000 is due that lifesaving agency, and of that total the United States owes $550,000,000. In other words, the richest and most powerful nation in the world is alone in default in any substantial amount. We were expected to lead the world in binding up the wounds from battle and in salvaging the wrecked lives of people in the formerly occupied countries. Instead, we are trailing so far behind that the whole idea of world-wide relief for the victims of war is hanging in the balance.

Foremost among the causes for this critical situation at the moment is the confusion of rescue operations with freedom of the press. No one is more interested in promoting world-wide freedom of expression than ourselves. But when people are suffering cruelly from hunger we can no more ask them to embrace freedom of the press in return for food than we can buy a change in politics or religion by domestic relief grants. It is an outrageous misconception of democratic principles to suppose that they can be fostered by this means. Throw up freedom of the press as a barrier between starving people and the food they crave and we shall create everlasting hatred of that principle and those who so stupidly espouse it.

It is time for the American people to wake up to the fact that we are losing the precious advantages purchased with the blood of our sons because of petty and short-sighted deviation from our main course. To suffer a million casualties for the sake of peace with freedom and then leave a sick, devasted, hungry, and disorganized world to its own misery would be nothing short of insane. The American people would never deliberately consent to such a profligate deflation of our victory. Yet we are drifting into a situation of dissillusionment, despair, and lack of unity for want of an aggressive policy of pulling the world together in reconstruction and peace. That drifting cannot continue without disaster. And we do not believe that it will continue if the leaders who see the dangers ahead let the people know what is happening and use all their power to swing the Nation back onto its true course.

Chairman BLOOM. Governor Lehman would like to make a statement.

Mr. LEHMAN. I want to make a statement in response to what Congressman Ryter said and the implications of a number of statements that have been made here today and previously. I want to make it very, very clear, and I say this with all the force at my command, that, in my opinion, UNRRA has nothing to apologize for at this time with regard to the conduct of its affairs. UNRRA, of course, has made mistakes. UNRRA has omitted certain things. UNRRA will continue to make mistakes. Those mistakes are inherent in the

kind of work which UNRRA has been charged to perform. But I think it is wrong to emphasize, as has been emphasized by a number of people, the mistakes that have been made by UNRRA, most of which could not have been avoided, without telling the story of UNRRA's accomplishments.

Even though UNRRA may have made mistakes, it has delivered the goods and is delivering the goods. In October we sent 520,000 tons of supplies overseas. Our best information is that in November we will send nearly 800,000 tons of supplies overseas. UNRRA is the only means by which hundreds of thousands of people have been saved from starvation. It is the only agency by which millions of people can be saved from suffering and starvation during the months that lie ahead.

Any agency, military or otherwise, any organization with work as difficult and as far-flung as that of UNRRA, was bound to make mistakes. It is no more justifiable to emphasize those mistakes which UNRRA may have made in the past because of conditions generally over which it had no control than to emphasize mistakes which the military has made without emphasizing the accomplishments of the military. The military has made mistakes, but we dare not forget that the military has won the war. UNRRA has made mistakes, but we dare not, or should not, overlook the fact that UNRRA has accomplished a tremendous amount in the face of incredible difficulties, difficulties which have never had a parallel in the history of the world, because there has never been a relief undertaking that could even approach UNRRA's responsibility in geographic terms and complexities and the number of people that are being helped—or in the wide character of the work that has been carried on.

I have been listening here, and I have been hearing through other channels of this mistake that has been made by UNRRA and that mistake that has been made by UNRRA, but I have heard very few people emphasize the accomplishments of UNRRA which are very real, and I think in which this country can take great pride.

I have taken the liberty of stating my views, and I think they were timely because I think that when one points out mistakes and omissions that one must, at the same time, point out the far greater accomplishments, the far greater achievements, and the far greater results that have accrued to the suffering people abroad through the efforts of UNRRA.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very much, Governor.

STATEMENT OF JOHN CORSON, WASHINGTON POST, WASHINGTON, D, C., FORMERLY CONNECTED WITH UNRRA

Chairman BLOOM. Our next witness is Mr. John Corson of the Washington Post, formerly with UNRRA. Do you wish to make a statement, Mr. Corson?

Mr. CORSON. Yes, sir; Mr. Chairman.

I most thoroughly concur in the views expressed by Mr. Meyer on two views specifically which we believe eminently desirable, because this country alone can make available the food and supplies that are essential to the maintenance of the peoples of Europe and China during the next winter, and making that food and those supplies available means the authorization of the appropriation which is before you.

Secondly, I heartily concur with the point of view expressed by Mr. Meyer, that it would be wholly undesirable to have our participation in this country limited by any proviso that the recipient countries shall give free access to representatives of the American press and radio. Desirable as that end is, it seems to me that this is a poor place to place that limitation, or a poor means through which to obtain that end.

I realize that the objective of this proposed addition is in order that accurate information about UNRRA and the distribution of supplies and provisions by UNRRA should be made available to the American people, the people of the country that contribute the major part of those supplies. I realize that that is the objective, and yet it seems to me that that objective does not necessitate the inclusion of any such amendment as is suggested here, nor will it be attained by that means, at least not alone by that means. I do not believe it is needed for the reason that I am quite well aware, through my own experience with UNRRA, and a very agreeable experience it has been, and it is a great privilege that I have had of being affiliated with UNRRA, I am aware of the insistence that UNRRA has made from the very beginning that it should have observers in each of these countries to see what is going on, and to insure that the funds or the supplies are equitably distributed among the peoples of the recipient countries.

That insistence of UNRRA is reflected in the agreement made with each of the countries that UNRRA is now providing supplies in. It is reflected as well in the training of the entire staff of UNRRA and the insistence that all of its representatives are there for the primary purpose of insuring that what supplies we provide through UNRRA be distributed equitably among all of the peoples of the recipient countries.

I have much greater confidence in UNRRA than was reflected by some of the questions asked there this morning. I have much greater confidence in the staff of UNRRA and in that organization. I have great confidence in its ability and its desire to do that job efficiently.

Chairman BLOOM. You might discuss briefly and state what your work was with UNRRA, Mr. Corson.

Mr. CORSON. My position was that of Deputy Director General in charge of finance and administration.

Chairman BLOOM. Abroad?

Mr. CORSON. No; over here; although I visited abroad with Governor Lehman, and part of the time I was on the staff.

Chairman BLOOM. Proceed.

Mr. CORSON. There is one more point I would like to make, Mr. Chairman. In any estimate or suggestion of what access to the news will achieve in the equitable distribution of supplies, and what can be attained through that practice, I do not want to mitigate or underestimate the value of free access of the news in bringing about administrative corrections that need to be brought about, yet at the same time the insuring of the proper handling and distribution of goods and supplies within a country which has been torn by war, and in which many of the normal institutions are not functioning, as we visualize them from our experience here, the task of insuring the proper handling of distribution of goods and supplies is a pretty involved and difficult task. It involves on the part of those involved in handling it not only

the distribution and specialized transportation, and specialized handling and the like, but it involves in each of these countries a considerable number of people, and probably a considerably greater number of people than we can expect an American newspaper would have in most of these countries, and consequently it would seem to me that you cannot expect free access to the news to achieve the equitable distribution that will only be achieved through a great technically competent staff of UNRRA that is there for that purpose, and for that purpose alone.

I hope I have made clear simply these two points: One, that it does not seem to me that the addition to the authorization you are considering of a proposal for the access of American newspapermen is either needed, nor will it achieve the end that you seek to achieve.

Chairman BLOOM. Are there any questions? Thank you, Mr. Corson.

STATEMENT OF ALEXANDER S. JONES, MANAGING EDITOR, WASHINGTON POST, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jones, managing editor of the Washington Post.

Mr. JONES. Gentlemen, I have listened to this proceeding with a great deal of interest, and I have read the entire debate on it in the House, and I know you are well acquainted with all of the factors there. So, I am going to address myself solely to the Brown amendment, the so-called restrictions from a practical newspaper standpoint.

Now, I think today the purpose and the policy and the hope of all newspapers is to lend a hand to the proposition of bringing about peace in this world. That is one thing that we will have in mind. The matter of UNRRA, the feeding of the starving millions, and so forth, is a step in this business of bringing about that order in the world, and looking at it from a long-range standpoint anything that is going to impede what we so devoutly hope for is something that all thinking newspapermen should fight, and in this particular case we see an effort to throw politics into something that has as its purpose humanitarianism and the feeding of the starving over this coming year, so that there will not be chaos, anarchy, and revolution, and that the world may look forward to permanent peace in the future.

Now, I say as a practical newspaperman that you cannot make the Brown amendment or any such restriction work. As a managing editor, if I were to send a reporter into this country tomorrow on instructions, as under the amendment, that he was to report on nothing except UNRRA activities, if he was doing a good reporting job he would have to show that UNRRA could not proceed, let us say, in the Ukraine, for the simple reason that social and political affairs there make it impossible for them to do so, so immediately I am up to my neck in politics.

Now, frankly, this is a needling operation against Russia and although we deplore their censorship, and so forth, it is our feeling, and it is the feeling of such newspapers as the New York Times, the Des Moines Register Tribune, the Springfield Republican, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and the Washington Star, and papers of that character,

and many others who may have felt, in the first place, that this freedom of information had a place in this, who believe it cannot be done now. When you are talking about freedom of information it is a very easy thing to talk about freedom of the press. Now, if a group of reporters went into the Ukraine tomorrow, we would have representatives there of the Chicago Tribune, the New York Daily News, the New York Times, the Herald-Tribune, probably the Washington Post, and other newspapers. This paper would be interested in the proposition from one viewpoint, as it is friendly to Russia. Over here another newspaper is unfriendly to Russia, and you have two different viewpoints there altogether. Now, the question is, Which viewpoint is Congress going to accept, or are you going to accept any of them?

Now, I know that the answers to the questions that you are asking about contributions of UNRRA are in this room at this minute. They are in all of these voluminous reports. If I want information on that I can send a reporter over to Governor Lehman and his assistants this afternoon and get out as good a report on what is happening in UNRRA today as I could if I sent a reporter over to Europe.

That was impressed upon me this summer. I went all over Europe this summer, and everywhere I went the proposition was put up to me, in the final analysis, "Well, they know the answer to that in Washington," and I came back resolved that my reporters were going to work harder here, that all of the answers to the thing you wanted to know were right here in Washington, and so I say that if it is a matter of reports on what UNRRA is doing, the responsibility for that is with UNRRA, and that you can get that information right now. As I have sat here this morning and listened to the various points that were brought out, the members of the staff have pointed out where the answers are. We have a report on Yugoslavia, and on this thing and that, and so forth. They have a report on everything except on Russia, and Russia has censorship in effect, and I am very hopeful that the day is going to come soon when Russian censorship will be lifted. There are many encouraging evidences that that is going to be true soon. The story we had last week by Gilmore about Stalin, and the fact that they allowed that message to go through without censorship, points to the fact that sooner or later Russia is going to do this, but any agreement about censorship is on the Government level.

I think that is all I have to say.

Chairman BLOOM. Judge Kee.

Mr. KEE. I have no questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. JONKMAN. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Richards.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Jones, you feel that any directives as to the use of funds sought in this bill should be given by UNRRA itself?

Mr. JONES. And UNRRA itself report to Congress.

Mr. RICHARDS. Now, in that connection, I want to remind you that Mr. Clayton the other day stated that every suggestion made by the United States members of UNRRA had been followed by the other nations so far.

Mr. JONES. Yes, so far.

Mr. RICHARDS. And, therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that this Nation can still make felt its great weight and influence through UNRRA itself; that is your viewpoint?

Mr. JONES. Yes. I am hopeful that UNRRA, now that it has passed its formative period will adopt a more aggressive policy. When the war was on all of the transport and everything was under the control of the military, and they did not have a chance. Now, they are beginning to step it up, and I am hoping that they are going to adopt a more aggressive importation policy, and also on the business of putting out news for the newspapers, and pictures and stories about feeding the starving people and all of that sort of thing, and building up their own organization so that the people of the United States will know what is going on on that point.

Mr. RICHARDS. And you feel that UNRRA itself is fully competent to develop plans in that direction?

Mr. JONES. They certainly should be.

Mr. RICHARDS. I just want to recall to you one more little bit of testimony given by Governor Lehman in connection with this talking about freedom of the press, and so forth. Governor Lehman testified that in no case had his representatives been denied free and full access to what was going on in connection with the distribution of these funds in any particular area. He testified to that the other day.

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is, UNRRA itself.

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. RICHARDS. UNRRA itself in contradistinction to the United States as a member of UNRRA.

Mr. JONES. It occurs to me that under this amendment the United States itself could not get any help from UNRRA for the simple reason that the session making the appropriation is executive here in Congress.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is right.

Mr. JONES. Now, so far as the State Department is concerned, it would be very amazing if one day you put a rider on one of their bills providing that none of this money could be spent unless there was full information given to the people on everything that the State Department did, and it is completely unfair to demand it.

Mr. RICHARDS. Thank you, Mr. Jones.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am sorry to have missed part of the testimony, but I would like to ask Mr. Jones if he feels that the fact that there was free and open give and take of our press and so forth in Greece had any influence whatever on the caliber of job that has been done over there?

Mr. JONES. Oh, I think it has had.

Mrs. BOLTON. That is just the point; is it not?

Mr. JONES. Yes, I do think that it has had; and I was very much interested in the point you made. You were very clear on that point on the difference between freedom of the press and freedom of information.

Mrs. BOLTON. Of course.

Mr. JONES. That is something we all devoutly hope for, and it is something that has to be done by agreement with Russia.

I was talking to a man the other day who worked on the same desk with Stalin. He had just come from Switzerland, and he had worked

on the same desk for 9 years with Stalin, and he was talking about Stalin. He said, "You know what his greatest genius is, waiting. He can wait them out." Now, in the business of this censorship, I do not think that we should jump the gun and become too anxious about it, because we can wait it out if we are smart just as long as he can, because I think he wants to get us off base. That is the sort of thing, that would be something that would get us off base. Then it could be used as a precedent for something else in some other United Nations activity, and the peace of the world is at stake. I think we should all wait it out.

Mrs. BOLTON. That appeals to me very much from this angle: I think we have been very stupid in our handling of the Russians. The Russians are orientals, and one of their tenets is the timelessness of their decisions. I felt that very strongly during my trip this year.

Mr. JONES. Yes; I saw you down at Berchtesgaden one day last summer.

Mrs. BOLTON. So you did. You feel, then, that everything that we want by way of information about the expenditure of our moneys and the work of UNRRA can be given to us by UNRRA?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mrs. BOLTON. Do you feel that any organization, national, international, or local is qualified to judge its own work? Is it not asking too much of people to ask them to do that?

Mr. JONES. No. Right now we can go into any country except Russia and get that information.

Mrs. BOLTON. And all the appendages of Russia.

Mr. JONES. Well, you can go into Rumania and Yugoslavia at the present time.

Mrs. BOLTON. You can go in; yes.

Mr. JONES. Of course, Great Britain got a correspondent out of Palestine 2 weeks ago after he had filed one story, but we have a newspaperman with Mark Etheridge right now in Bulgaria, and I think outside of Russia we can go everywhere we want to go. Apparently the difficulty about those things is waiting them out.

Mrs. BOLTON. But regardless of the newspapermen and the evaluation of UNRRA work, how are we going to get that? Not that I am criticizing, and I am certainly not criticizing your action, but I think it is asking too much of any human being to say I have been doing a perfectly unsatisfactory job. I saw places where I thought UNRRA was doing an unsatisfactory job and several other organizations also.

Mr. JONES. Yes, for various reasons, where they cannot get transportation or could not get trucks and that sort of thing. I think UNRRA is just starting to function in the last few months.

Mrs. BOLTON. So do I.

Mr. JONES. And we have to support it because we have to feed those people, because we have to feed those people, because the thing we want in the end is peace in this world. That is the long-range viewpoint that I have, of it.

Mrs. BOLTON. My attitude toward this whole thing is that whatever we do, if we are going to continue UNRRA at all, and it is the only organization that is now set up with an administrative organization that can function, if we are going to continue it, then whatever we do we must strengthen and not weaken it.

Mr. JONES. That is right.

Mrs. BOLTON. And the question arises as to whether it is not strengthening it rather than weakening it to insist to the other nations that there are certain things that we feel imperative in order to quicken the work and hasten it, and make it easier to get the food over, because a lot of it is not getting there at the present time.

Mr. JONES. Is it not a fact, Mrs. Bolton, that on this Brown amendment, this restriction, that in the end this would have to go to the Council and be voted on by the 45 nations of the Council. They can either accept it or reject it, but surely if we reject it, or else if we put in amendments of our own, the authority finally becomes so involved that the starving people of the world are not going to be fed and we have not any time to waste at all. It is cold over in Europe right now.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes, I know.

Mr. JONES. That is the point with me.

Mr. JARMAN. I am sure that just as was the case with me, although the lady from Ohio saw what she regarded as unsatisfactory work of UNRRA over there, she also saw good work.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes, indeed I did; and that is why I spoke of Greece.

Mr. JARMAN. That was my experience also.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am sure that Governor Lehman would agree that some of the work has been very badly managed.

Mr. JARMAN. Yes; he already has today.

Mr. Jones, I find myself in such complete, positive and thorough agreement with you and Mr. Meyer in the opinion that it is dangerous for our Congress to be attaching amendments and changes to something that has been arranged by 45 nations that I cannot refrain from calling attention to the fact that the UNRRA Council, I believe, meets semiannually, and those meetings are attended by representatives of all of these nations. If they want to amend the charter of UNRRA, or if UNRRA is doing something so terribly wrong that it ought to be changed, there is the opportunity, and it has only to do it by all of the nations and not unilaterally.

Mr. JONES. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. JARMAN. Thereby not only avoiding the risk of Lbieria coming along 2 months later and wanting to change the color of something, but also avoiding that great danger which both you and Mrs. Bolton have mentioned of needling Russia. You spoke of the remedial cement phase. It seems very plain that there is a remedy for all of that in the UNRRA Council. Consequently it is not only unnecessary but inappropriate for the different committees of the Congress to assume the responsibility. That is all.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. The point I was struck with was that you feel that the newspaper people would actually not be able to fulfill the task to which the Brown amendment would assign them because finding the difficulties with UNRRA would inevitably be entangled with the political situation. Is that it?

Mr. JONES. To a certain extent our American press is a system of give and take. You have one viewpoint and I have another viewpoint, and somebody else has another one, and those are all aired out and then, finally, the public agrees that certain things are true You go in to do a certain job. Say, for instance, the Chicago Tribune has a certain angle on that, and it was very anti-Russian and some

other newspaper had a very pro-Russian viewpoint, and they would give it out, they would express that viewpoint. Well, that does not reflect on the newspapers. One reports that general viewpoint on this thing, and the other reports another viewpoint, but there would be no way for the Congress to decide whether a good job was being done by UNRRA until it had weighed all the various viewpoints and the evidence had been weighed. That is what we have a free press for. We do not all come out with one particular viewpoint, but by the weighing of all of the different viewpoints, you finally come to a decision.

I say if you want something authoritative immediately, and you have to have it immediately, that you ought to have trained investigators, trained by UNRRA itself, and other Government observers, military observers, and State Department observers, and let us follow them and report that story that they give, because it is not really our job to do this Government function.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Thank you.

Mr. RYTER. Mr. Jones, I agree with you thoroughly on the Brown amendment, and I want the record to show that I voted against it in the House. Do you not think that there is within the present framework of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration set-up adequate machinery to rid the Agency, or rid the functions of the Agency of any of the abuses that have been said to exist at the present time without calling any additional meetings of the Council?

Mr. JONES. That is a very hard question to answer. We have a situation in Bucharest today, and let us say there are three reporters there reporting on that thing. It may be an abuse, but you get different viewpoints from the different reporters. You are not going to get the same story. I should like to have an official report on what actually happened, and I think that ought to come from UNRRA; it ought to come from some Government source.

Mr. RYTER. That is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very much, Mr. Jones. We appreciate your being here.

Chairman BLOOM. Governor Lehman.

STATEMENT OF HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION—Resumed

Mr. JONKMAN. Governor, at the last meeting last week we were discussing the present inventories of money and commodities on the part of UNRRA.

I was at that time handed this statement made up by you on the urgency of the second 1-percent contribution, and it was put before me that way, but I was not able to make a great deal out of it. I have given it some study since that time, and I still feel that I am justified in saying that I cannot make a great deal out of it.

My position is simply this: UNRRA is here for another $1,350,000,000. As I brought out earlier in the hearing, it was stated that the original $1,350,000,000 was to be once and for all. That was not changed. It is true, as I brought out on the suggestion of the chairman, the witness was cautioned not to make additional promises. He said he would not go so far as to say he would not come

back for more on the chairman's suggestion. That is not very material, but the point is, I think, that we should know not only how much UNRRA has spent, but how much it has on hand at the present time, and how far what it has on hand will carry it into the future. Then and then only can we say whether or not we think this $1,350,000,000 is probably necessary.

As I say, I have studied this statement, and I find, for instance, that on the first page of it you say $198,000,000 has been committed for supplies immediately available and scheduled for November shipment.

Then below that you say "$102,000,000 has been committed for supplies which will be delivered after November, including a substantial amount of funds for Army surpluses."

Now, of course, that is all out of the $800,000,000. You have not touched your $550,000,000 yet. So, apparently, you are taking care of November and December out of the $800,000,000.

Instead of having that all in one amount and telling us what you have spent and what you have on hand, you set up in two amounts. You say, for instance, on page 4, section 2, under the last subhead there: "$122,000,000 obligated for supplies for delivery in November and December." Again you seem to be taken care of out of the $485,000,000 up to the first of the year, at least.

Mr. LEHMAN. Out of what?

Mr. JONKMAN. Out of the $485,000,000. Now, the first two total up $300,000,000 out of the $800,000,000.

Mr. LEHMAN. Which two?

Mr. JONKMAN. The $198,000,000 for November and the $102,000,000 for December. That is $300,000,000. That is taken out of the $800,000,000 up to the first of the year. Then you have $122,000,000 from the other funds for November and December which, again, takes it up to the first of the year.

I have been trying to reconcile that with page 2, and I cannot do it. I am not going to discuss that much further.

It seems to me that we should have a simple statement of what you have spent up to a certain time, and what you have obligated to the first of the year, so that we can see just how much you have on hand, and if that lasts you only until January, or whether that will last you until April, and it seems to me those things should be drawn together, and that there should be a simple statement stating that we have had so much, and we have spent so much, and we have so much on hand, and that will last us so long, and from then on we will need more. I do not think an accountant could make anything out of this. Will you give us a statement along that line, Governor?

Mr. LEHMAN. Congressman, I do not know how I can give you a statement that is any simpler than the one that is here. I shall be very glad, in addition to that, to have our men sit down with you at any time that suits your convenience and answer any of your questions, but it seems to me the statement which I have given you shows very definitely that we have no money on hand, and consequently shows very definitely the disposition of the $550,000,000, which will also be spent or committed prior to the end of the year.

Mr. JONKMAN. I will wager that there is not a member of this committee who, if he were compelled to make this authorization of $1,350,000,000, knows whether you could run on what you have now.

Mr. LEHMAN. If you will let me read this again probably it will be perfectly clear to you. Please do not misunderstand me. I am fully in accord with your desire to have information on this subject. I think that is very definitely the province of the Congress to get it, but I had hoped that we had made it clear.

May I just read this again. On page 2 the caption is:

The contribution of $550,000,000 when made available will be used before the end of 1945. Here is how the money will be spent:

1. $368,000,000 will be obligated immediately upon appropriation, as follows:

(a) $100,000,000 will be turned back to the United States Government to pay for United States Army surplus foods now available in the United States, ready for immediate shipment awaiting only the availability of these funds.

Mr. JONKMAN. All right, let us discuss that. It does not mean that now there is anything on that in this statement at all.

Mr. LEHMAN. We cannot get the supplies——

Mr. JONKMAN. That is for the future?

Mr. LEHMAN. No, we need those supplies. If we had those supplies we would ship a lot of them in November, as a matter of fact. We certainly need them to carry our obligations in December.

Mr. JONKMAN. But you have already taken care of your obligations in November and December as shown in the statements I have already read. It is so confused to a person who does not understand it, but who probably understands something about accounting, that he does not know where he is at.

Mr. LEHMAN. No; I have not said anything of the sort. I said $198,000,000 of the $800,000,000 had been committed for deliveries immediately available, and scheduled for November shipment.

Then on page 3, the caption is "Unless the new 1 percent contribution is made available before the end of December, there will be a break in our supply line in February."

Then I go on to say, as indicated in paragraph I, 4:

the committee will have noted that $102,000,000 worth of supplies remain for delivery after the end of November. When the $550,000,000 are made available, total funds from the United States will be $652,000,000. However, UNRRA's shipping program for December will absorb $280,000,000 and a similar sum for January—a total of $560,000,000.

The remaining $92,000,000 will also have been committed before the end of December for supplies which will be loaded after the end of January—

because there is a lapse of around 6 weeks to 2 months even in the case of food and much longer in the case of goods that have to be manufactured and processed.

This means that UNRRA will have to stop loading supplies by the middle of February. Procurement operations will actually have ceased in December.

Thus new funds will be essential before the end of December to ensure that procurement can continue and prevent a break in the supply line in the middle of February.

Mr. JONKMAN. I do not see that it is clear yet.

Mr. LEHMAN. I will be very glad to have our people sit down and answer any questions you want to ask about it, Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. JONKMAN. That should be something put down in black and white for the members of the committee.

Mr. LEHMAN. I hope that it is down in black and white.. I told you what our present position is with regard to the $800,000,000 and I have told you how we are going to use the $550,000,000, and that is all going to be disposed of by the end of December. Therefore, if we are going to avoid a break in our shipments in the early

months of the winter, we have got to have this appropriation which we are asking for.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is a mere conclusion, Governor, and that is the thing that I want to find out in figures, in dollars and cents. If the $550,000,000 would carry you through, I think that is what Congress should appropriate, but if it is $1,350,000,000 like we had last year that is what they should appropriate, but we should have some analysis of just where you stand financially. I do not think I would be willing to have any member of this committee explain to me how long your funds are going to last you before you dip into the $1,350,000,000 and I do not think they can do it with certainty. As I said the other day, after all your processes are simple.

Chairman BLOOM. If you have the money it is simple.

Mr. JONKMAN. Your stuff is all off the shelves when you deliver it to the recipient countries.

Mr. LEHMAN. It is off the shelves, but unless we have the money to place orders, we just cannot place them.

Mr. JONKMAN. I am not talking about what you have already spent.

Mr. LEHMAN. We are concerned about that.

Mr. JONKMAN. Your inventory is all off the shelves when you deliver it to the recipient country. Then on the books you can say it is delivered, it is done with, but on the other hand you have the time when you make commitments, and you said the other day that was not until it was ready to go on the ship, so that the simple operation we have is when it is loaded on the ship that is the time you have spent it, and yet you have not delivered it, but you account for it, and you have $180,000,000 of unexpended funds.

Mr. LEHMAN. No; I want to explain that a little further. My statement is perfectly accurate, and I can give you a break-down of it.

Mr. JONKMAN. I do not want to be argumentative, Governor, but I want to say until we get some statement saying we have commitments of so much, and we had to much ready to ship, and had so much left, that it is not clear.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jonkman, why do you not accept the statement of the Governor and let some of their auditors sit down with you and get them to furnish you with whatever kind of statement you think is necessary from the figures that the Governor is trying to explain to you? I think between you and the auditors we can get that kind of a statement to satisfy you and the committee. I am satisfied with the statement that the Governor has submitted, but I want the other members of the committee here to be satisfied, and I want you to be satisfied. Now, why do you not sit down with the auditors and do that.

Mr. JONKMAN. I think it is so simple they can do it without that.

Chairman BLOOM. I want you to be satisfied.

Mr. JONKMAN. I will be willing to sit down with them and tell them what I want, but I want it in black and white figures.

Chairman BLOOM. That is what the Governor is suggesting and what the Chair is suggesting.

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not think the Congressman quite realizes that UNRRA is engaged in a continuing operation. It does not cease on the 1st of January unless you gentlemen of Congress refuse to give us more money. It goes on. That is why I am laying such emphasis

on the most urgent need of this authorization. Unless UNRRA has the additional funds voted by the end of December, it cannot place orders for delivery or for shipment in February or March, and that means that there is inevitably going to be a cut in the flow of supplies.

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes, I understand that full well.

Mr. LEHMAN. It takes 6 weeks to 2 months as a minimum for food deliveries, even though the Department of Agriculture and the CCC has been cooperating with us fine. However, on other supplies, such as tractors and farm and agricultural supplies, clothing and things of that sort, it takes all the way from 2 months, to 6, or 8, or 10 months, from the time we place our orders until we get the supplies.

Now, we cannot place orders for delivery unless we have the funds available. We already have been mortgaging the future, as I have pointed out, because we have taken from this fund and held up orders urgently needed because other supplies in our opinion were more urgently needed. We have had to cut back this $150,000,000 of supplies which we are buying out of surplus of the Army because we have had to buy white flour to feed these people, and that is robbing Peter to pay Paul. We have to pay this back, and unless we have the funds available we just cannot place orders and we have got to continue as long as we can, of course. Our means of improvising and finagling, if I might use the term ends very quickly then, and we have no more orders to place and no more goods except what remain in the pipeline, and here we have these obligations to Italy and to other countries such as Austria, and I cannot even plan for those things.

Mr. JONKMAN. I do not think there is any need of our using any more of the committee's time in going into this. I would like to get a clear picture of it from Mr. Davidson or anybody you suggest.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Davidson, I wish you would kindly meet with Mr. Jonkman and go into it with him.

Mr. LEHMAN. I would like, for the record, to make it a little more clear and add one page here which is, "Status of funds received from other countries." You remember Mr. Jonkman said the balance of the $180,000,000 will be utilized as follows: Now, I want to show you a break-down of that $180,000,000 which shows that the greater part of that $180,000,000 coming from other countries has also been committed.

Mr. JONKMAN. On what page?

Mr. LEHMAN. On page 4 of the memorandum that I submitted and I that have here. It is the paragraph toward the end of the page The balance of the $180,000,000, consisting chiefly of sterling from United Kingdom contribution will be spent for commodities in Great Britain.

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes.

Mr. LEHMAN. You asked me the question why with that amount of money available we could not supply that situation. I have that $180,000,000 further broken down here.

Mr. JONKMAN. I think that would be interesting to the committee.

Chairman BLOOM. Without objection the record will be changed, according to the suggestion made by Governor Lehman. Governor, you are permitted to change anything you want to change in the record so as to get it correct.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

STATUS OF FUNDS RECEIVED FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

The status of $485,000,000 made available from other contributing countries is:

1. Spent for supplies, mission operating expenses, displaced persons operations, and administration management, $183,000,000.

2. Obligated for supplies for delivery in November and December, $122,000,000.

3. The balance of the $180,000,000 will be utilized as follows:

(a) The sum of $44,000,000 has been or will be retained by the United Kingdom and $1,500,000 by Canada to offset the cost of relief supplies involved in the take-over by UNRRA of relief operations from the Allied military authorities in Greece, Yugoslavia, and Albania.

(b) The sum of $134,500,000 has been or will be used for supplies and services to be delivered after January 1, 1946. Approximately $80,000,000 of this amount is in sterling and will be spent for commodities and shipping from the United Kingdom; $54,500,000 represents supplies to be shipped from sources other than the United States and the United Kingdom—meat, fish, trucks, and shoes from Canada; wool, clothing, industrial and agricultural rehabilitation materials from Australia and New Zealand; peanuts, jute, and industrial semi-fabricated materials from India; cotton and textiles from Egypt; textiles, fish, beans, and coffee from South America (principally Brazil); coal, raw wool, alfalfa seeds, canned meat, and clothing from the Union of South Africa. We have programed $120,000,000 of the above amount ($134,500,000) for shipment during January and February, thus leaving only a small carry-over of long lead items to be shipped during March and April.

Chairman BLOOM. Is there anything further?

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes. Then, referring to the matter of the Russian Republics, Byelorussia and the Ukraine, you have made provision for $250,000,000 of relief for those two republics. There has been some discussion here as to whether or not USSR has sufficient exchange to purchase this stuff itself. Is UNRRA expected to furnish relief to countries that have sufficient exchange to furnish their own relief supplies?

Mr. LEHMAN. May I say this: That the Russian Soviet Republic made an application for $700,000,000. The question of whether a country is to receive goods in the status of a recipient does not rest with the Director General alone. It has to be passed on by a committee of UNRRA, called the Committee on Ability To Pay. I did not have anything whatsoever to do with the discussions that occurred in London as a result of which the application of the Soviet Republic was withdrawn, and two applications were submitted, one from the Ukraine Soviet Republic, in the amount of $189,000,000, and one by Byelorussia Soviet Republic, for $61,000,000. They were substituted for the original request. I did not participate in any of those conversations which were carried on between the Russian representatives and representatives of several of the other powers including the United States, so I am not familiar with all of the details of it, but these two Soviet Republics were admitted to the Council of UNRRA on an equal footing with the other governments.

There too I had nothing whatsoever to do with it, but the policy of admitting them to UNRRA followed exactly the policy admitting them to the United Nations Organization in San Francisco.

Now, what was behind the reasoning of the delegates to the United Nations Organization meeting in San Francisco, I do not know, but the fact remains that they were admitted to full membership in the United Nations Organization as sovereign powers and with the status exactly the same as the other governments.

After the Council of UNRRA in London admitted these two Soviet Republics to membership the U. S. S. R. application for $700,000,000

was withdrawn, and there was a substitution made of the two requests of these two Soviet Republics to which I have already made reference. Those requests immediately were submitted, in accordance with the usual procedure, to the Committee on Ability to Pay, which consists of the representatives of five governments. The committee has nothing to do with the Director-General of UNRRA, but is a direct representative of the Council. The five members of the committee were the United States, United Kingdom, France, Norway, and Canada. They immediately had hearings and considered the data which was submitted by these two Soviet Republics to establish their inability to pay. They accepted this data and recommended that these countries be considered as nonpaying countries.

Mr. JONKMAN. You are Administrator, under general legislation of the UNRRA organization, is that correct?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. JONKMAN. So, anyway, they took responsibility for that?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mr. JONKMAN. My question was whether investigation was made as to whether or not these two countries or the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics had sufficient exchange to take care of their own relief, just as Belgium, Holland, and France are doing?

Mr. LEHMAN. Certainly they had these meetings of the Committee on Ability to Pay at which representatives of these two Soviet Republics were present. They submitted a document which was considered by the committee, and as a result of those deliberations of the committee, the committee decided that these two Republics were not in a position to pay. Also, I want to say, parenthetically, that I think it was established beyond any doubt that the degree of devastation in these two Republics was of a character and in a magnitude that surpassed, I believe, the destruction of any other part of Europe. There are 56,000,000 people living in these two Republics. I do not carry in my mind the amount that they claimed of physical destruction, but it ran into many, many billions of dollars.

Mr. JONKMAN. I realize that I am getting into a domain that you had no connection with. In other words, you are not even able to answer the question, and that is no reflection on you, as to whether the legislative body went into the question of whether or not those two countries were entitled to relief on the principle that only those countries which have no exchange or purchasing power shall be helped? But, that does not clarify my question, does it?

Mr. LEHMAN. Of course, you did question Mr. Clayton on that, I believe. I do not remember the exact character of his replies to you.

Mr. RYTER. Who is the person who serves as our representative on this Committee on Ability to Pay?

Mr. LEHMAN. Harold Glasser of the United States Treasury.

Mr. RYTER. Mr. Lasser?

Mr. LEHMAN. No; Glasser—G-l-a-s-s-e-r, one of the chief assistants, I think, of the Secretary of the Treasury. I am just advised by Mr. Davidson that Mr. Harry White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, is the American member of the committee and Mr. Glasser sat as his alternate.

Mr. JONKMAN. We were discussing this question of Italy, Governor. Now, do not misunderstand me; I am not adverse to giving aid to Italy, but I took the position that it was not justifiable under the declaration of policy.

Now, is it not rather true that at the time UNRRA was formed and the declaration of policy was drawn, Italy was still an enemy country, and came within that classification, and that after the capitulation of Italy, UNRRA took a different position with reference to Italy, just as everybody took a different position with reference to Italy? In other words, is it not a matter of the UNRRA Council changing that part of its declaration of policy under changed conditions? In other words, what I mean, Governor, is can we justify it being within the declaration of policy? I think it is rather that the situation changed quickly and UNRRA has changed its policy, and, if it did, rightly so, because of the changed conditions.

Mr. LEHMAN. Let me see if I can make it clear, although I already have a statement on the record. When the first council meeting was held in Atlantic City, starting on November 11, 1943, I believe that Italy was already a cobelligerent, but I am not quite sure of the date.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. October 13, 1943.

Mr. LEHMAN. But, at any rate, there was a provision in one of the resolutions stating that UNRRA was not to give any assistance to enemy or ex-enemy countries, save under certain conditions.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is right.

Mr. LEHMAN. And the main one of those conditions was that formal action had to be taken by the Council of UNRRA setting forth the extent and character of such assistance.

Now, that showed very clearly that the UNRRA Council, even as far back as November 1943 did realize that conditions might change to an extent sufficient to justify the giving of assistance, even to an enemy or ex-enemy country, and Italy, of course, was an ex-enemy country, whatever its status was at that moment.

Mr. JONKMAN. But was not that confined to actions of cooperation with the military and for which the recipient country should itself reimburse?

Mr. LEHMAN. I will get to that in a minute.

I wanted to continue by saying that the adoption of that resolution at the Atlantic City Conference definitely showed that the Council believed that the time might come and conditions might change to such an extent that assistance would be justified to an ex-enemy country.

When we met in Montreal, in September 1944, the proposal was made by the United States that assistance be given, in a limited degree, to Italy. It was limited to the extent of $50,000,000 in dollar value, and limited in character to the granting of supplemental relief to nursing and expectant mothers, certain medical care, and displaced persons care within Italy.

That was submitted to the Council. There was a long debate, and, finally, the Council adopted that resolution, I believe, either by unanimous vote or by possibly one country dissenting. My impression is that it was by unanimous vote. That resolution is Resolution No. 58, the resolution relating to operations of the administration in Italy.

That describes pretty much what I have stated, but I will read it:

Resolved, That as to the scale and nature of the operations that it is proposed the Administration should undertake and the standard of provision in Italy, the Council approves the following program:

1. The operations of the Administration in Italy (in addition to such operations as it may undertake under the authority given by Resolution No. 57)—

which I think refers to displaced persons—

shall be confined to (a) the provision of medical and sanitary aid and supplies; (b) assistance in the care and return to their homes of displaced persons; (c) care of, and welfare services for, children and nursing and expectant mothers.

2. All operations of the Administration in Italy shall be agreed upon between the military command or the appropriate authority in Italy on the one hand and the Administration on the other, and such operations shall be subject to such control as the military command or the appropriate authority may find necessary.

3. With regard to payment for such operations the Administration shall—

(a) make arrangements with the military command or the appropriate authority for the provision of local currency in the manner contemplated in sections 19 and 20 of Resolution No. 14;

(b) be authorized to charge against its general resources such expenses as cannot be met in Italian currency and fall to be met in foreign exchange: *Provided*, That the Director General consult from time to time with a committee established under Resolution No. 23 as to the financial commitments incurred by the Administration in carrying out the operations set out in paragraph 1 hereof and as to the ability of Italy to pay.

4. The total net expenditure in foreign exchange which, under paragraph 3 (b) above, the Administration is authorized to charge against its general resources in respect of operations additional to those authorized under Resolution No. 57 shall not exceed the equivalent of $50,000,000 without further specific authorization from the Council.

Now, of course, in accordance with that resolution we consulted with the military and later with the Allied Commission. We also, of course, dealt under direction of the Allied Commission directly with the Government and our agreement was made with the Government. It was ascertained, very wisely, in consultation with Committee No. 23, that Italy had no foreign exchange means out of which to pay for the supplies which UNRRA would send in.

Therefore, there was no means of collecting, but, as a matter of fact, Italy did something which no other country did. They immediately made available 5 billion lira, which is the equivalent of $50,000,000, at the rate of exchange, 100 lira to the dollar, out of which local expenses of UNRRA could be paid, and the balance used for the carrying on of further relief and rehabilitation operations in Italy. For instance, we are carrying on the malaria elimination program which is a most important one, in my opinion. Now, the cost of that, for the greater part, is being borne out of this 5 billion lira fund. Although I do not want to take up the time of the committee, I can only repeat, and want to clarify once and for all that, in the first place, the UNRRA Council was entirely within its rights in deciding on this form of relief without further reference to the Congress of the United States, and, in the second place, the Administration met every requirement and every direction which had been given to us.

Chairman BLOOM. The chairman would like to state to Mr. Jonkman, that if he will refer to section 4 of the original act, I think, he will find the intent of that amendment, which was put in at the last moment, was to cover Italy also. I will read it:

SEC. 4. In expressing its approval of the basic resolution it is the recommendation of the Congress that insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area, except within enemy territory and while occupied by the enemy, important to the military operations of the United Nations, which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

So it was the thought and intent that we were to give relief to those countries that might not directly come under the original idea of the act, but still there was a reason, on account of famine and disease, for such relief to be given.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I always like to know what I am arguing about.

Chairman BLOOM. So do I.

Mr. JONKMAN. I have stated repeatedly that I am not against relief in Italy.

Chairman BLOOM. I understand.

Mr. JONKMAN. But I did not want to base it on a false premise, that it was within the scope of the original declaration of policy. I think we have got to take the position that that excluded enemy and enemy nationals, and that because of later consideration of the situation it was necessary that UNRRA change its policy, which it had the right to do, but I do not think we should place it on the premise that Italy was within the scope of the original declaration of policy, because if we are going to do that we are going to run into just the thing we have had here. I think we might as well meet that obligation.

Now another point I want to make is that because of these changed conditions that from this $1,350,000,000 and what is contributed by other nations, you are going to appropriate $450,00C,000 for relief in Italy?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes. But may I point out again—do not misunderstand me—may I make this statement. The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada, whose armies had occupied Italy, and continue to occupy Italy, felt that the situation was of a character that assistance had to be given to Italy lest there be disease and unrest and disorder to which the chairman has referred. As a result, during the period of military operations, and for a very considerable period thereafter, during which Italy was occupied by the Allied forces, the cost of relief was paid for out of military appropriations—the major part was borne by this country, I believe; some of it was borne by the United Kingdom and by Canada. I do not know the exact proportions. When it became evident that the military occupation would cease and the administration of the government would be turned back completely, the need still continued, and therefore an appropriation, as I understand it, was made for $100,000,000 to FEA, which, it was contemplated, would pay for relief on the scale that had been continued until the end of this year. I do not have the figures but my recollection is that Mr. Clayton testified here the other day that the cost of carrying on relief in Italy by the military and at the present time by the Allied Commission, which expends the funds that were made available to FEA, amounted to about $450,000,000 a year. I do not think that it admits of serious argument that conditions in Italy are still so bad that Italy must continue to have assistance.

Therefore, in order to relieve the military and FEA of the cost of carrying on this relief it was proposed and strongly advocated by the United States representative at the London Council meeting that this job of carrying on relief in Italy should be undertaken by UNRRA. To me it makes no difference whether that relief continues to be done by the military or by the State Department or by FEA, or by any

other agency. I am convinced that it has to be carried on unless we are going to run into a condition that is extremely serious.

The Army has folded up in Italy, obviously; FEA's operations will not continue after the first of the year; therefore the responsibility was placed on UNRRA. Assuming that we had to spend $450,000,000 a year through Army channels and the channels of the Allied Commission, and assuming that that relief has to continue on that scale, the fact that it was transferred to UNRRA does not cost the Government any more money, because the responsibility of carrying on the work, or transferring it from one agency to another agency, giving it to this international agency of UNRRA. I don't know whether I have made myself clear or not.

Mr. JONKMAN. I think you have, and I see the reason for the position you take. Of course, Italy was not within the original scope, but that is done because conditions have changed, and it is the only thing you can do, and using UNRRA to help feed these people is because of the change of policy.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is our position, Mr. Jonkman, but it must be understood that under the original policy, aid to Italy could be given if the Council approved.

Mr. JONKMAN. I would much rather say that than to say that it was within the original scope of the declaration of policy of UNRRA to take care of Italy.

Mr. LEHMAN. No.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is what I had in mind.

Mr. LEHMAN. It was within the original scope of UNRRA Council to authorize assistance to our ex-enemies. That was contemplated and provided for by Resolution 1.

Mr. JONKMAN. I understand that.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is the whole situation.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you, Governor. Without objection, we will recess until——

Mr. JARMAN. Are we going to have an opportunity to ask the Governor any more questions?

Chairman BLOOM. Yes, Mr. Jarman.

Mr. JARMAN. As a matter of fact, Governor, I wonder if it is not cheaper from the United States viewpoint for UNRRA to do that work in Italy than the Army, because of the fact that the United States Army was doing most of it and we only contribute about 72 percent of UNRRA's funds.

Mr. LEHMAN. Well, there is no doubt about that, but I want to make this reservation: The Army was not paying the entire 100 percent, as you know.

Mr. JARMAN. I realize that, but I believe we had been paying about 72 percent of UNRRA's funds.

Mr. LEHMAN. I think that is correct.

Mr. WADSWORTH. It could be said, Governor, under the situation as you have described it, that three nations were carrying the entire burden.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Whereas with UNRRA some forty-odd are carrying it?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. JARMAN. I vividly recall the discussion by Mr. Clayton of that entire Italian situation at the London conference. I also recall the general discussion of the Ukrainian and Bylorussian phase of the matter. Referring to the declaration of policy which has been discussed, the members of this committee of 23 were perfectly familiar with it, were they not? I take it the decision originates with these committee members, and these members of the committee of 23 were perfectly familiar with the policy of UNRRA concerning the furnishing of relief.

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mr. JARMAN. They had, as I recall, a very extended meeting on that subject and decided that those two countries were eligible.

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mr. JARMAN. They reported that back to the Council, I imagine, and the Council approved it.

Mr. LEHMAN. They reported it to the Director General, and the Director General followed that recommendation.

Mr. JARMAN. That is the procedure.

Mr. LEHMAN. That was the procedure.

Mr. JARMAN. In other words, it was UNRRA's decision, based upon the recommendation of a competent committee constituted for that purpose.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is correct, plus a resolution by the UNRRA Council admitting these two republics to membership.

Mr. JARMAN. That is what I had in mind, of the Council.

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mr. JARMAN. I am very sorry that circumstances beyond my control, official business necessary for me to attend to, denied me the privilege of hearing your testimony and that of Mr. Clayton, and this question probably has been answered, but I am curious to know how many DP assembly centers UNRRA is operating. You probably have stated that. If it will require too much time do not bother about it.

Mr. LEHMAN. We had about 327 as of the 15th of September.

Mr. JARMAN. That is the total number of what I call camps and you call——

Mr. LEHMAN. Assembly centers. That was only in Germany and Austria. That does not include assembly centers which we have in Italy.

Mr. JARMAN. I see.

Mr. LEHMAN. And some in Greece and Yugoslavia. It also does not include camps—and these are camps now that I am talking about—that we have been administering for some time in the Middle East and which at one time housed between forty and fifty thousand inmates, virtually all Greeks and Yugoslavs. We have repatriated much more than half of that number, leaving, I think, somewhere between ten and twelve thousand still in camps now, the Yugoslavs and Greeks, and we will repatriate the small remaining balance just as quickly as we can.

We are also repatriating certain people in the Pacific; not large numbers, but we are repatriating them.

Mr. JARMAN. Is the difference between an "assembly center" and "camp" the fact that an assembly center is a place to which displaced persons go with the idea of their being repatriated in a short

time; whereas a "camp" is a place where those go who may remain longer; is that the difference?

Mr. LEHMAN. No. The purpose is identical in both. The only reason I call it "assembly center" rather than "camp" is this, that "camp" connotes one spot in which everybody is living, a spot relatively restricted in area. An "assembly center" may consist of several separate camps; it may consist of a certain number of people and does consist, frequently, of a certain number of people not living in camps at all in the accepted manner of speaking of a "camp", but in houses which have been turned over to the displaced persons by the Army, commandeered, requisitioned from the Germans. An assembly center may very possibly cover a number of edifices and cover an area maybe as large as 10 miles. That is why I make the distinction.

Mr. JARMAN. I see.

Mr. LEHMAN. But the purpose is the same in both the camp and assembly center.

Mr. JARMAN. Governor, you spoke of the difficulty of recruiting personnel for your organization in haste and, certainly with the magnitude and the nature of the work to be done, it occurs to me to direct your thought to another difficulty with which your organization was confronted; that is, it was necessary for you to recruit this personnel at a time when the bottom had already been scraped in the matter of personnel in the United States, and I suppose in the world, and it was more difficult at that period, or at least as difficult, to secure competent personnel, personnel you needed, than at any other time in my life that I know of. For instance, during that period, I needed very badly another stenographer in my office. She was just simply not available—not only in my district, but anywhere. And I am sure that was true in other offices and all over the world.

So it occurs to me that was another great difficulty with which you were confronted.

Mr. LEHMAN. That was. May I just add to that, because I think it is an interesting thing: That was a very great difficulty, but we went out and recruited people hurriedly; we recruited them on their records as far as we could. Very few of them had ever had any experience in this kind of work, because this kind of work had never been carried on before.

Mr. JARMAN. Nobody had experience with it.

Mr. LEHMAN. In that way we got, in the first place, quite a lot of people who thought this was an adventure, that there was some glamour in it; they thought it was nice to go to Europe and then come back and talk about what they did. They did not picture this hard, dirty, mean kind of job where people are working 16 and 18 hours a day under the worst kind of conditions. Those people did not know what discipline was in many cases; they thought it was going to be a picnic. The result is when they got over there they found it was not a picnic and they found things were not being done just as they thought they should be done, regardless of any policies or any discipline.

As a result, many have been unhappy, and a great many have come back here and made critical expressions.

Then there is another type of person that we took. A fellow came in, let us say, who was a successful businessman of Chicago and we

thought "This is fine." He may have made a go of his business venture in Chicago and certainly we thought he ought to be all right in our game; but, when that fellow got over there, sometimes he was not so good. He had been a successful businessman in Chicago, but he did not know what this game was and he was not willing to subject himself to the hardships and discipline and disappointments and frustrations—and there have been a whole lot of them. And so, with lots of people, we find we had people who, on paper, were fine—nobody is to blame for having recruited them—but when it came to the actual business, they could not make a go of it, and they had to be sent back.

We are weeding out just as fast as we possibly can and we have sent back people we had hired. A number of people have come back here frankly disappointed, disillusioned, because the thing did not work out the way they wanted. I think we have others that we will have to send back.

But I do not want any misunderstanding about this. I would say most of our people are loyal, hardworking, devoted people who are doing their job and want to do it.

Mr. JARMAN. I am sure that is correct, and this is a big job which, on the whole, is being well done. Of course, as you know, and as everybody knows, in any endeavor of this magnitude, mistakes are bound to occur. Furthermore, public officials are frequently unjustly criticized without being given credit for much of the good they do. For instance, I was talking to the police commissioner of a small city not long ago, when he referred to the citizens complaining about the policemen, that the policemen did this, the policeman gave him a ticket, and did this and did that. He said he called their attention to the fact that they forget the security of their sleep at night and the realization of the protection their homes were enjoying; they forget that the policeman was going around trying the doors in that little city in the middle of the night to make sure they had not been left unlocked and that they could sleep soundly in the realization that their persons and homes were being protected and that they would not be robbed. But that little parking ticket, that little offense the policeman caused, which was probably justified, stood out in their minds and overshadowed the many good things he had done.

And that is exactly the same situation, I think, in which your organization finds itself. Even Congress makes mistakes, as illustrated by the fact that it passed a so-called pension bill several years ago, which was not a pension bill at all but a retirement bill, which, despite our belief to the contrary, must have been a mistake, since the people of the country were so thoroughly convinced that it was, that it was shortly repealed. This being a democracy, it is the duty of the Congress to follow the wishes of the great majority of the people as indicated in this instance.

Mr. LEHMAN. May I say one more word on this? I do not mind a bit of criticism in the world which is justified constructively, as I am sure a lot of it is. I would be the last man in the world to claim we did not make mistakes. I do not mind that provided, also, that emphasis is laid on the good things we have accomplished. I do not agree with Mrs. Bolton that we have done an unsatisfactory job anywhere. We have done a job that could have been better, but I do not think we have done an unsatisfactory job anywhere.

Mrs. Bolton. I am perfectly willing to withdraw that.

Mr. Lehman. Our people are working like the devil. I cannot be sufficiently grateful to my organization here and abroad for the work they are doing, and most of them are doing, in my opinion, a good job. And, again, the reason for my somewhat impassioned statement before was due to the fact I think it is important when you play up the criticisms that you also play up the achievements of UNRRA.

I said the other night, and maybe I said it here, too, that the only place where I found real criticism without any appreciation was in this country; I did not find it abroad. Yes; I have found complaints in every country I have visited that we were not giving them enough supplies, or quickly enough, of the kind they wanted; and that is due entirely to the fact our resources are limited and we cannot ever hope to give those people everything they want or need. But they were grateful for what we did send, they were appreciative. It was only when I got back here that I found carping criticism and bitterness, sometimes, without any realization whatsoever of the job—the magnitude of the job or what I believe is the manner, generally speaking the efficient manner, in which it is being carried on.

That is all.

Mrs. Bolton. Just a moment on that, if I may. The main fact is I accept your criticism of my word, and I do not mean ever to do anything except just what you suggest. If there is criticism that is reasonable, there is also the possibility it is unavoidable. I have spoken of that several times, but I wish to ask you just a simple question. In the matter of your personnel, now that the war is over and the men are coming home, are you finding it is easy to get better personnel to put into that 20 percent; are the men and women still wanting to go, or are you having increased difficulty? Is that something where you need help to persuade people that there is a big job to do over there?

Mr. Lehman. I will say it is easier; it is not easy. I have been disappointed, frankly, over the period of a number of months in the support which we have gotten from my own Government in getting personnel.

Mrs. Bolton. That is so from the beginning.

Mr. Lehman. We have had more success in getting English people. Possibly that is why we have quite a few English people in responsible positions, because the only thing I am concerend about is getting efficient personnel. But we do find it easier.

Again, may I be perfectly frank with you? Those criticisms without any praise whatsoever inevitably have their effect on our administration, on our personnel. We have a temporary job here. We cannot promise permanence of employment to our people. Many of them are making sacrifices and have made sacrifices to stay with UNRRA when they could go back to their Government jobs, or to other jobs.

Now, I am not speaking for myself. My shoulders are broad enough to carry it; but I can say to you that many of our people are discouraged by what they think is unfair criticism without any expression of appreciation. And you do not know how little appreciation has been expressed.

Mrs. Bolton. I think one of the things that we, as a government, are very reprehensible about is the fact we have refused to release one

man—and, incidentally, just one man, for instance, here and perhaps another man there—from the Navy or Army when he was perfectly qualified for everything UNRRA needed, with as big a business as UNRRA is. We were not able to see, as England did, that it was advisable to release men from one position to put into a thing like that. And I wondered, now that some of that was lifted Army pressure, whether you are able to secure the same caliber of personnel as those were—I knew of one or two instances—so that you are getting people of increasing ability.

Mr. LEHMAN. I think I can say I expect to have, certainly, very much more encouragement along those lines. As a matter of fact, we have gotten excellent people recently.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. The committee will meet again tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(The committee thereupon, at 1:45 p. m., adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, November 20, 1945, at 10 a. m.)

FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN WORK OF UNRRA

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1945

House of Representatives,
Committee on Foreign Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

(The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a. m., Hon. Sol Bloom, chairman, presiding, for further consideration of H. R. 4649.)

Chairman Bloom. The committee will kindly come to order for further consideration of H. R. 4649. We have with us this morning the Under Secretary of State, Dean Acheson. Do you have a statement, Mr. Acheson?

Mr. Acheson. Yes, sir; I have a statement here.

Chairman Bloom. All right; proceed, Mr. Secretary.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE DEAN ACHESON, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. Acheson. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, just 2 years ago, 44 nations signed the UNRRA agreement and created the first of the United Nations organizations. I think it is pertinent to remember that in the middle of a war we and our allies began to plan for relief and rehabilitation.

Today the United Nations is more than a tentative association of allies concerned with the planning of relief assistance. It is a political reality. It seems to us natural and normal that we should play our part in that association and join with other countries in the handling of our common problems.

There is some danger that we will forget what an enormous change has occurred in our thinking and take for granted the techniques we have perfected to work together in peace as well as in war.

UNRRA is not just another agency which we can alter or discard to suit some temporary convenience for it has become one of the foundation blocks of our whole effort to secure a functioning international organization.

There have been three meetings of the UNRRA Council. At each meeting there were differences of opinion. At each we have insisted upon certain objectives, and have pressed for a vote of the member nations to decide those questions. We have not always won. Nor have those who opposed us always won, and yet no country has said, "If I can't have my way in every case, I will withdraw from the organization." We and every other member have accepted the vote of the Council and have gone on to work together.

Perhaps it is true that the questions raised at the Council sessions did not involve the largest political issues of the time, and to us many

of them may have even seemed trivial, but other countries thought some of the questions involved quite fundamental principles, and yet they accepted the decisions of the United Nations with good grace.

That to me is an enormous achievement. If we can continue to meet together and talk freely about our problems, if we can settle our differences in committees and sessions of the Council as a matter of course, we have gone a long way in preparing for the similar handling of all of our common problems in the Assembly and the Security Council as well as the other international organizations we have created.

In UNRRA the task is well under way. We have a going concern that is getting relief and rehabilitation supplies to those who need them. The task, however, is larger than we expected when we were planning it. At that time we could not know what devastation and suffering would follow in the wake of war.

It was always recognized that the greatest part of the job would have to be done by the devastated peoples themselves; UNRRA could only supplement these efforts by providing essential imports from abroad which some of the countries lacked the foreign exchange resources to provide for themselves.

The magnitude of the war far exceeded our expectations, and the destruction wrought by the enemy as well as the damage of battle caused by our own invading armies were more extensive than the world has ever known before.

In addition, it has become urgently necessary, in the opinion of the Council of UNRRA, to widen the scope of its responsibilities. New programs have been authorized for Italy and Austria because of our determination to distinguish between those nations and Germany and Japan. Programs have also been authorized for Korea and Formosa, until recently claimed as parts of the Japanese Empire. The needs in these areas are great and will involve the expenditure of a large part of the funds now sought.

Another factor of importance is that the end of the war in the Pacific has at last made it possible to give more than token assistance to China. Here also the needs are enormous and the capacity for self-help is inadequate.

Also limited aid is expected to be given to the two Soviet Republics which suffered most severely from the German invasion. The Soviet Union will be able to furnish most of the aid its people require, but the supplementary assistance the White Russian and Ukrainian Republics will receive from UNRRA will fill a pressing need.

When I appeared before your committee during the hearings on the original authorization bill, I stated that the original contributions recommended by the UNRRA Council were based upon the best estimates then available of the size of the job to be done. I also stated that if these estimates proved to be wrong, the whole matter would require new consideration by the Council and new recommendations would have to be laid before the Congress.

At the Council meeting in London this past summer the need for additional funds was considered, and the present request for an additional authorization is now before you in accordance wth the Council's recommendation.

Today the world is at peace, but the cessation of hostilities has not solved the problems of starvation and misery in the lands which

suffered the direct impact of war. We and our allies have united through UNRRA to try to alleviate this suffering by common action, and we are now in a position to accomplish that task. If the additional contributions which have been recommended are made available, supplies can be procured, and ships can deliver those supplies.

Together we have won the war. Surely we cannot afford to dissipate our unity and cooperation now that victory has been achieved. There is no question of the need. The only question we face is whether we will make our contribution and join with the other United Nations to meet that need.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Secretary, that is a very good statement. There is only one thing in there on which I would like to have you tell me the source of your information. You said, "Today the world is at peace," or do you not want to answer it?

Mr. ACHESON. Well, I recognize that perhaps it was more of a hope than a statement of fact, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. You have permission to correct your statement if you wish.

Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Secretary, I think this committee realizes that you probably know more about the creation of UNRRA than any one other individual because in its inception you had much to do with its creation and served as Chairman of the Council, or head of it.

Mr. ACHESON. As Chairman of the First Council.

Mr. JOHNSON. Chairman of the First Council, and you were very helpful to us in the first bill which we had authorizing the appropriation.

This amount, as I understand it, is an exact duplicate of the amount we first authorized?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON. The need for these additional funds is due to the need being greater than could be anticipated on account of the length of the war and the destruction being greater than had been anticipated, and also, as I understand from your statement due to the fact that certain other countries have, by force of necessity, been included, Italy, Austria, Korea, and Formosa, and two Soviet Republics, White Russia and the Ukraine, and China. Previously all of the supplies we could get into China had to go over the Hump, and they were very limited, but now, of course, the transportation problem has been solved. I have not had the privilege of attending the previous hearings upon this bill. I assume the committee has already had evidence on the question of why it was necessary to include Italy and Austria, but if you could, in a few words, tell us something about the necessity of that and what the problem is there, and in these other countries that have been added. If you have not already done that, could you do that?

Mr. ACHESON. I shall be very glad to go over that, but I think there has been a good deal of testimony on it.

Mr. JOHNSON. I can reach the record on that, then.

What I would like to know, Mr. Secretary, is whether the assessment against the other member nations is based upon the same formula as we had before. In other words, the countries, as I understand it, are to contribute on a percentage basis of the national income of what year was it?

Mr. ACHESON. 1943.

Mr. JOHNSON. 1943?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. That was considered a fair method of apportionment then, and you still regard that as the fairest and the best way to determine it?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; Mr. Johnson, the proposal is simply a duplicate of what was done before, the same amount and the same method of apportionment.

Mr. JOHNSON. I believe that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Acheson, I want to join Mr. Johnson in reminding those who joined the committee later of your fatherhood or motherhood, or something, of UNRRA. You certainly performed an important function there as Chairman of the First Council, and during the stages when it was aborning, even before that.

Mr. ACHESON. You were a close relative on the father's side, Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. It was because of the high hopes which we had for UNRRA that some of us joined you so loyally and enthusiastically in overcoming some of the doubts of our brethren on the floor.

Chairman BLOOM. You are still with us, are you not?

Mr. VORYS. I confess that I have had many disappointments concerning UNRRA. There is one thing you say in your statement here, which you may not mean exactly as you say it, but it concerns me very much and that is you mention that UNRRA must provide essential imports from abroad which some of the countries lack the foreign exchange resources to provide for themselves. Well, all over the world there are countries which lack essential imports which they have not the foreign exchange to provide. At the original meeting of UNRRA, I think at the suggestion of Colonel Lewellyn, in order that UNRRA might tell itself and the world what its limitations were, there was a paragraph adopted saying that rehabilitation would be coterminous with relief. The original authorizing legislation from this committee and the Senate in order to make assurance doubly sure and not being sure about what the word "coterminous" meant just said that it was understood that rehabilitation meant relief. Now, there is a whole lot needed for rehabilitation and reconstruction and a lot of other essential needs for countries that it was not the original idea of UNRRA to furnish.

Since we authorized UNRRA Congress has authorized Bretton Woods, which was to be a mechanism to secure essential imports for countries that lack foreign-exchange resources. We provided $3,500,000,000 extra for the Export-Import Bank, so that our country could proceed by itself along that line. Is UNRRA to take that whole thing over now?

Mr. ACHESON. No, Mr. Vorys; your understanding of the situation is correct, and there has been no change in it. I think, perhaps, that any misunderstanding is due to the fact that the paragraph of my statement which you read is a very compressed one. In order to make it perfectly clear, what we state there is that it has always been recognized that the greatest part of the job would have to be done by the devastated people themselves. Now, the job we are talking about is mentioned in the preceding paragraph—that is, relief and rehabili-

tation—and then we go on to say that in that job of furnishing relief and rehabilitation supplies UNRRA can only supplement the efforts of the people themselves by bringing in what relief and rehabilitation supplies have to come in from the outside. There is no change whatever in the ideas which were so fully discussed in the Congress before to the effect that UNRRA's job is relief, and that rehabilitation means such rehabilitation as is necessary for relief. That was stated in the original act of Congress. That view, which was in two sections of the act, one put in by the House and one put in by the Senate, was accepted by UNRRA at the meeting in Montreal. So there is absolutely no difference of opinion in anybody's mind but that we are proceeding exactly along the lines you mentioned.

Mr. VORYS. Well, the reason why I took those particular words literally was because there has been a good bit of loose talk here before our committee, and there are very substantial amounts, hundreds of millions of dollars for industrial rehabilitation contained for the future program of UNRRA, that is, beyond the first contributions.

Now, you will remember that we discussed exhaustively, using coal mines and textile mills as examples, what UNRRA intended to be the dividing line between relief and rehabilitation, and it had seemed to me that the industrial stuff that was not furnished within 6 months of the close of the war could not be construed or considered as relief equipment.

I missed yesterday's testimony, but we had a statement from Governor Lehman stating that he conceived his job to be to restore the productive economies of these countries. Well, we are not going to do that with any 1 percent of the national income of the uninvaded countries, are we?

Mr. ACHESON. No, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. Did Governor Lehman say that yesterday?

Mr. VORYS. He did not say it yesterday, but said it Friday.

Chairman BLOOM. I think he referred to it, but he did not say it was the duty of UNRRA to do that, if I remember correctly.

Mr. VORYS. In any case I will not take the time now to hunt up the particular reference. I cannot lay my hands on it now. As a matter of fact he repeated the statement, and Mr. Clayton, at the end of his statement, gave a very broad statement of what I feel sure we all feel represents the hope of this country as to what shall be done with the world, but UNRRA is not the organization with which to do it.

Now, what steps are we taking to provide financial help for these countries that lack essential foreign exchange? For instance, take railroads; there are countries where it is very helpful to have a railroad restored in order to get relief supplies in, but when the railroad is restored it is there for all purposes. Governor Lehman, in discussing it before this committee before, said that on such matters of rehabilitation or reconstruction, or whatever you wanted to label them, they were going to encourage the countries to seek other sources than UNRRA so that they would not deplete the UNRRA funds so needed for more immediate and pressing tasks.

Now, what is being done to meet those other needs, longer-term needs that all of these countries face? We are the only one that has joined Bretton Woods, is not that true?

Mr. ACHESON. I believe it is true that we are the only country which has secured the necessary legislative approval.

Mr. VORYS. Do we have applications to the Export-Import Bank for rehabilitation loans?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; there are applications from quite a number of countries for loans from the bank. I cannot recall all of them. There is, of course, a great deal of work being done within the countries themselves. I do not think there is any difference of opinion, Mr. Vorys, between you or the Governor, or Mr. Clayton or me or anyone else as to what the function of UNRRA is in this whole picture. It is, as you have said, a temporary work of trying to get through this immediate period until longer-range plans can be put into operation.

Now, I think you have to approach it as I know you would, from the point of view of common sense. You cannot rule that anything which is not done within 6 months cannot be done, or that anything which has a life of longer than a few months cannot be used. Sometimes it is necessary to provide something which has a longer life than that, or to do something after 6 months, but the purpose is, as you have so correctly stated it to be. UNRRA cannot undertake to do the whole reconstruction job, and it does not plan to do any of it, but it does whatever patchwork it can to make relief available for this immediate period.

You remember when we were discussing it before that we thought that the critical need in Europe and the Far East would be over two harvests, that when we had finished the second harvest probably Europe would be in as good shape from the point of view of relief needs as it ever would be, and from then on it would be a question of the long pull to get back on their feet.

Now, we said at the time that it would make a good deal of difference as to what time of year it was when liberation occurred. It might stretch the period to another harvest. In fact, the invasion occurred in the middle of the summer of 1944, and not much was done or could be done in the summer of 1944.

Unfortunately the summer of 1945 was the worst harvest that Europe has had for 20 years. Starting with the south of Europe and working north, they had a tremendous drought. The Italian crops were only a fraction of what they usually are, and all through Europe they were very bad, so that in the summer of 1945, not only was there no headway made, but due to that disaster of Nature, ground was lost, and, therefore, this winter is going to be one of the worst that Europe has ever faced.

It seems to us that by the end of the harvest of 1946 we will come to the end of the relief period, and that is what UNRRA is trying to do; it is trying to meet the most pressing needs, to keep people alive, to keep them clothed, and to keep them out of the weather, to try to get those things done until the end of the harvest of 1946.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Vorys, would you mind an interruption there?

Mr. VORYS. No, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Is it not a fact, Mr. Secretary, that the countries and the different nations have until December 31 to join Bretton Woods?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. So, they still have the balance of this month and next month if they wish to join it.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. There is another question I would like to ask, following Mr. Vorys. I do not think anyone confuses rehabilitation with reconstruction. I do not know of any statement of anyone before the committee that has mentioned reconstruction, Mr. Vorys. I think it is all rehabilitation. We have always tried to divorce reconstruction from rehabilitation. Is not that a fact, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir; that is true.

Chairman BLOOM. So the reconstruction which Mr. Vorys speaks about is out of this proceeding entirely.

Mr. VORYS. We have played over those three words and finally played them down.

The CHAIRMAN. Originally.

Mr. VORYS. I mean 2 years ago.

Chairman BLOOM. But since then reconstruction has never been joined together with rehabilitation. They are two separate things.

Mr. VORYS. Well, the amounts of appropriations that are labeled rehabilitation are enormous, and the ones that are planned are enormous, and while I imagine questions on the details of what those are for would better be addressed to Governor Lehman, or the UNRRA officials rather than the Under Secretary, I want to inquire into that.

Chairman BLOOM. I think the Secretary could answer that, because at no time has the thought of reconstruction entered into UNRRA from the beginning up to the present time. It is all rehabilitation, and that has been defined in many different areas for temporary relief where it is necessary. I think you will find that correct.

Mr. VORYS. It has not gone into the words, that is clear, but into the purchases of the materials, and that is a matter that I want to inquire into.

Chairman BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. Now, your statement that you just made, Mr. Secretary, is very helpful to me, although as I say it certainly is in addition to and somewhat different from your written statement. I do not quite get this in your formal statement which you gave us here, about UNRRA being not just another agency which we can alter or discard to suit some temporary convenience for it has become one of the foundation blocks of our whole effort to secure a functioning international organization.

While I realize that what you may have meant there was that one country cannot just change it around all the time for temporary reasons, yet UNRRA was intended originally, and I hope is still intended, to be a temporary organization which has itself determined its own exit from world affairs a year from New Year's Day, is not that true?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct, Mr. Vorys. I would not lean too heavily on that statement of mine. Remember the story of the lawyer in the Supreme Court who was going to outline his address. He said "First, I will state the facts, then I will state the law, and then I will take a lunge at the passions of this here Court." I was taking a lunge "at the passions of this here committee."

Mr. VORYS. Here is the reason I bring this up. It is not a captious picking at words at all. It is not intended to be. It is not intended to be a lunge at you, anyhow, but we started off here during the war to go step by step in this matter of international cooperation and to

learn by doing, and the idea apparently was that we would set up separate organizations to take care of specific tasks.

Mr. ACHESON. That is right.

Mr. VORYS. With the idea that we would learn by doing in these organizations, and that when the specific task was done that that organization would then be wound up.

Now, this hint there that this is to be a foundation block for the future, and is not merely temporary is alarming to one who has seen organizations and agencies grow up in our domestic Government for temporary purposes and find that they have nine lives like a cat and are terribly hard to get rid of when the time comes to get rid of them. I think we have got to face exactly the same proposition in an international organization, that whatever we get up may have grown into a bureaucracy that will not want to quit, and that it is going to require the same leadership in scrapping all of these things when their task is done that it took to set them up when their task was ahead and needed to be done. I wonder how you would feel about that.

Mr. ACHESON. I would agree with you entirely, and I think the record ought to be very clear that there is no suggestion, hint, or implication in the paragraph to which you called attention that this may go beyond the period of time that we are talking of, or that this is more than an emergency organization.

What I was referring to, in somewhat eloquent language, is the suggestion which has come up that we ought to have a new relief agency, that instead of continuing the agency let us have the International Red Cross, or let us have some other agency do it. What I was trying to point out is that when we start to do a particular job with a particular international agency, we should not begin to say let us scrap this one and try another one; we had better go on and try to finish the job with the one we started with.

Mr. JARMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Mr. JARMAN. I think also one word should not be overlooked in this discussion. He says "one" of the foundation blocks of international cooperation.

Mr. VORYS. Yes. While I am not happy about the way the sentence is worded, I am not trying to lay too much stress on it, and I realize that it is a speech, not a definition. Now, as to what agency has done the biggest job of relief to date, of course that is the United States Army; is it not?

Mr. ACHESON. In the areas in which the Army has operated.

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. Do you have in mind how much they have spent on relief?

Mr. ACHESON. No; I do not have.

Mr. VORYS. I think in the hearings before the Appropriations Committee it was said to be over a billion dollars. Then, a good bit of our lend-lease went to feed people, and to take care of them, to make sure that people stayed alive, which is one of the things involved in relief; is not that true?

Mr. ACHESON. Well, I do not know that we are now tracing the source of the funds, but let us be clear as to what the Army did. In

the areas where the United States Army operated, the Army took over all of the ports, all of the railroads, all of the roads, and all of the trucks in order to carry on the war. This, the Army had to do. That meant, of course, that all movements of food into the country, and within the country had to be subordinated to the Army's operations. The Army, therefore, took over the job of seeing that the people in that country were kept alive while it was fighting the Germans, and using the facilities of the country. This was a necessary military operation. Now, that is what the Army did, and what it had to do. It was done for reasons which were primarily military reasons, and secondarily humanitarian reasons. There might have been other armies which would not have cared, and would have let people starve to death. Our Army does not operate that way, but it was our conception of a necessary military move.

Mr. VORYS. I think we all agreed that it was a necessary military move, although it had humanitarian results.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. Which gave us all comfort.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. Now, did our Army do the relief behind the British, or did they have a program too, or do you know?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; I know something about it. This is really a matter on which the military can give you accurate information, but one theater that I am reasonably familiar with, which is Italy, the entire operation was carried out by the unified command. It was done through the supreme allied commander of the Mediterranean theater. That commander had at his disposal supplies for this purpose. Those supplies were contributed by the two powers involved in proportions that were agreed upon between them. We contributed by far the greater amount, but the British also contributed to it.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to state at that point to Mr. Vorys and the members of the committee that we expect General Eisenhower to testify Thursday morning at 10:30. That is Thanksgiving Day, so do not get frightened. It is Thursday, Thanksgiving Day, but that is the only morning that the general can appear. We hope that his dear wife will be convalesced by that time so that he will not be detained. He signified his intention to appear here Thursday morning, which is the last day that he will be able to appear any place.

So, any of those questions with regard to the military, I think General Eisenhower will be able to answer.

Mr. VORYS. And he could certainly also tell us, if his time does not permit, or if he is not familiar with the other theaters, of the military men who could tell us about this military relief.

Chairman BLOOM. He can tell you an awful lot. That is Thursday morning, at 10:30. That is Thanksgiving Day, so do not get frightened.

Mr. VORYS. It is very appropriate that he should be testifying on that subject on that day.

Now, perhaps, this is a question that should be directed to General Eisenhower, but it is a part of the total relief problem. UNRRA is functioning not only as a humanitarian organization, but to prevent the disorder and trouble that goes with starvation and suffering; is not that true? That is one of the purposes of UNRRA; is it not?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir; that is true.

Mr. VORYS. So that UNRRA has to take a world-wide view of this picture of human suffering. Now, do you know how many in Germany are going to need relief through this winter and to the next crop in order to keep from dying, or from getting very disorderly if they think they are going to die?

Mr. ACHESON. It is not a question, Mr. Vorys, of how many need relief. It is what the standard of feeding is going to be for the entire population. The problem in Germany, for example, is not that some of the people have a lot to eat, and other people have not enough to eat, but that there may not be enough to maintain more than a minimum standard for everybody.

Now, the army of occupation has a fixed standard which they hope to maintain in Germany, which is quite low, but it ought to be enough to sustain life, and to prevent such dilapidation of the human frame as to give a chance for disease. Now, in order to do that, the Army has to move around within Germany, so far as they can, the indigenous supplies, and they may have to import supplies. That is the problem with which they are faced, and which they are going to handle. Probably my answer is not very satisfactory to you, but your question is almost an impossible one to answer: How many people are going to need relief? There will probably be 60,000,000 people in occupied Germany who will have to be fed. Now, they will be fed as well as they can be fed, but if the standard in our zone falls below this danger point, then supplies will be brought in by the military authorities from the outside.

Mr. VORYS. Here is the reason I hoped that UNRRA would have something to do with it. UNRRA was going to procure and make suggestions even in areas where it did not have the responsibility, and I understand that, for instance, in western Europe where under the UNRRA plans they are not to be recipients of relief because they have foreign exchange, in France, Belgium, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries, UNRRA still makes at least suggestions as to the supplies they procure, so that it is not a case of where the rich eat and the poor starve. That is still going on, is it not, that sort of programing that was contemplated before any of those countries were liberated?

Mr. ACHESON. I believe that is not going on to any very considerable extent. The matter of supplying the western European countries is in the hands of the Governments of those countries.

The matter to which you were referring grew out of the resolutions adopted in 1943 at a time when there were severe shortages of certain items and those resolutions provided that the countries which were carrying on their own import programs should submit those to UNRRA so that UNRRA could object to them if they were excessive.

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Mr. ACHESON. I believe UNRRA is informed of what the programs are but the supply situation is such that, except for a few of the items, I do not think they have that problem today.

Mr. VORYS. We still have the combined boards, though; do we not?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; we still have the combined boards.

Mr. VORYS. Are they not functioning in that field as to export items?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; they make allocations for exports of certain items to various parts of the world.

Mr. VORYS. How long will the combined boards continue to function?

Mr. ACHESON. Well, I should think that at the present time a good many of their functions are being given up as we move out of the situation of shortage into a situation of adequate supply. They are not exercising controls merely for control purposes.

Mr. VORYS. Now, the UNRRA allocations on this matter of population are extremely interesting. For instance, China with a population of 451,000,000 people has gotten funds allocated in the amount of $59,100,000, or 13 cents a person; Italy has gotten $43,900,000, or 99 cents a person; Poland, $23,000,000, or $11.25 a person; Greece, $17,150,000, or $42.70 a person. It is very hard to understand how there could be that discrepancy because I doubt very much whether food supplies and medical supplies in those countries are very different, and they are all in the condition of having terrific shortages.

How does UNRRA go about allocating funds? There you run from $42 a head in Greece to 13 cents a head in China, and some of the other figures are even more amazing. For industrial rehabilitation in China, it is nothing, and $1.41 a head in Greece, and if the amounts are spent in Italy which are proposed, they would run far ahead of any of those figures. Now, do you think that human needs vary that much?

Mr. ACHESON. Do you want me to explain it all, or just answer the last part of your question? Answering the last question, yes; I think they do vary, but I do not think that I should undertake a full explanation now of why they vary. There are many reasons that go into the allocations of these amounts, and why they vary; they depend on a great many things, including the perfectly practical one of what you can do and what you cannot do.

In the first place you have to take into consideration that we are dealing here with imported goods, and there is a very great difference in countries as to the amount of imports which are necessary to sustain the population of the country. Let us take China: In the past and until the present time there have been very few imports of foods. If the textile mills get going in Shanghai, if they can be started, China will have to rely very little on imports of clothing material.

On the other hand the people of Greece and the people of Italy rely heavily on imports and they rely on them much more when transportation is broken down, as it has been since the war. So you have very grave differences of that sort. Not to go into it further, unless you would like me to, there are a great many practical operating differences. In every case, you start out by having a plan laid before you by the authorities of the country concerned. You asked about China. China's plan was gotten up by the Chinese Government. That was presented to UNRRA and UNRRA then went over it and some parts of it were modified as a result of the discussions. But what we do in the first instance is that the people who probably know an awful lot more than an organization in Washington can know, put forth their plan and then the plan is discussed and the text of it is finally agreed upon. That is the way it is done.

You are absolutely right that if we had all the money in the world and wanted to relieve the populations in all countries, then the allocations would be different from what they are now, but you well know

that we do not have all the money, and it is perfectly practical and a well understood matter that there are differences in standards of livings; there are differences in climate. The people in northern Europe have to have more fats than the people in southern Europe. The people in China eat different sort of starches from the people in the United States.

Those things, taken with the fact that there is not enough money to do the complete job anyway, bring about these allocations, and the allocations are about as little as they can be made and still prevent the disaster we want to prevent.

Mr. VORYS. There does not seem to be any rule applying to all as to needs, and if the needs are somewhat similar, and if there is not enough money to go around to satisfy all needs, then the fair thing to do, it seems to me, would be to divide it up among those involved, according to their needs.

Mr. ACHESON. That would be a very foolish thing to try to do, and a difficult thing to do. We cannot operate this by rules. The thing is much too complicated. What you have to do is to discuss the problems with the representatives of the people themselves, in their country, and if the Chinese say this is the program "which we think is the essential and minimum program to permit us to get through," then obviously there is no use trying to come back and argue with them that under the rules they would be entitled to three times as much, or that some other country should have a third less. That would be foolish. In the long run you would not accomplish anything, and it would just introduce an arbitrary element into what is a practical program.

Mr. JARMAN. And besides you would not have the money to do it.

Mr. ACHESON. No.

Mr. VORYS. Do you now run into this difficulty in Italy, a country which has not for a long time fed herself, and has got to get food from the outside.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. VORYS. And Albania is such a country, and there are other countries; and if you are going to say, "Well, we have got to fix up those countries so they can feed themselves from now on" then you certainly do have to restore their economy and create some sort of future economy for them.

Mr. ACHESON. No one has said that, and they would not be very wise if they did. No one has stated that.

Mr. VORYS. I think that is exactly what was said.

Mr. ACHESON. No; it is not at all.

Mr. VORYS. In some of these statements.

Mr. ACHESON. That is not it at all; no one has said that in the slightest bit. What we say is that we are going to try to help the people over two harvests; and the fact of the matter is that by that time they have got to work themselves back to a situation where they can stand on their own feet. That means that they are given another 15 months. We will say to Italy, "You have to import all of this material. You have no exports now to pay for it. Very well, we are going to help you through this harvest with a view to putting you back on your feet, and by that time you have got to be able to buy what you want yourselves, and if you are not able to, we will have to leave the problem in your hands and we do not know what is going to happen."

But nobody is saying we have got to feed them forever; or to restore their economy, or do anything of that kind. The fact of the matter is that the Lord made the earth, and Italy cannot support itself on its peninsula; she never has. She has done it by selling some of the things she produced to buy food. At the present moment the Italians have little to sell. They have to have the food, and the relief job is to give them food for a certain period of time.

Mr. VORYS. But now we are faced—I say "we," not UNRRA, but the United States as a great leader in the reconstruction of the world; we face the problem of what help or what suggestions we should make to Italy and to the rest of the world during 15 months when they are trying to get out of the relief category. I am concerned lest we should neglect something and that UNRRA should have to come back and say "Well, they have not done anything, and these people are going to starve" and we have got to keep going on and on and on, because unless the economy of these countries is fixed up they are going to starve and we must act. Certainly we know that some of these countries are coming to us now and asking us to make specific arrangements, and their story and their justification for that is "We have got no exports and that we will starve." Now what has the world in mind? That while we are willing to do this, are we planning to do something more than to administer temporary relief.

Mr. JOHNSON. What does that have to do with this bill?

Mr. VORYS. It has to do with this bill in two ways: One is that if what we are going to do is furnish relief and then allow these people to starve, we will have to go through this all over again.

Mr. JOHNSON. Would you favor not going through with this plan to prevent them from starving now? Is that your proposition, that you do not want to go through with this bill because there may be something else to face in the future?

Mr. VORYS. If what we are talking about, if all the United States and the world has in mind, instead of having a relief program that goes through to help them and their economy to help themsleves——

Mr. JOHNSON (interposing). We can cross that bridge when we come to it; but the bill we have here is to provide for temporary relief; and that is what this bill is concerned with.

Mr. VORYS. Taking the statements of Mr. Clayton and Mr. Lehman, and the statement of the Under Secretary, I am asking him to explain if it does not appear that UNRRA is to be the agency to continue that program.

Mr. ACHESON. With respect to relief, I can say that we are doing our very best along the lines you are talking about and I think we are going to make progress.

Mr. VORYS. And that a part of reconstruction and rehabilitation is not to be furnished through UNRRA.

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct. UNRRA will not undertake reconstruction.

Mr. VORYS. That is all.

Mr. JOHNSON. Judge Kee.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Secretary, either fortunately or unfortunately last summer, when we had a great many of my colleagues make their crusade to Europe I failed to go. Being a homebody, I stayed here and looked after some matters while they were all over there, so I did not have the pleasure of attending the meeting of the Council of

UNRRA in London as a great many of them did. You spoke awhile about the discussions had at the Council meeting about the further contributions to UNRRA. I would like to know how many of the South American countries, the Latin American countries, say the democracies on the Western Hemisphere were represented at that meeting of UNRRA.

Mr. ACHESON. I believe they were all there with the exception of Argentina, and the opportunity was open for her to come.

Mr. KEE. I understood from your statement that the question of further contributions was discussed and debated at that meeting.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. KEE. Was it understood generally among the delegates that the contributions from each country would be the same as it was originally, on the organization of UNRRA, at which it was agreed that 1 percent of the nation's income, for each country, was to be contributed?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; that was understood. In the pamphlet which the members of the committee have before them are printed the resolutions of the third session of UNRRA, and resolution No. 80 is the one which deals with this. In the first paragraph, after the whereas clauses, is found this statement:

> The Council recommends that the member governments should make available on the basis of the recommendations contained in sections 4 and 5 of the financial plan an additional contribution approximately equivalent to 1 percent of the national income of the contributing country for the year ending June 30, 1943, as determined by the contributing member government.

Mr. KEE. Was there any opposition, to any great extent, among the delegates or from the delegates from the South American Republics?

Mr. ACHESON. I was not there, Judge Kee. I do not know of any. Mr. Ferguson, who is sitting behind me, attended the meeting.

Mr. FERGUSON. There was very little opposition to it. And we have just been advised that the British Government has made available its additional 1 percent contribution.

Mr. KEE. I was just interested to know the spirit of the meeting; whether the South American representatives had joined in this work of UNRRA, and I think it is very gratifying to know that the South American Republics have so cheerfully joined in these contributions and in the work of UNRRA and have made, or are making contributions to it in accordance with the same plan of contribution of the other countries of the world.

One other thing: I believe that one of the great mistakes we made in establishing UNRRA was in adding the word, or using the term "rehabilitation" in the name of the organization. In the first place it has complicated the spelling of UNRRA very much, and in the second place I think it causes us much trouble in explaining what is meant by rehabilitation. As I understand UNRRA is supposed to engage in the rehabilitation of these countries only so far as rehabilitation is necessary and ties in with relief?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

Mr. KEE. And relief comprehends really within itself the meaning of rehabilitation when applied to the task of UNRRA.

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

Mr. KEE. For instance in agricultural matters you spoke of furnishing relief by UNRRA covering the period of two harvests. I recall distinctly the discussions we had when we passed the original resolution, and if I remember correctly it was determined at that time that possibly in a number of countries if we could take care of those people through one harvest it would be sufficient, and definitely determined that we might reasonably expect it would be necessary to carry them through two harvests. Now if that is true, and the funds, or further supplies of relief are dependent upon the harvest, then those countries cannot harvest unless we furnish the facilities to them; and that involves, does it not, the furnishing of certain harvesting tools, or implements, as a part of the relief and feeding of certain groups.

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

Mr. KEE. That part of the rehabilitation is what is comprehended in the term as we used it in the original resolution.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. KEE. In speaking of Germany a moment ago, as I understood your statement, you said that really there is not enough food for anybody in Germany at the present time; that all suffer alike. Is not that the statement? In other words no class in Germany has a sufficient amount of food.

Mr. ACHESON. That is what I understand to be the fact; yes.

Mr. KEE. And if a condition should obtain in any devastated country, where certain classes, or certain groups, or a certain number of people had more food than they necessarily required, UNRRA would see to it that the food was properly distributed; that the food actually in the country was properly distributed, to meet the country's needs. In other words, it would be a case of taking something from those who have and distributing to those you have not?

Mr. ACHESON. No. I think the answer is that UNRRA would not do that.

Mr. KEE. Would not?

Mr. ACHESON. No.

Mr. KEE. In other words, would not UNRRA inquire into the surplus food situation that existed in any country before furnishing relief?

Mr. ACHESON. It almost certainly would, but that is not what you asked me. I gathered from your question the meaning that if there was a surplus of food in Country A that UNRRA would take from Country A and give to Country B. No; it would not.

Mr. KEE. No; in the same country. For instance, if it was discovered that a certain class of Germans were supplied with surplus food at the present time, that they would not of course be entitled to relief themselves, but would they be entitled to retain that food for their own use, or would they have to distribute it?

Mr. ACHESON. Well we are going to be confused in our discussion if we bring in Germany in this connection with UNRRA, because UNRRA is not operating in Germany; and if that situation applies in Germany it is because the United States Army, which is the governing arm in part of Germany, is not enforcing a proper rationing system; and that they would immediately correct it.

Mr. KEE. Suppose we apply it to any other country in which UNRRA is operating, and suppose that UNRRA found a surplus of

food to exist among certain classes of people, and in another part of the same country in which it was also operating there was a program of furnishing relief——

Mr. ACHESON (interposing). Then UNRRA would very properly say that the country was asking UNRRA for too much of particular items of food, or that they were not making equitable use of what they had; and UNRRA would reduce the amount of its imports to that country by an amount which taken together with what was in the country would be enough for fair distribution.

Mr. KEE. And they would be required, would they not, to distribute the surplus food, in other words, to make an equitable distribution rather than to let it be retained by those who have it?

Mr. ACHESON. Well, you see UNRRA cannot make anyone do anything except with respect to UNRRA's goods. They could, however, insist that any surpluses be distributed fairly if any UNRRA supplies were to be furnished. As you know, UNRRA has no governmental power.

Mr. JARMAN. That has been one of the biggest handicaps; and it would be an advantage if she did have.

Mr. ACHESON. I do not know whether it is a handicap; it is a part of the system.

Mr. JARMAN. Which she could not have; but it has been a handicap, however, in what she could have accomplished.

Mr. ACHESON. I think she would have been in trouble if she had had tried it.

Mr. JARMAN. Quite naturally.

Mr. KEE. Right on that same point, which I raised the other day. It was testified here that in certain countries UNRRA is selling—distributing and selling—food products to people who had local Government currency with which to pay for the food and that the local currency would afterward be used for the purpose of relief just the same as would the food supplies and so on. I made inquiry with reference to equal distribution at that time, that possibly by that system those who had money to pay for supplies probably, or might possibly receive a greater supply than those who had no funds. But that was fully explained.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Secretary, following up Judge Kee's question with reference to the countries that have agreed to contribute the 1 percent—and I understand that Great Britain has already agreed—may I ask this question so as to complete that question. How about the other countries that have agreed to pay their proportionate share of the expenses; have they all agreed the same as in the first instance? I believe there are certain countries——

Mr. FERGUSON (interposing). The administrative expenses are a part of the agreement to make the new contribution.

Chairamn BLOOM. So they have agreed to put up their share of the expenses, the administrative expenses of UNRRA?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Chairman BLOOM. And they have determined to pay——

Mr. ACHESON. I think we must be careful there.

Chairman BLOOM. I want to be careful, that is why I asked the question, since you were asked about the percentage agreed upon. Now how about the administrative expenses?

Mr. ACHESON. Before we get to the administrative expenses, may I say that what Judge Kee asked is not the same as the question you have asked, Mr. Chairman. What happened at the London Conference was that the Council, through the representatives of the countries, made the recommendation of what they should do.

Chairman BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ACHESON. Nobody has agreed up to the present time, with the exception, as Mr. Ferguson pointed out, of the British Government. The Council has made a recommendation, and what this and the other governments will agree to will depend upon the action of the governments.

So that we must not say what the other countries have agreed to, except that they are right now presenting the matter for agreement of their governments, and insofar as administrative expenses are concerned, the same recommendation was made by the UNRRA Council.

Chairman BLOOM. That is correct.

Mr. ACHESON. The Council has made the same recommendation to all the countries as was made before.

Chairman BLOOM. I did not mean that the obligations have been agreed to at the Council meeting in London, but they have agreed to go through the same processes with reference to expenses and the 1 percent.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Chairman BLOOM. That is what we were debating here today. I wanted to get that clear. Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. VORYS. Will the gentleman yield for a question there.

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. I noticed that one of those in UNRRA had a purchasing mission in Chile. I wonder if it is for the purpose—I notice Chile has not paid in as yet. What is the reason for that? A number of South American countries have not, but that is a rather substantial contribution, and I was wondering how it had happened that they had not paid in.

Mr. ACHESON. That is set out on page 44, Mr. Vorys. Yes; Chile agreed to make available $2,153,000. She had not paid in the amount due. I cannot give you the reason. Do you know, Mr. Ferguson?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do not.

Mr. ACHESON. I do not.

Mr. VORYS. I wonder what the object of the mission was.

Mr. FERGUSON. If there is such a mission, Mr. Vorys, I suppose its object is to see if there are any supplies in Chile which can be procured by the Chilean Government as part of its contribution. I think that would be the object of the mission, if there is one.

Mr. VORYS. I had imagined so.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Secretary, from what you have said this morning I take it you would not want to commit yourself here that UNRRA would attempt to accomplish its objective, let us say in Europe, by the end of 1946?

Mr. ACHESON. No; I would not want to commit myself. I was too optimistic the last time I came before your committee.

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Chairman BLOOM. And Mr. Jonkman has brought that up a couple of times since.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; he has.

Mr. JONKMAN. You discussed, of course, conditions in Greece, and I wonder if you will agree that the dire circumstances in Greece at the present time are as much due to the ravages of the drought as they are to the ravages of war?

Mr. ACHESON. No; I do not know how to compare the two; but Greece has been put in a very bad situation by the war and the drought has not helped any.

Mr. JONKMAN. But is it not true that when we take the situation in other countries like France, there for a part of the year the drought obtained, and in Holland, Belgium, and Denmark, and even in Germany, but crops have been very good this year, and are they not producing about as much as they did before the war?

Mr. ACHESON. My information is that they are not.

Mr. JONKMAN. It seems to me that they are. But the point I wanted to make is this: Assuming that there is another drought next year, and she has no exchange with which to purchase commodities, would not we be in the same position with reference to Greece as we are this year?

Mr. ACHESON. The situation would be the same.

Mr. JONKMAN. And we would still have to help Greece would we not?

Mr. ACHESON. We would still have to do what?

Mr. JONKMAN. We would still have to help Greece?

Mr. ACHESON. I think if the situation were the same you would probably find me coming here and trying to soften your hearts, which I think I would find increasingly difficult to do.

Mr. JONKMAN. I am just trying to look ahead a little bit to develop whether that is reasonably one of the functions of the United Nations Organization. We have started something with this Organization which can be perpetuated. In other words, this is a humane movement and is it not very probable that wherever there is scarcity of food or scarcity of exchange that the reasonable function of the United Nations Organization would deal with that, and we are going to be doing that perpetually?

Mr. ACHESON. I am being helped out of a predicament in which you force me now——

Mr. JONKMAN. I have never seen you in a predicament yet.

Mr. ACHESON. Well, I can see where I was going.

Chairman BLOOM. And Mr. Jonkman was helping you along.

Mr ACHESON. Resolution 80, to which I referred a moment ago, has as one of the whereas clauses this wording [reading]:

> Whereas it is contemplated that UNRRA will complete its shipments to the receiving countries in Europe not later than the end of 1946, and in the Far East 3 months thereafter.

On that basis it is not contemplated that we will ask for more money. That makes it more definite.

Mr. JONKMAN. We began UNRRA, Mr. Acheson, with a declaration of policy, and UNRRA of course has frequently changed that declaration of policy, not that she should not have—I do not mean that by any means—but ex-enemies were not to be served by UNRRA; and now we have included Italy and are going to include Austria.

Mr. ACHESON. That is not quite correct; they were not to be helped by UNRRA except under certain conditions. One of those conditions has been met, and the declaration has been modified in one respect.

Mr. JONKMAN. With reference to Italy, of course it was, and that modification in the first place was a very limited one, $50.000,000 only, for children and pregnant mothers, or something like that. Do you not feel that if the United Nations Organization is to function, just as any local relief, since we have started this program, that we will perpetuate this organization in this way to help out the nations of the world where their people face starvation, and where we have a surplus of food we are going to be in the position of taking that surplus food and distribute it to the people who are starving. Do you not visualize something like that?

Mr. ACHESON. I am not sure that I understand the question. I think I still can say as firmly as anyone can say anything, as I did in answer to Mr. Vorys' question, that UNRRA is not a permanent United Nations' organization. If you mean there will always be a response to famine and suffering on the part of the United States I think that is true. It has been true in the past and I think always will be.

Mr. JONKMAN. In an organized way.

Mr. ACHESON. Not in this organized way.

Mr. JONKMAN. Do you not think that we have set the pattern for it?

Mr. ACHESON. No; I do not think so.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ACHESON. I think a part of that would be done through voluntary organizations, like the Red Cross and such other organizations.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Richards.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Secretary, I came in late and therefore if you have already touched on the same matters I ask you about, we will not take up more time on that.

Are you familiar with what happened recently in the House in connection with the appropriation for completing the authorization for UNRRA?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. RICHARDS. What do you think of the idea, or of the effect of the Congress writing into this authorization a directive as to how its contribution is to be used by UNRRA?

Mr. ACHESON. I think perhaps you want to direct my attention to the so-called free-press amendment.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is right.

Mr. ACHESON. There are many directives which the Congress has freely written into the original authorization act, which I think are perfectly all right. For instance the directive that UNRRA cannot commit itself to any obligations in excess of the appropriation. That is a very sound provision. I would not, however, want to be construed as concurring in the free press amendment. That, I think, is unfortunate and unwise. I do not think I could do any more than say what has already been said to the committee several times, and it is this: My interest in a free press is as strong as that of the people who wrote the amendment and who are enthusiastic about the necessity for a free press. I agree that it is highly desirable that America should assume leadership in this matter in all parts of the world. The difficulty is, that the very reason Congress would write in a

condition is that it believes that the newspapermen are excluded from certain countries, and the reason they are excluded from those countries is because of the type of government in those countries, which enables those governments to take arbitrary action.

The reason they have that type of government is because those governments are not responsible to the will of the people. Under these circumstances, you say to the people who cannot affect their government that they are going to suffer because their government desires something which we believe to be wrong. I think the logic of that approach is specious. I think it is ill-considered, in that we are not the ones to suffer. Somebody will suffer because of the action which we take without having a real understanding of the consequences of it. If we had an opportunity to understand the results, I do not believe it would be enacted.

Mr. RICHARDS. Do you think that such an amendment here would be injurious to the movement to perfect a world organization to insure peace?

Mr. ACHESON. I do not know that I can prove that very readily, but it seems to me that what we ought to do is to press the point as we have been pressing it directly ourselves and in the regular manner, and not attach it to a thing such as a relief gift. Everything that is said in the amendment the State Department has said, and has said with great vigor many times, and will continue to say.

Mr. RICHARDS. You are correct about saying that there was a general directive in the first UNRRA, and there is no question about that. But here is a practical situation that we are facing in Congress, and we faced it the other day when everybody who came on the floor said they were in favor of relief, that they were for international cooperation and for assuming our responsibility in the field of relief. Nobody had anything to say against the UNRRA organization as such as a general plan for relief, but then they started down the line with "but, but, but," and that is the thing that can lead to ruinous results. It is my opinion that the Brown amendment would lead to ruinous results, and that is the reason why I asked you these questions along that line.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Chairman BLOOM. Do you yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. Certainly.

Mr. VORYS. I want to get this straight. Do I understand that it is perfectly all right for our Government, through the State Department, to press for and insist upon certain principles in our international relations, at a time when we have no force behind them beyond the mere say-so; but that when it comes to our doing something for other countries, in some way or another, that it is inappropriate and improper for us at that time to insist upon these same principles? I want to confess that I do not get that at all. It is all right for us to stand up and say we are for certain things, but when we are giving away money, when we might stand for them effectively, then it is not. That is the point. And I confess I do not get it.

Mr. ACHESON. I can make my point much more clear to you, Mr. Vorys, if—assuming we pass this amendment—you would let me take you into a country that was denied relief for this reason, and let me keep you there for just about 3 months. I think you would see my point with great clarity.

Chairman BLOOM. What is your point?

Mr. ACHESON. My point is that you are causing suffering and possibly the death of thousands and thousands of people because the Government which they do not control will not do something which we think it is right that they should do. Now, if you are in the grasp of such irresistible logic that that seems to be the proper way of proceeding, then the only way to get out of that grasp of logic is to see the result, which will be very bad. There are, unfortunately, many people who are not clothed and who will suffer in the end as the result of the action taken, and we will be using a great humanitarian effort to reach that result.

Mr. VORYS. Do you feel, unfortunate as it may be, that there are nations in this world, that rather than let the accredited American newspapers come in and report on what comes from the United States to feed their people, will let their people starve? I cannot conceive of there being such a government on earth; but I am not the expert you are in those fields.

Chairman BLOOM. I would like to state, Mr. Vorys, if you will permit me, that we had Mr. Eugene Meyer, publisher of the Washington Post, and the editor of the Washington Post here, and if you will read the testimony given on this particular point I think you will find out what the press throughout the country—the New York Times, the Washington Star, and the other papers throughout the country—feel with reference to the amendment you are speaking of. Proceed, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. VORYS. If it is a proper question I would like to press for an answer to the question which I raised.

Mr. ACHESON. If I did not think so I would not be upset about this amendment. Obviously we are not opposed to a free press, but we are concerned about the results that will follow the use of this method to achieve it.

Mr. VORYS. Now I cannot conceive of such a country. Unfortunately I missed Mr. Meyer's testimony, but I am in disagreement with the suggestion that the American public is not entitled to all the information on UNRRA, and that does not mean merely from the State Department, or from public officials. That would be going against the principle that we are supporting here. And it is not sufficient that we should merely have reports of officials on things that are going on. That is not the way we operate in this country. That is not the way we run things, and if I have anything to say about it that is not the way we are going to participate in the peace.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Vorys, when the Committee on Appropriations is considering an appropriation no one is admitted at any time; no Members of the Congress, outside of the members of the Appropriation Committee, can know what kind of a report they are going to make; and they did not know what kind of a report was going to be made until they brought that report on the floor. Now that could be construed in these countries as being against the freedom of the press, and on that one point alone you could agree that persons starving in these countries would not be entitled to any relief because it was against the freedom of the press. That has been pointed out several times before. Now, if a mother is asking for food——

Mr. VORYS. How do you know a mother is asking for food?

Chairman BLOOM. If they are asking for relief——

Mr. VORYS. If some government is asking for relief——

Chairman BLOOM. May I just complete my statement?

Mr. VORYS. Pardon me.

Chairman BLOOM. If a mother is asking for relief for her children and herself and UNRRA has to say that the relief can not be furnished because your country has violated one of the principles of the freedom of the press—I do not think you would want to place the mother in that position; I know you would not. You would give the mother the relief she needs. Now because her country may be foolish enough not to comply with this request, for the freedom of the press, certainly you would not want that mother or the children to starve. I know you would not.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, you have been telling me what you think I favor.

Chairman BLOOM. Because I know you would give relief to the mother and children.

Mr. VORYS. When the Appropriations Committee holds its hearings Members of Congress are present, and I do have some confidence in them.

Chairman BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. When Members of Congress who have been in various countries see that because of our failure to secure sufficient information UNRRA food is going, not to mothers and children but to members of political parties, then I want to see that we have a full disclosure, not to the people of that country if they do not go in for that but to the people here, and I feel perfectly confident that in every country where they permit the press to go, it is because that country is not manipulating the supplies, to keep the mother and children from getting them; and I am also of the opinion that the only reason for forbidding observers to the distribution of supplies is that they are not going to the people who need them.

Chairman BLOOM. Governor Lehman answered that, as did others, in statements before the committee, and I am confident to say what he said that there is no country outside of Russia at the time they went to them but permits them to get all the news they wanted to get, and you will find that in the testimony of the editor, I believe Mr. Jones, of the Washington Post.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, I am going to make a point of order. I think when we have a witness on the stand and he has answered a question asked of him, that it is not good form for us to proceed to debate the thing around the table.

Chairman BLOOM. The point of order is well taken, and the chairman is glad to abide by it.

Mr. VORYS. And I do not appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am sorry not to have had an opportunity of being here for more of Governor Lehman's testimony, as perhaps my question is more in his field at the moment. But I do want to know whether any of the reports that have come in from the field have given him, or you as undersecretary, the feeling, the sense, or the facts, that the various governments upon whom rest the responsibility of distribution of UNRRA's funds have used them for political advantage.

I think you will recall we had a great deal of discussion of this matter at the beginning of the hearings on the original UNRRA bill.

Mr. ACHESON. I think the Governor's attention was directed to that. I was here one day when he testified, and I think he said, as I recall it very clearly, that there had been instances in which UNRRA's goods had either been stolen or pilfered on the way from the place they were landed to where they were going; and that there had been cases where they had been misappropriated. He said that was a small percentage of the entire amount of the goods that were sent over, and he told you that you must expect something of that sort in an operation as large as this; but that it had not led him to believe that it was the practice or a general condition; that he did not want in any way to deny the fact that things had occurred which should not have occurred.

Mrs. BOLTON. I think that is quite true, because I do not see how it could have been otherwise when you consider problems of transportation alone, such as on the road from Constantza up to Czechoslovakia, where engines break down on the railroad, where the train was stalled and several carloads of this material naturally subject to pilfering was taken by the people in the neighborhood who were hungry and were going to get anything they could. That is but human nature.

But I was not referring to pilfering of that type. I meant the deliberate use of these supplies by the government, which was not popular with the people, to bring pressure to bear upon the people to agree to their point of view. Has anything come in to prove, from the standpoint of UNRRA or from the standpoint of the State Department, or have you received any reports giving information on that subject?

Mr. ACHESON. I have seen nothing on that, Mrs. Bolton. In addition to pilfering, that we were talking about, the Governor also mentioned, and I have seen reports that some goods turned up in places where they were not supposed to be, and the indication was that it was not the work of single individuals. But again that is only a small part of the whole, and, as the Governor stated, we must expect things of that sort.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes; I think that could be true, but again——

Mr. ACHESON. I have not seen what you mentioned.

Mrs. BOLTON. We saw in several cases there had been deliberate use by the government of the pressure created by the demand for food, and need of food, hunger, and so on, to bring about very definite attitudes on the part of the people—and that is the situation in Slovakia—it becomes rather serious. And when we were told that nothing could be done—I am not bringing this up as a reason for the discontinuance of UNRRA—not at all—but I am bringing it up because I think it should go into the record, that if that is the kind of thing which is being done, some of us were aware of it in the beginning of UNRRA, and the fact that is being done simply corroborates my own point of view; I wanted to know if there had been any reports received on it.

Mrs. ROGERS. May I ask, Mr. Acheson, if you have ever used the Navy or Military Intelligence or the FBI to find out what is done with supplies of UNRRA?

Mr. ACHESON. Not that I know of. I do not think they are in the areas in which this operation goes on.

Mrs. ROGERS. They have been in the past, have they not? I think the Military and Naval Intelligence and the FBI do get around in those fields.

Mr. ACHESON. That may be; I do not know.

Mrs. ROGERS. That might be a good way to find out.

Mrs. BOLTON. I do not know that it matters very much how you find out; but I think our experience in Yugoslavia led us to feel that regardless of the need, that the head of the Government, Marshal Tito, used the supplies to exert pressure and let us know that he would do as he pleased; so that we are well aware of what the situation is—the political situation; and I had a very interesting and illuminating talk with Marshal Tito for over an hour, and it was evident that he intended to have a parade and not an election, no matter what we did; and certainly anyone who has been in that section of the world would hesitate very long before he would put anything in the way of having the people who are hungry get the food, because hunger is very real and very terrible there.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jarman.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Secretary, referring to your optimism of 2 years ago, I am sure everyone can readily understand that and your reasons for it at that time. You had only one World War on which to base your opinion, which came to a conclusion happily on November 11, 1918, and the devastation certainly was not to be compared with that which has taken place in all parts of the world. It did not occur before. So I think it is quite natural that you were a little optimistic, and you had reasons for so being.

Referring to the recommendation of the Council of UNRRA in London, I believe, that the contribution simply be repeated—that is, the 1 percent of the national income—and the amount stipulated, or to be authorized in the bill covers that; and you also referred to the fact that Great Britain had already authorized theirs, and I recall having heard some of the positive statements on the floor of that meeting by one of the representatives of the United Kingdom that that would occur, and therefore, I am not surprised at that at all. I believe you said that was the only country which has done so thus far.

Mr. ACHESON. That is what I understand, Mr. Jarman.

Mr. JARMAN. Which has completed her full contribution. Have you had any information from any country of the possibility of their contributing a lesser amount than the 1 percent; that is, of making a contribution of a smaller amount than 1 percent of their national income?

Mr. ACHESON. We have had no direct information concerning that. We have every reason to suppose that there will be some who will contribute less—whose contributions will likely be less than the full 1 percent.

Mr. JARMAN. That they will contribute less than they did before.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; or less than the full 1 percent.

Mr. JARMAN. But did they come to UNRRA and say, "We are not going to contribute as much," or did they just fail to do so? I mean, for instance, if this legislation was under consideration in those countries, would they say they would contribute less than they did before, or would they pass the bill for the same amount but pay less, or just appropriate less?

Mr. ACHESON. In the past some countries have passed bills appropriating a specific amount, and that amount was less than 1 percent

of their national income. But we knew, when we adopted this, and as I explained to the committee, that there were many countries which could not contribute 1 percent of their income. One illustration was India.

Mr. JARMAN. Yes.

Mr. ACHESON. India has a comparatively high national income but has a very large population and very poor people, so she is not in the position other countries are with a high national income and a small population. India's contriubtion was a substantial amount; I think something like $35,000,000.

Mr. FERGUSON. It was $24,000,000.

Mr. ACHESON. Whereas 1 percent of her national income would have been very substantially in excess of that amonnt.

Mr. JARMAN. You referred to the very large population; let us discuss for a moment the point raised awhile ago concerning countries submitting their plans to UNRRA.

The Chinese submitted their plan to UNRRA, and in the preparation of that plan I take it that they took into consideration their needs, and I would assume that they took into consideration the standards of living in that country.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. JARMAN. And they naturally would have considered the difference between China, for example, and the United States, if that was under consideration.

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Gordon?

Mr. GORDON. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Douglas of Illinois?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I was interested in what I have called a problem in semantics which is involved in the title of UNRRA and the fact that there has been such a difference of opinion as to what "relief" means, or "coterminous rehabilitation." I believe you said that this committee defined what that should be, and the Senate decided that rehabilitation meant relief. It is perhaps a nice point to know where coterminous rehabilitation ends and reconstruction, which is forbidden, begins. But I would like to ask the Secretary if by no definition could certain types of rehabilitation which UNRRA has indulged in be called long-term reconstruction and be dispensed with if we are to give relief at the present time. I am thinking, for instance, of Greece, where part of her rehabilitation consisted of sending over fertilizers. There had been no commercial fertilizers produced outside of Germany during the war in Europe, and 50 percent of all livestock was lost to Greece. We sent them some fertilizers and some pesticides, for agriculture. In some places transportation has been restored and bridges have been built. In China I believe that portable sawmills were sent in to build junks for the river traffic. Perhaps those do not mean relief, and yet relief would have been impossible without that type of "coterminous rehabilitation." Twenty-one percent of the homes were burned and lumber was needed to make them habitable before cold weather this winter. That is a type of rehabilitation that is being carried out by UNRRA. You would say that was legitimate, would you not?

Mr. ACHESON. Entirely.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I cannot see any successful program without it.

I would like to say for the sake of the record, because Mr. Jonkman fears that UNRRA might become permanent, that certainly it was the effects of the war and not the drought, which has produced the unbearable situation. I have mentioned the fact that a large percent of the homes were burned out, transportation was disrupted, machinery, tools, and factories looted or destroyed. These are not recurrent troubles.

Mr. JONKMAN. They have had drought years for 6 years.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. It is all the worse, then. The droughts were on top of this other destruction.

Mr. JONKMAN. I do not think you can get away from the fact that if they should have good crops for the next 2 years they would be in far better shape than before.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Without homes made habitable, they would still be in desperate need of help.

I do not know whether it is appropriate here, but I would like to be reassured by Mr. Vorys. Do I understand that he wants on the one hand to limit UNRRA to the most restricted rehabilitation work and at the same time he opposes UNRRA because it is not carrying out the much needed reconstruction work which it is forbidden from doing?

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair rules, in accordance with the point of order made by Judge Kee, that debates are out of order.

Are there any other questions, Mrs. Douglas?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. No, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Ryter?

Mr. RYTER. Has the Department of State taken any action in regard to alleviating the terrible burden under which UNRRA is now operating in some of these countries because of the deprivation of the people by reason of various materials that were still there and not destroyed by the war being taken away by either the Army of Occupation or by other agencies?

Mr. ACHESON. I do not think I quite follow the question, Mr. Ryter.

Mr. RYTER. Let me put it this way. Has the Department of State protested the conduct of the Soviet Government in denuding the various countries of mineral resources, machinery, and other assets which had not been destroyed by the war but which are now being taken away?

Mr. ACHESON. Your question is, Has the State Department done anything about looting in those countries?

Mr. RYTER. Yes.

Mr. ACHESON. There is very little that the State Department can do. If there is looting in the countries it is under the administration of another power. The State Department makes its views known as to how people should behave when they occupy a friendly country, but there is very little that the State Department can do about it.

Mr. RYTER. Have you definite information that this is going on and that the tremendous task which UNRRA is forced to accomplish is made more difficult because of the needs of these people being increased daily?

Mr. ACHESON. The needs of the people of any country are increased when armies go back and forth across the country. Everybody understands that.

Mr. RYTER. Have you stood by silently and done nothing, or have you protested or done something about it?

Mr. ACHESON. It is very hard for me to follow you, Mr. Ryter. I suppose you might mention Poland. Poland has been crossed and is now being recrossed by very vast armies. Obviously it depletes the resources of Poland when this occurs. What do you want us to do about it? We are ready, willing, and anxious to do everything we can.

Mr. RYTER. I wanted to know whether the State Department had at least protested this conduct.

Mr. ACHESON. The State Department has made it clear that we cannot furnish through UNRRA or in any other way materials for a country if there is organized export from that country of the materials which we are furnishing. That is perfectly clear. We have made it clear a thousand times to everybody. If you are talking about the acts of individuals——

Mr. RYTER. Then I take it that you have protested—or have you not?

Mr. ACHESON. I said we had made clear this position. If you call it a protest, all right. I do not know whether you are talking about the acts of individual soldiers or whether you are talking about export programs which have been entered into between the various countries.

Mr. RYTER. I am talking about both.

Mr. ACHESON. In cases of export programs which had been entered into, we would make it clear that UNRRA could not furnish materials to make up these exports. So far as individual troops misbehaving themselves is concerned, that is not a matter that the State Department can deal with. It is a matter of the discipline of an army, which is not under our control.

Mr. RYTER. Have any of our ambassadors or consular authorities in those countries filed any reports with the State Department which would indicate any complaints concerning the operations of UNRRA?

Mr. ACHESON. You mean, whether the operations of UNRRA have been criticized from the point of view of their efficiency?

Mr. RYTER. Yes.

Mr. ACHESON. They are criticized all the time. We are very free in our criticisms of UNRRA. Everybody criticizes it. Many of the criticisms, however, are groundless.

Mr. RYTER. That is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Flood?

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Secretary, have any of the nations who are recipients of relief or rehabilitation or both made any objections with reference to their share? Have they complained that they are not getting enough? Have there been any complaints of discrimination?

Mr. ACHESON. I think everybody would like to get more than they are getting.

Mr. FLOOD. I am sure of that. But there have been no affirmative objections that you have ever heard of?

Mr. ACHESON. No; I do not know of any.

Mr. FLOOD. I take it for granted that any arrangements that we are making with China we are making, of course, with the Chungking national authorities?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Will UNRRA participate in the policy as to displaced persons by disposing of the Polish Army that is still in western Europe?

Mr. ACHESON. No. UNRRA's functions, so far as displaced persons are concerned, are to look after them, to care for them, while they are in that category. UNRRA is not charged with the duty of determining where those people should go, whether they should go back to where they came from or to new homes.

Mr. FLOOD. And of course UNRRA, under those circumstances, will not attempt to force or dictate or urge their return to any country that they do not want to go to?

Mr. ACHESON. UNRRA will not do that.

Mr. FLOOD. That is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Rogers?

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Secretary, who inspects the work of UNRRA? Do you have inspectors-general just as they do in the War Department and the Navy Department?

Mr. ACHESON. UNRRA inspects its own work.

Mrs. ROGERS. Do they have a group of persons who go out inspecting?

Mr. ACHESON. I think Governor Lehman could answer that.

Mr. LEHMAN. Oh, yes; we have observers in every one of those countries, traveling about.

Mrs. ROGERS. And they report back to you?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mrs. ROGERS. Are a large portion of those observers Americans, or are they selected more from other countries?

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not have the exact number, but I would say the majority of them are Americans.

Mrs. ROGERS. Will you put that information in the record?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

(The information requested is as follows:)

The number of United States citizens in the UNRRA operating missions as of Sept. 30, 1945

Mission	Total personnel	Number of United States citizens
1	2	3
Total	995	496
Albania mission	29	8
Belgium mission	4	4
China office	65	40
Czechoslovakia mission	20	7
Denmark mission	2	0
France mission	16	(1)
Greece	344	187
Italy mission	204	127
Luxemburg	7	1
Middle East office	158	48
Netherlands mission	3	0
Norway mission	6	2
Philippines mission	4	3
Sweden mission	1	1
Yugoslavia mission	132	68

[1] Not reported.

Mr. ROGERS. I wanted to be able to tell whether the food was actually going to the hungry mothers and children, or whether it was being used for political purposes.

That is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Before leaving the stand, Mr. Secretary, will you kindly finish your statement? I believe you were about to make a statement with reference to Italy and the legality or the right of doing what you are doing now in Italy. You started that, I believe.

Mr. ACHESON. I think the question was asked of Mr. Clayton by Mr. Chiperfield, who I am sorry to say is not here this morning. Mr. Chiperfield's question indicated that ht was under the impression that by reason of the legislation which had been passed the authorization of the Italian program in the Montreal meeting raised some questions which Mr. Chiperfield suggested should have been referred to Congress, and I thought that if we would just go over the legal provisions applicable it would become clear that that is not the case.

The first thing is in article 1 of the UNRRA agreement. It is stated that——

> Subject to the provisions of Article VII—

which gives the supreme authority to the military commander in the field—

> the purposes and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:
> (a) To plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provisions of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services;

I just wanted to point out that Italy was at the time of the resolution under the control of the United Nations; that is, under the control of the armies of the United States and the United Kingdom.

Then, if you turn to the amendment provision it says that—

> The provisions of this agreement may be amended as follows:
> Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the approval of the Council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it.

That is, if there is to be an amendment to the charter of UNRRA which imposes a new obligation on any government, it is applicable to that government only when it accepts it.

I wish to point out that the resolution regarding Italy did not impose a new obligation upon anybody. The obligation of the United States is clearly stated in the act of Congress, and if we turn to that, which is in the black binder on a page which is numbered 4 under "Present legislation," you will see that section 5 of the act of Congress of March 28, 1944, says:

> No amendment under article VIII (a) of the agreement involving any new obligation for the United States shall be binding upon the United States without approval by joint resolution of Congress.

That provision, to which Mr. Chiperfield referred, refers to amendments of the charter which are not involved in this case at all.

Congress also enacted two other sections to which Mr. Chiperfield referred. One was section 3, which says:

> In the adoption of this joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabili-

tation Administration at the first session of the Council, summarized in paragraph 11 of Resolution No. 12—

which deals solely with the matter raised this morning as to the relationship between relief and rehabilitation; and the Senate, by section 7, carried that a little further.

So that all that the Congress has said here is that if you change the charter so that there would be new obligations, you must come back to Congress for approval. Nobody has changed the charter or introduced any new obligations under the charter, and Congress has not said by either section 3 or section 7 that it passed this act on reliance upon all of the resolutions of the UNRRA Council, but only upon the two specifically mentioned. So far as the money obligations of the United States are concerned, they are contained in section 1 of the act which authorizes $1,350,000,000 to be appropriated as Congress might decide from time to time. And again in section 6, Congress said:

> That in the case of the United States the appropriate constitutional body to determine the amount and character and time of the contributions of the United States is the Congress of the United States.

That is perfectly clear. We understand that. Also, in section 8 the Senate put in the following:

> In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:
>
> That the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall not be authorized to enter into contracts or undertake or incur obligations beyond the limits of appropriations made under this authorization and by other countries and receipts from other sources.

So that we have a perfectly clear statement that if you are going to amend the charter so that you undertake a new obligation, you must come back to Congress for approval. It is also true that Congress has relied upon two resolutions, which are not involved in the Italian matter at all, and Congress has stated that UNRRA shall not incur obligations in excess of the amounts contributed and made available by the United States and by the other countries.

Now, with that legal situation you come to the resolutions involving Italy. The first one of those is Resolution No. 1 passed at the Atlantic City meeting, which is in the book which you have before you and is entitled "A Compilation of the Resolutions on Policy, First and Second Sessions of the UNRRA Council," on page 9, and that resolution says:

> If it appears necessary for the Administration to operate in an enemy or ex-enemy area in carrying out the purposes of the agreement, it will do so only from such a time and for such purposes as may be agreed upon between the military command, the established control authority or duly recognized administration of the area on the one hand and the Administration on the other, and subject to such control as the military command or the established control authority may find necessary; provided that the Council approve the scale and nature of the operations it is proposed to undertake and the standard of provision, and that all expenses connected with such possible operations in an enemy or ex-enemy area should be carried by the enemy or ex-enemy country concerned.

That was a resolution of UNRRA. It was not recited by the Congress in legislation and not frozen by the Congress in any way. It could be changed if the occasion required.

When we came to the Montreal meeting we passed in the Council of UNRRA Resolution No. 58, which appears on pages 78, 79, and

80 of the Compilation of the Resolutions of Policy. That resolution, adopted in accordance with the charter of UNRRA, the act of Congress, and the policy resolutions up to that time, authorizes a limited program not to exceed $50,000,000 for Italy and provides a modified method of payment by Italy for that program.

That is the legal situation. Those are the legal steps which were taken, and the authorization of that $50,000,000 program and more recently of another Italian program has been carried out strictly in accordance with the act of Congress, the charter of UNRRA and the resolutions of UNRRA.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. JONKMAN. Referring to the resolution that you read from, section 3, on page 9 of the resolutions on policy [reading]:

> If it appears necessary for the Administration to operate in an enemy or ex-enemy area in carrying out the purposes of the agreement, it will do so only from such a time and for such purposes as may be agreed upon between the military command, the established control authority, or duly recognized administration of the area on the one hand and the Administration on the other, and subject to such control as the military command or the established control authority may find necessary; provided that the Council approve the scale and nature of the opertions it is proposed to undertake and the standard of provision, and that all expenses connected with such possible operations in an enemy or ex-enemy area should be carried by the enemy or ex-enemy country concerned.

That last provision was a declaration of policy, was it not?

Mr. ACHESON. Most certainly.

Mr. JONKMAN. And you have changed that?

Mr. ACHESON. Exactly.

Mr. JONKMAN. Absolutely?

Mr. ACHESON. Not absolutely, but in part.

Mr. JONKMAN. You have changed it as to the first $50,000,000, and on the next $400,000,000 it is going to come right out of UNRRA funds?

Mr. ACHESON. That may well be.

Mr. JONKMAN. I have said repeatedly that I do not object to that process, but I do not want to tell anybody that we are within the scope of the declaration of policy when we do that, because we are not. In my judgment, we might just as well be frank about it and say that conditions have changed tremendously since that time and UNRRA has the power to change the policy. After all, that is the business of UNRRA. That does not create an additional obligation of the United States except that if, for instance, they have changed the policy so that it is going to take $250,000,000 for Russia and $450,000,000 for Italy and $200,000,000 for Austria. Then we are going to have an additional obligation to meet the obligations created by that change. That is my idea, and I think it is sound.

Mr. ACHESON. I do not know that you and I have any difference of opinion at all; but so far as creating any obligation on the part of the United States to send additional money beyond the moneys appropriated by the Congress, that can only be done by coming to this committee, as we are coming now, and by coming to the Appropriations Committee, as we will have to do if this committee acts favorably on this legislation.

The point I am trying to make is that the idea has crept into these discussions that something that has been done was done in violation of the act of Congress. I am pointing out that that is not the case. We

have not violated an act of Congress; we have not violated the charter of UNRRA. We have acted at all times strictly within the legal powers and limitations imposed by the act of Congress and imposed by the charter of UNRRA. We have, as you correctly observed, changed a policy which was laid down at one meeting by a modification adopted at a subsequent meeting, something which was entirely within the power of UNRRA and was entirely within the scope of the act of Congress.

Mr. JONKMAN. And the only question that occurs, just as we have had it in much other legislation, in fact, in the beginning of this legislation, is whether or not it will implement the contract that was made by the United Nations.

Mr. ACHESON. There has been no contract made with respect to additional contributions; and, under the act of Congress, we could make no contract. UNRRA never has made a contract in excess of the funds made available to it by this and other governments. The UNRRA Council has made a recommendation to the governments to enlarge the scope and continue the period of UNRRA's work.

Mr. JONKMAN. When I spoke of a contract I meant the contract or agreement between the United Nations.

Mr. ACHESON. No; there has been no change in the contract between the United Nations.

Mr. JONKMAN. Was not this a part of the contract upon which you relied?

Mr. ACHESON. No, it certainly was not; and there should be no question whatever about that. If the proposition which is now put forward is that every resolution adopted at the first meeting of UNRRA is unchangeable without an act of Congress, then you and I are in head-on collision. But that is not the case. The House and the Senate both picked out those resolutions which they said they were going to rely on. They put those in the act. That act of Congress was reported to UNRRA and accepted by UNRRA, so that those paragraphs which are included in the act of Congress, reported by this committee, are now part of the fundamental agreement, because they have been accepted. But these others may be changed at any time.

Mr. JONKMAN. I think you said a moment ago that UNRRA had broadened its scope as defined by this provision?

Mr. ACHESON. It has broadened its scope because it has included a country which could only be included by an act of the Council.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is the point I am trying to make. All I am trying to say is that it is not within this provision. It has nullified the provision——

Mr. ACHESON. Wait a moment——

Mr. JONKMAN. I am asking a question now. Does it not follow that UNRRA can broaden the scope of its operations without limit?

Mr. ACHESON. No; it does not follow at all. It does not follow in any way. I think it is important to understand this thing and not to make a statement such as you have just made. If UNRRA undertakes in any way to depart from the functions laid down in the agreement, that can only bind the United States when it has been accepted by the Congress. What you are now talking about is this: Under a resolution which says UNRRA will not operate in country A without the consent of the Council, may the Council give that consent? The

answer to that must be "yes." There could not possibly be any other answer.

The second thing is that the council at one meeting says, "If we give our consent we will only do it on condition that the ex-enemy country pay in full." At the next meeting they said that was too stiff a condition, and it was changed. Again, the action was perfectly appropriate.

Mr. JONKMAN. Would you say that the fact that the contribution was made by the United States was not premised in any degree upon that provision that no part of it should go to enemy and ex-enemy countries?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; I would say that it was not premised in any way upon that. It was premised entirely upon the provisions of the act, the provisions of the charter, and such explanations as you have gotten from the witnesses. But the act of Congress is perfectly clear, that out of all the welter of words that we had when I was up here before, you picked out certain fundamental things that you said must be the condition to our going into this, and you put all of those into the act, and the act contains all of the things you picked out of these volumes and said were essential.

Mr. JONKMAN. Including this one on page 9?

Mr. ACHESON. You did not pick that out. It is in no way referred to in the act of Congress—not in any way at all.

Mr. JONKMAN. But it was the agreement which was made beforehand upon the basis of which we made the contribution?

Mr. ACHESON. No, it is not that at all; not in any way.

Chairman BLOOM. I am glad you gentlemen agree.

Mr. Vorys, Governor Lehman is here. He is your witness.

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not want to interrupt the Secretary.

Chairman BLOOM. I think he is through.

STATEMENT OF HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN—Resumed

Mr. VORYS. Governor, you have been very kind to return.

Chairman BLOOM. He returned from the Senate hearing, and is ready for you.

Mr. VORYS. I think you know that we are all agreed upon the importance of the relief problem, but the question is how best to do it. You said the other day that you had traveled in Europe and that you had heard no substantial complaints about UNRRA. It happens that I and a number of other Members of Congress traveled in Europe and not only heard a lot of substantial complaints, but although I had been a great booster originally for UNRRA, I heard no substantial praise for UNRRA.

Mr. LEHMAN. My statement was that I had heard no substantial complaints from the governments or the people of those countries.

Mr. VORYS. Many of us have had such complaints. What do you do with complaints about UNRRA? It is inconceivable to me that UNRRA is like halitosis and your best friends won't tell you. You must have heard some of the complaints about UNRRA; you referred to some of them. How do you process complaints or criticisms about UNRRA?

Mr. LEHMAN. If a complaint comes to us from what we consider a reasonably reliable source, we immediately direct our chief of mission

in the country to investigate it through his own personnel and lodge an inquiry with the government that is concerned. He can use such means as in his opinion would be the most effective to develop all the facts. We get a report from him, very frequently by cable. We do not lose time ordinarily in bringing a complaint to his attention. We usually send them by cable. When the report comes in we give it careful consideration, and particularly if the criticism is made by Congressmen visiting the country or by a diplomatic mission there or by a private relief agency, we look into it carefully. If it is justified, we bring it to the attention of the Government. Certain cases have been justified, and steps have been taken to correct the abuse.

Mr. VORYS. Do you have what you would call a complaint file in UNRRA that would show the number of complaints that have been processed and disposition made of them?

Mr. LEHMAN. I doubt that. I do not think that we have a specific complaint file, but I can assure you that any complaints that we receive that appear to us to be from responsible sources, we do investigate.

Mr. VORYS. The investigation by the Army at Granville was discussed, I think, in committee and on the floor during the appropriations hearings and a statement was made then, I think, that an UNRRA official had been disciplined and one had been dismissed and that the matter had not been finally completed. What has been the final disposition of it?

Mr. LEHMAN. It has not been finally concluded yet.

Mr. VORYS. How long ago has that been?

Mr. LEHMAN. It has been some little time, I should say, 2 or 3 months, and we have had preliminary reports of a confidential character and we are still continuing the investigation. We know that there is certain equipment, particularly trucks that have not been accounted for. They have not necessarily been stolen. We tried to trace them.

Mr. VORYS. It was considerable equipment in addition to the trucks, was it not?

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not recall that there was considerable equipment.

Mr. VORYS. As we heard it on the floor—and I understand it was before the committee also—there was evidence of graft and black-marketing operations that involved the personnel at Granville; and I had hoped that by this time we would be able to get a complete report on what had been found and what had been done. Has there been any further action on the matter since you testified before the Appropriations Committee?

Mr. LEHMAN. The matter is still being pursued energetically by our organization in Europe, by our organization in Germany, the displaced persons organization.

Mr. VORYS. The Soya Corp. has a process, I am told, of debittering and deraneidizing soybeans, which has been approved by the Army and the Navy, and both branches have purchased the product. This process I understand has been proven by Government experts to make soybeans far more palatable and to prevent them from becoming rancid, and yet UNRRA bought 60,000,000 pounds of soya flour through the War Food Administration that was not so processed, and a great deal of it became rancid. I understand that the UNRRA people were told that if it was fit to ship for human

consumption to charge one price, and if it had spoiled and was not fit for human consumption, but only for animal consumption, to charge another price. I understand that UNRRA has not only never bought any of this soybean flour so processed, but that a 2,000,000-pound order for China, where this process would be of enormous importance in increasing the food content of the soybean, which of course is a great food staple in China, has been refused by UNRRA.

What is the situation about the Soya Corp. and why is it that this process is repeatedly turned down by UNRRA?

Mr. LEHMAN. I will have to insert a statement in the record about that. Our purchases are made, of course, from the War Food Administration, the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. VORYS. You are not bound to purchase just whatever they say. That is, if you have a particular kind of food that would, as in this case, as it appears to me from information I have been able to obtain, make soybeans, a lot of which have been rotting in the fields in this country and which are plentiful in the Orient, more edible, and will prevent their deterioration in shipping, I would like to know and to have a very complete report as to why UNRRA has not purchased them, and if it is the War Food Administration that is blocking the purchase, I would like to know that. I understand that the price is the same. You do not know anything about that?

Mr. LEHMAN. No; I do not. We have shipped quite a lot of soybean flour, I believe. I am not familiar with many complaints, if any. We will be very glad to give you a full statement.

Chairman BLOOM. Please bring it up in the morning and insert it in the record.

(The information requested is as follows:)

NOVEMBER 27, 1945.

STATEMENT BY THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF UNRRA, HERBERT H. LEHMAN, IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS RAISED ON NOVEMBER 20, BY CONGRESSMAN VORYS, OF OHIO, WITH RESPECT TO SOYA FLOUR

Question. Did UNRRA buy about 60,000,000 pounds of soya flour, all or part of which spoiled?

Answer. No. The War Food Administration and UNRRA agreed on March 22, 1945, to transfer from the inventory of the former to the inventory of the latter approximately 56,000,000 pounds of low-fat soya flour and approximately 16,000,000 pounds of low fat soya grits. On May 15, 1945, the WFA advised UNRRA of its intention to reduce the amount of the transfer of low fat soya flour from about 56 to about 22,000,000 pounds, because (*a*) about 18,500,000 pounds could not, on account of ODT restrictions, be moved east from the Pacific coast and had, therefore, been made available on the USSR lend-lease program; and (*b*) about 14,000,000 pounds was found on inspection to be out of condition. UNRRA shipped, to the countries receiving its assistance, the 22,000,000 pounds delivered to it by the WFA. The entire quantity arrived in good condition and every country to which part of it was sent requested more.

Question. Why did UNRRA refuse to purchase full-fat soya flour from the Soya Corp. of America which product (produced by a patented process which it is claimed removes all bitterness and prevents the development of rancidity) was approved by the Army, the Navy, and the Bureau of Standards?

Answer. UNRRA made no such refusal. UNRRA does not buy its supplies from vendors. The Department of Agriculture procures all the foods shipped by UNRRA from the United States. That Department is entirely free to place UNRRA's orders with whatever vendors it sees fit. Should that Department contract with the Soya Corp. of America, or with any other vendor, UNRRA would accept the product provided only that it passed official inspection.

Question. Why does not UNRRA specifically requisition the soya flour produced by the Soya Corp. of America?

Answer. UNRRA to date has not specifically requisitioned the full-fat soya flour produced by the Soya Corp. of America for the reason that it has not to date been convinced that this product differs so materially from that of other manufacturers of full-fat soya flour as to warrant the exclusion of other manufacturers from participation in orders placed by the Department of Agriculture on behalf of UNRRA. In this connection UNRRA has sought the views of technologists and Dr. L. S. Stuart, of the United States Department of Agriculture, has stated that "in our experience we have not found the full-fat soya flour produced by the Soya Corp. of America to be materially different in its properties from the full-fat soya flour produced by four or five other manufacturers of this product." The requisition which UNRRA has recently placed for 4,000 tons of full-fat soya flour will be filled under the usual procedures of the United States Department of Agriculture in which all suppliers are given an opportunity to offer their product. Should the Agriculture Department purchase the product of the Soya Corp. of America, UNRRA will be more than happy to accept it.

It should perhaps be added that UNRRA's efforts over the past 2 years to encourage, in everyone of the countries receiving its aid, greater use of soya products, as a substitute for scarce animal proteins, have met with great success. That encouragement has included (*a*) the circulation of literature emphasizing the high nutritional value of both full and low fat soya flour: (*b*) extensive experiments incorporating up to 10 percent of soya flour in bread; and (*c*) the free, first-hand assistance in every country of an outstanding United States expert on a great range of uses of soya products. As a result UNRRA has been receiving for some months orders for soya products in excess of the quantities it is able to procure out of its meager available financial resources. UNRRA has programmed for shipment, during December 1945, 4,000, 6,000, and 5,000 tons, respectively, of full fat (about 22 percent fat), expeller type (4 to 7 percent fat), and solvent type (about 1 percent fat) of soya flour. Everyone of the countries (Albania, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, and Yugoslavia) to which these soya flours are being sent would gladly accept much larger quantities if UNRRA had the funds with which to buy the amounts requested.

Proceed, Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. I did not hear all of your testimony the other day, but I understand that you mentioned that the only complaints about UNRRA from members of your staff have been from disgruntled or incompetent people who have been discharged. I wish you would give me the names and addresses of the Americans who have left the employ of UNRRA and whether they resigned or were fired. What was the character of the termination of their employment?

Mr. LEHMAN. I want to correct one statement. I never made the statement that the only complaints we have had were from people who have been discharged. I said people who have been discharged were disgruntled because they were not satisfied with the way the work had been carried on for one reason or another. I want to point out that in an organization that has employed at various times upwards of 10,000 people, it is the easiest thing in the world to get 1 or 5 or 50 people to testify that they do not approve of the work of UNRRA. We could counter with a thousand people testifying that they were very well satisfied and that they approved of our work. I believe you could get thousands upon thousands of people to testify or criticize one thing or another in connection with the conduct of the war by the Army. Some of the criticisms might be justified. But the fact still remains that the Army went ahead to a complete victory.

I have here in the hearings before the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, page 29, a list of chief officials who have resigned in the last 6 months, and the reasons for their resignations.

Mr. VORYS. There are 21. How many do you suppose have resigned or been discharged all together in the last 6 months?

Mr. LEHMAN. I have no idea. I could not answer that offhand. There is a substantial number. I have already told you on several occasions that we are weeding out personnel. By weeding out I do not mean that all have been dismissed; some of them we have permitted to resign. We were glad to get their resignations.

Mr. VORYS. What I would like is a little more inclusive list.

Mr. Dirksen asked a question as to the top officials who have resigned. I want the names and addresses of Americans who have left UNRRA's employ in 6 months and the reason for the termination of their employment.

Mr. LEHMAN. I think we can get you that information. But a great many of our records are obviously kept abroad. I think in the main we can get you the information.

Chairman BLOOM. People may resign without giving any reason. UNRRA may not know the reason for their resignation.

Mr. VORYS. I prefaced my remarks by saying that I was not here but I saw in the papers what you were supposed to have said the other day.

Mr. LEHMAN. What other day was that, Mr. Vorys?

Mr. VORYS. I do not know. There was a piece in the Times saying that the complaints about UNRRA were from those who were incompetent and had been discharged or who were disgruntled and had resigned.

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not think you saw that—at least, if you did, I was not quoted correctly.

Mr. VORYS. You may not have been. I have talked with UNRRA officials who have not resigned and they have made critical comments, and other Congressmen have had the same experience. These officials are not in position to come here and testify. Those who have resigned are, some of them, in a position to come here and testify. I do not think that anywhere near all of them are people who are completely wrong about UNRRA merely because they are no longer employed there, and I think it would be very helpful if you could give me the list I suggest.

Mr. LEHMAN. May I interrupt you one moment by pointing out that I very definitely made the statement yesterday that I did not object to criticisms; that I thought criticism was inevitable, and undoubtedly frequently justified; that I did object merely to criticism and the apparent disposition of people to point out defects which are bound to exist in every large organization doing a complicated job, without any effort on the part of those people or others similarly placed to give credit where credit was due. I believe that UNRRA deserves a great deal of credit.

Mr. VORYS. There is a Mr. Morck who, I understand, interviews your personnel as they are processed and when they resign or are discharged. Will you obtain a statement from him, or possibly he has furnished you with a summary of the sort of statements made about UNRRA. I think they have no doubt been considered carefully by your organization, and such a statement would be helpful in showing the type of complaints that are made by your staff at a time when they are in position to speak freely; and you could no doubt show what had been done with those complaints.

Mr. LEHMAN. We have, of course, a number of people, not only Mr. Morck but others, who do interview people. I will try to get you such a memorandum. Whether it exists or not I do not know. It certainly exists with regard to individual cases, but whether it has been tabulated or not I do not know.

Mr. VORYS. I had thought that no doubt you would take some steps to secure those comments on UNRRA, which would be extremely valuable, because they are made by those who are familiar with the work and who are under no compulsion one way or the other at the moment, and they might be very helpful.

There was a complaint that was made on the floor of Congress, and I wonder what has been done about it or what your answer is; that is, the number of people that have what we Congressmen call publicity jobs in connection with UNRRA. I think somebody counted them and there were 65 in your office here. I counted 13 of the top officials as listed here on page 151 of the hearings before the Appropriations Committee. Why do you have to have so many, and why don't you get rid of them, Governor?

Mr. LEHMAN. I will answer that categorically. I do not think we have more than are needed; and so long as I think they are needed I am not going to get rid of them.

I must take exception to your characterization of these men as publicity men. They are not publicity men; they are public information men. We think the American people are entitled to the fullest information with regard to UNRRA. That information can be obtained only through direct interviews within the country involved or through the publication of reports and other media of information that is released through the Washington office. I do not think UNRRA has ever carried on a campaign of propaganda. It has tried to make the people of this country familiar with the work that UNRRA is doing, the needs that exist abroad, and the manner in which UNRRA has to satisfy those needs. We have done that through the means of newspaper and magazine articles, the continuous publication of bulletins which have wide circulation, even in Congress, through moving pictures, through radio, and through other media of public information.

I am not going to argue with you whether we have three people too many or three people too few, but I will argue with you on the question of whether a well-run, well-equipped public information bureau is necessary. I do not know of any work that requires publicity through public information to a greater extent than UNRRA. I think that UNRRA, if anything, has not done its duty in that regard. I say that because I find the most surprising ignorance in this country with regard to the work of UNRRA. I am amazed at the number of people, intelligent people, who have the means of acquainting themselves with the matter, who just do not know what the purposes of UNRRA are, what the ideals of UNRRA are, or the manner in which UNRRA has discharged and is discharing its duties. In the minds of most people UNRRA is a purely food-distributing organization, a pure relief organization. UNRRA is not that. I want to make it clear that UNRRA is a relief and rehabilitation organization. Its purposes and its scope are clearly set forth in the resolutions adopted by the UNRRA Council. Very few people realize those things. Very few people realize what UNRRA has accomplished. I think it

is the duty of UNRRA to make people realize; and so far as I am concerned, I should certainly feel that it was my function to continue that policy.

Mr. JONKMAN. Will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Mr. JONKMAN. I heard something about a whole team leaving UNRRA. They were located, I think, at Stuttgart. Are you familiar with the story on that?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes; I do not have all the facts here before me. They left and they were sent back for insubordination.

Mr. JONKMAN. Did they not raise some question there about the English running the show entirely?

Mr. LEHMAN. They did.

Mr. JONKMAN. And was there not some claim that the English were using the displaced persons camps for drilling soldiers and things like that, and keeping them there?

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not think they ever made such a claim. They did claim, through the press, that displaced persons in Germany were controlled by the British. They made the further claim that UNRRA sided with the former Polish-London government and were making efforts to prevent the Polish nationals who were in the displaced persons camp from returning to Poland. We looked into it carefully and found that neither accusation was correct; and these accusations which I say were aired in the public press rather than in conversations with our people, or in any formal complaint, were quite unjustified. I have looked into that particular case carefully, and I can assure you that at least in my opinion the separation of those people, particularly one man, was fully justified.

Mr. JONKMAN. Who was that?

Mr. LEHMAN. A man by the name of Beecher. Is that the man you have in mind?

Mr. JONKMAN. I think so.

Mr. VORYS. I want to go back to the statement you have just made, in which you said that in the minds of most people UNRRA is a pure relief organization, and to remind you that they may have been relying upon the action of the Congress of the United States which provided in the fundamental law authorizing our participation in UNRRA, "That rehabilitation means and is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief." At Montreal UNRRA accepted that limitation upon its activities, since it was merely a redefinition of its own definition of its scope; and if you are trying to put out a publicity program to show that UNRRA is to be something else than that, you are going to need more than 65, and if any of your publicity people are working on selling the American people on the statement that UNRRA is anything more than that, they are carrying on an utterly unauthorized activity.

Mr. LEHMAN. I hope you will not object to my differing with you on your interpretation. I quote now from the preamble of the agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which was inserted in toto in the resolution that was adopted by Congress authorizing the appropriation of $1,350,000,000, and that preamble reads as follows:

The Governments or authorities whose duly authorized representatives have subscribed hereto,

Being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations in this war,

Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing, and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services.

That goes a great deal further than your interpretation.

Beyond that, in Resolution No. 1, adopted by the Council of UNRRA at its first session in Atlantic City, and with which the Congress of the United States was fully familiar prior to the time the resolution was introduced and passed, we find the following language:

II. THE RANGE OF SERVICES WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION WILL PROVIDE

The supplies and services of which the Administration will seek to insure the provision fall under four heads:

1. Relief supplies: Essential consumer goods to meet immediate needs, such as food, fuel, clothing, shelter, medical supplies.

2. Relief services: Such as health and welfare; assistance in caring for, and maintaining records of, persons found in any areas under the control of any of the United Nations who by reason of war have been displaced from their homes and, in agreement with the appropriate governments, military authorities or other agencies, in securing their repatriation or return; and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes.

3. Rehabilitation supplies and services: Materials (such as seeds, fertilizers, raw materials, fishing equipment, machinery and spare parts) needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated areas, and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes.

4. Rehabilitation of public utilities and services: So far as they can be repaired or restored to meet immediate needs, such as light, water, sanitation, power, transport, temporary storage, communications, and assistance in procuring material equipment for the rehabilitation of educational institutions.

Chairman BLOOM. That preamble is also in the act itself.

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes, sir.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. On the subject of publicity, in Illinois I have made a number of speeches, and I have been conducting a little examination at the start and asking a few questions, and I have not yet found anyone who knew how UNRRA functions. I have had many requests for factual material about UNRRA. So I think there is rather a lack of information about the organization.

Mr. VORYS. To get back to the matter of relief and what it constitutes, there was not any uncertainty when the Congress acted and when UNRRA accepted the action of the American Congress. Indeed, all of these things that you have written end up with the words "immediate needs." If it was to be anything beyond food and medicine it was for immediate needs, and the puzzle that we faced and that UNRRA faced was where these things were to terminate. I am not giving you just my impression; I am giving you the impression of the Congress of the United States, which is binding on you in spending every dime that you get from the United States, that rehabilitation is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief. That is not a matter of my interpretation at all, Governor.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is right.

Mr. VORYS. It is a matter that is very clear and is binding upon you as an officer of this organization.

Mr. LEHMAN. Is there not something in that resolution that talks about prohibiting reconstruction?

Mr. VORYS. Yes. There is another section, section 3, which I shall not read again, since it has been read into the record a number of times, which quotes with approval and relies upon the policy adopted by UNRRA in paragraph 11 of Resolution No. 12. That is where the famous word "coterminus" came in, that rehabilitation is to be coterminous with relief. That becomes, it seems to me, of increasing importance. I regret that you were not here during Mr. Acheson's testimony today when we indulged in a discussion of this, and at least he and I were in complete agreement, and apparently you and I and Mr. Clayton and I do not see it the same.

Do you consider that the job of UNRRA is to restore the economic life of these countries where you are now operating?

Mr. LEHMAN. I think that industrial rehabilitation should be geared to relief operations, but I think that the wisdom or unwisdom and the scope of UNRRA operations can play an important part in restoring at least in some degree the economy of these countries. One of the things that we send in in considerable quantities to various countries is raw materials, such as cotton, wool, and leather. The furnishing of cotton and wool to the mills of Greece and Italy means that those mills can produce clothing for their own people, clothing which is urgently needed. As a result of that policy which we have pursued and which we will continue to pursue if we are permitted, it has been rendered increasingly unnecessary to send in textiles—completed textiles and completed clothing. We are giving an opportunity to the governments to use the facilities and the labor of those countries to produce their own textiles and clothing. It is cheaper, it is quicker, and it gives employment to people within the country, and certainly I do not think anybody could object to that policy.

Then there is the matter of the sending in of trucks to permit the distribution of food supplies, without which they cannot possibly be distributed properly. Incidentally, I think it helps the economy of a country to send in trucks, for without those trucks, which are part of our industrial rehabilitation program, the countries cannot survive. We have known of cases of starvation where food existed 30 or 40 miles away and I am not talking about UNRRA foods, but food indigenously produced. Of course at that time there were no trucks in the country to transport the food. We are sending in thousands of trucks, and I very much hope that through the use of our Army surplus supplies the number of trucks will be very greatly increased. I can tell you right now that without trucks Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Yugoslavia cannot possibly make any progress whatsoever in working out their own problems.

Mr. VORYS. The example you gave of sending in wool and cotton is one which you used here 2 years ago and is an example with which I am sure everyone would agree. An example that was given before, and that is a large item, was of sending in seed, fertilizer, and farm machinery, which is better than continuously sending food. Another example is equipment for fishing.

There is no question but what all of us around this table and, I think, a great portion of the American people, are agreed that that is the wise way in which to furnish relief. You get, however, inevitably to the border-line case. The problems of the country are not merely immediate relief, but they are long-time problems. At the time you appeared before, you had very clearly in mind and stated to us a sort of boundary line that you intended to attempt to use, and that was that some of these things are not only necessary for relief or helpful for relief, but when they are there they become part of the reconstructed economy of the country; and we were hoping that there would be some way in which those countries could finance the purchase of those things. You remember we talked at some length about that. Unfortunately, the development of those institutions has not come along so fast.

All I am driving at is this, that I am concerned lest UNRRA branch out too far in that direction and therefore limit its activities in other directions. It is very hard for me to see why industrial rehabilitation supplies should continue to be sent next year. If they do not have trucks in Poland mighty soon there is going to be less need for trucks, because there will be a lot of dead people. Is not that true?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes. That is what I am afraid of, that if we do not get trucks in there there will be a lot of dead people.

Mr. VORYS. All over Europe and in China, too, the relief needs for this immediate winter are staggering and must keep you awake nights when you realize how great the need is?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. VORYS. When you mention wool and cotton, would they be classified under "Industrial rehabilitation supplies" or under "Clothing, textiles, and food"?

Mr. LEHMAN. I think for our own convenience we would classify them under "Clothing and textiles." That is just for our own convenience.

Mr. VORYS. I think I understand that agricultural rehabilitation supplies include seeds, fertilizer, insecticides——

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes, and tractors.

Mr. VORYS. Certainly tractors. The machinery part of your agricultural rehabilitation program would not be a recurring item; is not that true?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is true. We have not fully satisfied the need, of course. We will have to send more so that they can plant their spring crop and particularly harvest the crop. I think it will be in smaller quantities.

Mr. VORYS. You have been sending quite a lot of that stuff into those countries?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. VORYS. And I should think you already had a lot of industrial rehabilitation supplies?

Mr. LEHMAN. Not a very great amount.

Mr. VORYS. You planned to send $97,000,000 worth of stuff in September and sent $90,000,000 worth; is that right?

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not have those figures here.

Mr. VORYS. You planned to send $140,700,000 worth in October and sent about $106,000,000?

Mr. LEHMAN. $116,000,000, I think.

Mr. VORYS. Will you furnish us—I do not want to ask for it item by item—a program of what you intend to spend, where and when? That is the best way I can state it. What do you intend to do with this money if you get it?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes; we will be able to give you a tentative program. I have that ready. The chairman suggested that I put that in in executive session, because otherwise people will consider that those are more or less binding promises that we will send country A a certain amount, country B a certain amount and country C a certain amount, and we cannot do that. It has got to be tentative for several reasons. In the first place, we have to submit our programs to the central committee for approval, and we do not know the speed with which we are going to have these funds available, although we very much hope that they will be available before the end of the year.

Mr. KEE. May I interrupt? I do not think that was really on the suggestion of the chairman, because it was generally understood by the committee the other day that that was to go in in executive session.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is right.

Mr. VORYS. I of course was not here, but I will be bound by what the committee decides. But I can see no reason for our not knowing and presenting to those who are going to have to vote on it what is intended to be done with this money. Certainly it should be in some form a lot more specific than is shown here on page 47 where there are simply five items under "Supplies" and five items in addition to supplies.

I want to see, also, what you are sending this fall, because, so far as I have been able to study your actual deliveries, they have dropped far below what you had hoped to send.

Mr. LEHMAN. No; I do not think they have dropped very much. In October, as a matter of fact, we did surprisingly well. But the figures you have got there do not include surplus materials. We contended with a pretty serious strike both here and abroad which certainly lost us a minimum of 100,000 tons.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to state that it is quarter past 1 now. We have been here three hours and a quarter. How much longer will you take, Mr. Vorys?

Mr. VORYS. I have a few other questions that I would like to ask. I will speed up as fast as I can.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Vorys, did you get a copy of the statement of the Governor? I think that covers the expenditure of all funds now available.

Mr. VORYS. There is part of it that is not in the book now. I had not seen that.

Mr. LEHMAN. I shall be very glad indeed to give the committee a tentative schedule of what we are thinking of doing during the next 12 months, but it would have to be considered tentative.

Chairman BLOOM. And confidential.

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes. It would relieve us of embarrassment if it could be treated as confidential.

Mr. VORYS. In general, based upon performance to date and the time which will be covered by your first 1 percent commitment, based on past performance, I think you are now asking not for too little too late, but for too much too soon, and if we could see how you are doing

with what you have got, and the need was still there, I think you would have far less trouble than you might have in asking for it before you need it or before you have been able to dispose of what you already have.

Mr. LEHMAN. You were not here yesterday when I stated that our deliveries have increased month by month since April; that we had gotten up to 520,000 tons in October in spite of the handicap of the strike; that we hope to ship close to 800,000 tons in November, and that we hope to ship nearly 1,000,000 tons in December, assuming that we have the funds at our disposal.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Vorys, tomorrow morning Governor Lehman goes before the Senate again and he will be over here later. Would you mind deferring your other questions until tomorrow?

Mr. VORYS. All right. There are two or three of them, the answers to which might be submitted later in tabular form, which I might submit briefly.

Chairman BLOOM. All right; go ahead.

Mr. VORYS. I want to get a total relief picture of the number of people involved, the number of human souls involved that are going to need relief. I would like it broken down to show western Europe, where they are furnishing it themselves but where you, under the resolution, are supposed to be having something to say about the amount of supplies they get. I would like the statement to show, of course, the eastern European requirements. I would like it to show the needs in Germany and Japan, which are part of the world, and, of course, in China.

Mr. LEHMAN. I can tell you right now that I cannot give you that. We are not operating in the western European countries. We have never set up an organization to find out what the needs in those countries are, because they are being handled by the countries themselves. And when you talk to me about giving you figures in Germany and Japan, how can we do that? It is not our responsibility. We have never had a single person in Japan or in Germany whose responsibility goes beyond assisting the Army in the care of displaced persons. I can give you any information you want with regard to displaced persons, but I do not have the slightest idea what the situation is going to be in Germany this year. That is purely a military responsibility. I could not come within a thousand percent of giving you anything in Japan. We have not got a single person in Japan and do not expect to have.

Mr. VORYS. You simply consider this a military problem?

Mr. LEHMAN. Oh, yes; it is definitely a military problem.

Mr. VORYS. Have you any records of how the military have carried on their relief problem?

Mr. LEHMAN. No; but when General Eisenhower comes before the committee I am sure he will be glad to give you all the information he can.

Mr. DAVIDSON. I would like to point out that it is not a question of the feeding of any individual or a number of individuals. We are supplementing the supplies which are available in the country generally, so that it is impossible, I believe, to segregate in any of the countries within which we are operating the number of individuals who are on relief, because our supplies in large part are distributed

through commercial channels in addition to supplies which are made available to other groups in the community who need direct assistance.

Mr. VORYS. What is the figure that is to be allocated out of the new amount to China?

Mr. LEHMAN. I would rather give that as a part of the entire picture which I will submit to the committee tomorrow.

Mr. VORYS. The allocation as shown by your testimony before the Committee on Appropriations was about 13 cents a person in China and ran up to $42.78 in the Near East and $18.64 in Yugoslavia. It is hard for me to see how there could be that much difference in the local situations.

Mr. LEHMAN. It would be for me, too, if I thought your figures were accurate. I do not recall ever having stated 13 cents for China. That would of course be ridiculous. What you probably may be confusing it with is that when I appeared before the Committee on Appropriations of the House I was talking about the $550,000,000 and I told them that out of that there was only a small part being allocated to China and that the greater part would come from the 1 percent, which was always understood.

Mr. VORYS. I have here a table that was prepared from page 140 of the hearings.

Mr. LEHMAN. That was not on this appropriation at all; that was on the smaller appropriation.

Mr. VORYS. But it has to do with what happens this winter. I imagine that unless a lot of these people are attended to this winter we do not need to worry about what happens to them next spring, because they will be dead.

Mr. LEHMAN. I fully agree with you.

Mr. VORYS. I will not take up any more time now.

Chairman BLOOM. The committee will recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 1:30 p. m., a recess was taken until tomorrow, Wednesday, November 21, 1945, at 10 a. m.)

FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN WORK OF UNRRA

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1545

House of Representatives,
Committee on Foreign Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Sol Bloom (chairman) presiding.

Chairman Bloom. The committee will kindly come to order.

For further consideration of H. R. 4649 we have several witnesses today to appear before the committee. The first witness is Mr. Lewis G. Hines, representing the American Federation of Labor.

Please give your full name and the capacity in which you appear for the record, Mr. Hines.

STATEMENT OF LEWIS G. HINES, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Mr. Hines. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, my name is Lewis G. Hines. I am legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor.

First of all may I say, Mr. Chairman, that President Green would have liked to have come here himself this morning. Unfortunately he was called out of town and he asked me to extend to you and the rest of the committee his regrets at being unable to be here.

Mr. Green has a keen interest in this whole question of UNRRA. Because the American Federation of Labor has wholeheartedly endorsed and supported its purposes and motives, we favor the enactment of H. R. 4649.

I would like to have your indulgence for a moment, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, to read into the record a statement embodyed in our monthly survey for September and October which deals with this subject.

Chairman Bloom. Of this year?

Mr. Hines. Yes. The first title is "Europe Faces Its Worst Winter Since Middle Ages" [reading]:

Untold suffering from hunger, eold, siekness, and even starvation faees Europe's liberated millions this winter unless we aet at once to send them help. The situation is worse than at any other time in eenturies. Coal and other fuels are desperately needed to heat homes and keep industry going at the minimum necessary to sustain life. Even with the maximum coal Germany ean send from her mines to the liberated eountries, plus shipments from the United States and elsewhere, people will have only enough to keep their homes a trifle less cold than outdoors. A typieal Freneh family of four has 300 pounds of eoal for the entire winter. Many will have no eoal whatever to heat their homes. The serious shortage of elothing will intensify suffering from eold.

Housing is pitifully inadequate. In bombed eities there is practieally no window glass to keep out the eold. Lumber and other repair materials are

available only in small amounts. People are living in cellars, packing boxes, shacks, or crowded into a single room. From France, Italy, Finland, the Balkan States come stories like these: Six to 10 people are living in a single tiny room; they sleep on the floor, carry all their water, have no soap, find it impossible to keep clean. A family of 12 persons live in one room; they asked for a blanket to keep warm. Three of them have tuberculosis.

Faced with such cold and exposure, people will be subject to sickness and epidemics unless they can get adequate food. But food production in Europe this year has been far below normal. Experts consider that a diet of 3,000 calories per person per day is adequate to maintain bodily health and vigor; 2,000 calories is the bare minimum on which people can subsist for a while in emergencies. That is the danger line below which slow starvation sets in and they cannot resist sickness and epidemics.

Europe this year has produced only enough food to give 1,700 calories on the average to its city populations. People on farms fare better, and are able to provide themselves with the minimum essential diet. But there are 210,000,000 people in continental Europe (outside Russia) who do not live on farms and cannot raise their own food. Britain must import half her food. Rations available to workers and other low-income groups in European cities have frequently been as little as 600 to 900 calories per person per day in recent months. Latest reports from Rome show rations of only 1,000 calories per day available; Vienna has 900 calories; people in Paris have 1,500 calories; people in Belgium had 1,800 calories in June 1945. German people in cities get 1,100 to 1,300 calories (they had 2,000 under Hitler) and in Berlin shovel squads are already digging the graves of those who must die of starvation this winter.

I cite these figures to show, Mr. Chairman, that it is absolutely essential that we supply fuel as well as food. And, we say further:

Congress must act at once to provide our share of UNRRA funds. Under the international agreement which set it up, UNRRA's funds are provided by the 31 member nations which were not invaded in World War II. Each has pledged itself to give 1 percent of its 1943 national income as a first contribution to meet the needs of invaded nations which cannot borrow to finance their own relief. Practically all of UNRRA's first contribution has been collected from all 31 nations, except that the United States has thus far paid only two-thirds of its share. Our share is $1,350,000,000, all of which has been authorized by Congress, but $550,000,000 of this sum has not yet been appropriated. President Truman on October 7 urged Congress to pay it immediately. Without this money UNRRA cannot buy the supplies it must get now to feed its people in Europe and Asia in November and December. This will meet UNRRA's needs for 1945 only.

For 1946, UNRRA will need a second contribution, equal to the first, from each of its 31 subscribing nations. From us it will need at least $500,000,000 by December 1945 and another installment early next year to meet food needs for January, February, and March 1946. These will be the months of lowest ebb for the devastated nations. Congress must be ready to meet these additional payments if food is to reach these countries in time. After 1946 in Europe and spring of 1947 in Asia, the UNRRA nations should be able to meet their own needs.

Mr. Chairman, I have cited this to show how we feel about this whole matter and I think these facts are pretty generally known to all of us.

I do not care to get into some of the criticisms that have been directed at UNRRA.

Chairman BLOOM. Why not?

Mr. HINES. Because it raises controversial questions which in many instances I think are entirely unfair. We are going to have people who will, for selfish reasons or otherwise, always find fault with any kind of a program, regardless of what it is. We feel that the over-all question of feeding people in Europe, from a humanitarian standpoint, from the standpoint of the need of keeping people from going over entirely to a political situation that will be unhealthy for the entire world is of such vast importance that any criticism of inefficiency, slight inefficiency, is not to be compared with the over-all picture.

That is the way we feel about it. There is no objective that has ever been advanced that someone cannot find fault with, and I do not think that anybody knows that better than those in the organized labor movement.

Chairman BLOOM. Judge Kee.

Mr. KEE. I take it from your statement, Mr. Hines, that the view of your organization is that while, from the standpoint of the charitable objective, we are under somewhat of an obligation to feed the starving peoples of Europe, yet that this action proposed here is not entirely one involving a selfish interest, because if these people are not taken care of during the coming winter until they are reestablished in a way to rehabilitate themselves, it is likely to cause internal disorder in some of the countries, and is likely to obstruct our efforts for a permanent peace.

Mr. HINES. That is right. We feel we did a good job in winning the war, and in order to win the peace we feel it is necessary to assist these people to put their country on a firm foundation.

I might add that we are interested in establishing the trade-union movement in these countries. Our union has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars for this purpose and we will continue to spend that money. We have sent people over there to assist in establishing the trade-union movement as one stabilizing factor in the political life of these nations. And we think anything that tends to undo the work that we have been trying to do is detrimental to the whole situation.

Mr. KEE. I think that is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. I am interested in the figures you gave, Mr. Hines, and I would like to know where you obtained them. Did you get them from the UNRRA?

Mr. HINES. We got some of them from the Department of Agriculture; some from the Associated Press reports.

Mr. VORYS. Your figure of 210,000,000 in continental Europe and not on farms is a very interesting figure to me. I wondered where you got that?

Mr. HINES. I believe that comes from Raymond Daniels' press report.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jarman.

Mr. JARMAN. I have no questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. JONKMAN. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Douglas.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I gather from your statement, Mr. Hines, that organized labor is not just interested in this because it will get immediate material return, but rather in the long-range conditions as this will effect the rest of the world, is securing a proper foundation for the peoples of Europe. That is what you see in it?

Mr. HINES. That is one of our main objectives, but we must assume of course there is the human question involved in each of those counties. We have even gone so far as to advocate, if necessary, the rationing of some of the essentials in this country, such as fats and sugar, so that some of it may be spared for those people. We are willing to go that far.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Wadsworth.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have no questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Ryter.

Mr. RYTER. No question.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Flood.

Mr. FLOOD. I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, that I think it is worthy of comment that the representatives of the great labor organizations of this country see their responsibility as well as their interest so frankly stated by the witness. They see the importance of the UNRRA program to the world at large and its general interest in the welfare of our country in the great humanitarian program that we are trying to execute in cooperation with the United Nations.

Chairman BLOOM. If there are no further questions we thank you, Mr. Hines.

Mr. HINES. May I say, Mr. Chairman, that I will be glad to send to each member of the committee a copy of this survey. I think it would be very interesting to you.

Chairman BLOOM. We would be glad to have it.

Mr. HINES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT FORSBERG, OF WOOSTER, OHIO

Chairman BLOOM. The committee has been requested by the group of college students to appear this morning before the committee in reference to the legislation that we have under consideration and they have as their spokesman Mr. Robert Forsberg, who we will be glad to hear at this time.

Will you kindly give your full name, Mr. Forsberg? You might include in the record also a list of those who are appearing with you. You may proceed.

Mr. FORSBERG. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Robert Forsberg. I am speaking for concerned college students. There are six of us here in person this morning, Miss Anne Austin, Miss Mary Ann Brown, Miss Barbara Hampe, Miss Barbara Massey, Miss Jeanne Washabaugh and Mr. Jordan Miller.

We are here to speak for young men and women of America who are privileged enough to be going to college, young men and women who are desperately concerned about the state of our world.

The young people of our age in Poland and Belgium and Greece are not able to live in warm dormitories and study in heated classrooms and eat three full meals a day. In Germany young Poles our age, warped with hate, are boarding trains and snatching luggage and valuables from refugees, and raping women and girls. Such young men as these—and future young men and women who are now the children running half-naked through alleys, searching for scraps of food in garbage piles—such are the clay which cruel and clever men shall mold into bigger and better Fascists. Our common cause is world peace. We know we cannot buy it, but appropriations to UNRRA are a significant step toward that end. We hope to see the original appropriation passed without any strings attached and the additional assessment approved in an attempt to alleviate this physical suffering of the approaching winter.

UNRRA was created under American leadership in recognition of our responsibility; we are the most powerful nation supporting it. To back down before the winter has passed is to incur the hatred and distrust of the world. The least civilization can do is to satisfy the basic needs of food and shelter.

We all know the one reason for supporting UNRRA:

People are starving. The infant-mortality rate in Berlin may approximate 100 percent this winter. We must reach these desperate people on the only grounds they can understand: Food and shelter. People cannot think and work for common ideals when their main concern is individual existence. They do not care whether their government is a democracy or not, or whether the Allies or Fascist win, if they have nothing to eat. UNRRA must fill that basic gap before we can build a strong world government.

Starving Russian youngsters who manage to survive these postwar months and years will remember the United States either as the hard-hearted "capitalist" state that refused to give them aid, or as the far-seeing and generous nation that cared about the rest of the world.

Such an appropriation would be a productive investment, yielding dividends in understanding, willingness to cooperate in world peace.

There may be waste and corruption in the operation of UNRRA. We say, correct these conditions; but let's not fail, or even delay, in our awful duty and privilege.

The fellows we have talked with, who have come back from Europe's black and ruined areas, say that they have seen UNRRA doing a good job. They want to see it kept up. Let us not let them down by allowing the lands they have liberated to become nations of corpses, and living, warped skeletons.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you for that fine statement, Mr. Forsberg. Judge Kee do you have any questions?

Judge KEE. Mr. Forsberg, what college or colleges are represented by your group?

Mr. FORSBERG. The six of us come from the college of Wooster, Ohio.

Chairman BLOOM. Wooster, Ohio?

Mr. KEE. Do you have regular organizations among the groups that are set up for certain purposes, or is the group that you represent one that is formed just for the purpose to present the matter to this committee?

Mr. FORSBERG. There are, of course, organizations on the campus of almost every college which are concerned about world and national affairs and international relationships. However, our group is not made up of delegates from such organizations. Rather it represents the student body that has discussed world affairs, and from that group of the Wooster College we come feeling that we should take positive action now that will prevent negative action later on, military action.

Mr. KEE. I think the statement you have made is fine and we are glad to have had you here this morning.

Mr. FORSBERG. Thank you.

Mr. KEE. And to have your views. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. The chairman wishes to state that it was at the request of the college group that they were invited to be here. I thought it was a very good suggestion and personally I would like to see more of the young people take interest in legislation under consideration.

Mr. VORYS. I think the chairman and Judge Kee have spoken in tribute to Ohio, so I will pass.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jarman.

Mr. JARMAN. I have no questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. JONKMAN. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman, but I will say that this is one of the most pleasing experiences that I have had on this committee, to have a group of college students come here and show their interest in public affairs. I hope they will continue to follow that practice and that their views will always be the results of intensive debate.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I would like to put some ditto marks on what Mr. Jonkman has said.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Wadsworth.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have no questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Ryter.

Mr. RYTER. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Flood.

Mr. FLOOD. If there are any ditto marks left I would like to use them.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair has this to say; that when he received the telephone message asking for the appearance before the committee he felt just the same way that all the other members of the committee do, that we would be very happy to have this group of young people express their interest in such legislation, and I want to again compliment you, Mr. Forsberg, and to assure you that each member of the committee appreciates having the group with us.

Mr. FORSBERG. Thank you.

Chairman BLOOM. Is there anyone else in your group who would like to make a statement?

Mr. FORSBERG. We all joined in in the preparation of this statement

Chairman BLOOM. It is very good. Thank you.

STATEMENT OF RAYMOND E. LINDGREN, EVANSTON, ILL.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Lindgren, will you kindly give the reporter your full name and address?

Mr. LINDGREN. My name is Raymond E. Lindgren. I am from Evanston, Ill.; and I appear before the committee to make a statement of my experience in Europe with UNRRA.

I worked for my father in Chicago for 12 years; spent 3 years developing my own publishing business and enlisted in the Army Air Corps in 1942. I was discharged in June 1945, to go with UNRRA.

I was recruited as an administrative supply officer, upgraded to a deputy director of a displaced persons team in Granville, France, the UNRRA mobilization and training center for Europe, and made mobilization officer of the base in August; resigned from that post and went to Salzburg, Austria, where I was told I would be made a director within 10 days. I resigned at this point because I could no longer take the terrible administrative inefficiency of UNRRA.

I have been asked to testify before this committee as to my observations on UNRRA in Europe which I am happy to do because I feel I have things to tell this committee they do not know of. I am going to tell of maladministration, poor planning, corruption, lack of Ameri-

can representation, and attempt to show that the Washington office of UNRRA knows little of what is going on in Europe.

I reported for duty with UNRRA June 15, 1945; arrived in London July 10; in Granville, France, July 19; in Salzburg, Austria, September 8; back in London on September 18, and in Washington on October 31.

MALADMINISTRATION

1. Our first experience with UNRRA inefficiency was the travel section of the London office. They lost passports, which we had to turn over to them; had passports destroyed while in their possession; lost travel orders, and generally caused UNRRA personnel passing through to be unduly delayed. This situation has not been improved. I talked with Sir Humphrey Gale, Deputy Director General in London, only a month ago or so and he admitted to me that the travel section was pretty much of a mess and that he was having it investigated. I was also told they were calling in some experts from Cook's Travel Agency to straighten them out.

2. Americans who came over carried with them their personnel file, which was turned into the London office. This file gave their background and experience, and so forth. Yet, when they left for Granville, France, the mobilization and training center where they were to be teamed and sent into the field, the personnel file stayed in London.

The personnel department at Granville never knew anything about anyone they were teaming and sending into the field until the new administration started having a form filled out. This was in August and there were already 95 percent of the teams in the field so it was a little late.

Chairman BLOOM. Pardon me. Do you mind if I interrupt you during your statement?

Mr. LINDGREN. No; Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. You just mentioned this place in France. Is that under UNRRA, or is it under the military?

Mr. LINDGREN. You mean the Granville base?

Chairman BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. LINDGREN. It, as all of UNRRA, is under the control of the military; but it was UNRRA's mobilization and training center.

Chairman BLOOM. But it was not under the control of UNRRA?

Mr. LINDGREN. It was directly controlled by UNRRA, but indirectly the military has over-all control of it.

Chairman BLOOM. They had over-all control; they were to be over the whole operation?

Mr. LINDGREN. But they were not in charge of the administration of the base.

Chairman BLOOM. The military has over-all control; but you were for instructions.

Mr. LINDGREN. We went there and received our instructions at Granville; they received their supplies from the Army, the American Army, but Granville is the mobilization and training center that was under UNRRA.

Chairman BLOOM. You may proceed.

Mr. LINDGREN. I might add we did have an Army lieutenant stationed on the base whose duty it was to write travel orders for the UNRRA personnel and to do instruction for UNRRA personnel.

Chairman BLOOM. Would you mind stating your own training?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes. I was on the executive staff as a mobilization officer.

Chairman BLOOM. You were there almost 6 weeks.?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes.

Chairman BLOOM. And all of that 6 weeks under contol of UNRRA?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes.

Chairman BLOOM. You may proceed.

Mr. LINDGREN. The recruiting job done by UNRRA in England and continental Europe was unbelievably bad. The following quotes express my thoughts on it perfectly and these thoughts are in line with those of all Americans who are over there. The first quote is from the Christian Science Monitor, dated September 14, 1945, by its London correspondent. The Monitor is known to have an excellent foreign staff and has always been strongly in favor of UNRRA but is still quoted as follows:

> Before leaving London, Commander Jackson told the press of his efforts and difficulties in the shakeup of UNRRA personnel. Most of his efforts to date have been directed to the London office where 30 to 35 nationalities are now serving on the staff. Personnel in the field, Commander Jackson pointed out, can be efficient only if they feel there is adequate and proper machinery behind them at headquarters. Inadequacies of UNRRA's original recruiting policies in getting men and women able to carry out the relief job in the face of tremendous obstacles are now beginning to show up, especially in connection with the displaced persons program in Germany.

A second quote is from a French director of a D. P. team. He went into the field in May, came back to Granville in August where I first met him, and I saw him again in Karlsruhe in September. His name is Monsieur Sabin, a man of about 45, very intelligent, and an importer in Paris before the war. Monsieur writes:

> Very little advertisement has been made in France to inform the French people that UNRRA was securing personnel to be sent into Germany. The result was that very qualified people for that sort of work did not apply and on the contrary a great number of unemployed people, without any qualifications whatsoever, made application. It seems that no screening was done if medical inspection is excepted.

Chairman BLOOM. Pardon an interruption.

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes.

Chairman BLOOM. You said the people were without qualification. Did you have any qualification when you applied?

Mr. LINDGREN. I believe I did.

Chairman BLOOM. What were your qualifications?

Mr. LINDGREN. I had worked for my father for 12 years; worked up from the bottom to become general manager of the company, electric job business. I developed my own publishing business and acted as administrator in the business. I was for 3 years in the Army Air Corps most of which time I acted in the capacity of chief sergeant, which is a kind of administrative job in any outfit.

Chairman BLOOM. Well, you had not experience in the work you were entering.

Mr. LINDGREN. Not in welfare.

Chairman BLOOM. The same as you would have to do with UNRRA.

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes; because it was supply work and I was the supply officer of the outfit, somewhat similar to the supply work in the Army and would have to be dealing with the Army. And when I came out of the Army I was appointed almost entirely because of

my administrative background to be a deputy director, as an administrative supply officer, and then upgraded to a deputy director.

Chairman BLOOM. I thought you were discharged from the Army.

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes.

Chairman BLOOM. And your work has to do with displaced persons, with UNRRA?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes; that is what I was originally appointed for.

Chairman BLOOM. You may proceed.

Mr. LINDGREN. The appointment of directors, deputy directors, supply or warehouse officers, as well as drivers, were made on the spur of the moment. We saw in Granville directors, to direct D.P. camps, of 24 years, without any experience, whose mere title to such a responsible post was to be a former prisoner of war. And an American to be a director must be over 35 years of age. We saw drivers who had never driven a lorry and what is more when such facts were found out no sanctions were taken.

4. One of the first things I saw at Granville, France, was the UNRRA method of making up a displaced persons team. They deliberately put as many different nationalities as possible with no regard whatsoever to lingual ability. The result was that, in addition to the natural lingual difficulty in dealing with displaced persons, the staff of the team itself could not communicate with each other without an interpreter. I asked Mr. Saunders, director of training at Granville, how they could do that. He said it could not be helped and besides the principle of internationality was the important thing—UNRRA must be international—efficiency was of no matter. So, getting the job done was secondary to UNRRA's principle of internationality.

5. In sending teams into the British, American, and French zones, no account was taken of the great importance of daily contacts with the occupying army—as to nationality; that is, the key men on a team, if British, could deal with the British Army much better than could an American or a Frenchman; while Americans could deal better with the American Army, and so forth. In the new operation in Austria which started about September 1, Americans were deliberately sent into the British zone while British were sent into the American zone. This was a very sore spot with the armies. It was this refusal of the Austrian mission to learn by the bitter experiences in Germany that finally topped off everything else and caused me to resign. The Austrian Chief of Mission, Myer Cohen, an American—now back in this country—and Robert Corkery, area director in the American zone, an American, both agreed with me and told me they had protested strongly at Granville teaming that way, but that they had no power to correct it.

6. Instead of firing incompetent personnel, it is the UNRRA policy to simply redeploy them and let them be inefficient somewhere else in the organization.

7. Almost daily Granville received shipments from Paris of UNRRA personnel. Part of my job as mobilization officer was to receive them and process them. Any cooperation from UNRRA Paris office as to notifying us as to how many were coming so we could make preparations was purely accidental.

8. A principle of administration at Granville was to constantly change the permanent staff of the base and deploy them into the field,

thus necessitating constant breaking-in of new staff members and resulting in administrative chaos. One day the Granville finance officer arrived at his office and found over half of his staff had, without warning, been deployed into the field. The same thing happened to Director Patterson's secretary. In the new administration of the base an attempt was made to continue this policy.

9. The Granville base had at one time up to 1,800 large trucks for use of teams going into the field. They were all supplied from the British—purchased—Government and were almost without exception, junks. There were no competent mechanics, no parts, and no real effort made to condition them. Between Granville and Salzburg, Austria, my team, traveling in 3 trucks, had a total of 29 breakdowns on the road—a distance of 850 miles. The first day it took us 15 hours to go 120 miles. An American Army major, connected with the military government's D. P. program, told me UNRRA should take off their emblem of the world on their caps and replace it with a tow-rope because he never saw an UNRRA truck unless it was on the end of one. There are UNRRA trucks stalled all over Europe. UNRRA just took whatever the British chose to give them.

10. One of the biggest causes of UNRRA inefficiency in the D. P. program in the field was total lack of cooperation and support from zone supervisors, area directors, and higher headquarters. I heard this story from many directors returned from the field and it got to be an old story. I again quote the experienced French director, M. Sabin.

> Many directors have been forgotten in the field and left for weeks, even months, without any instructions, or contact with upper channels. When contact was at last established and a team director reported his troubles to his superiors he was just told to put up with them. The situation thus created was that if the director was a man who had come to UNRRA just to make a living he understood quite well the position, but if he was a man who believed in his mission and wanted to work efficiently, he was disgusted. In many instances these high-ranking officials have given the impression that they cared more to keep their situations than to fight to relieve their subordinates of their troubles.

While I was in Wiesbaden, Germany, in September, I talked with an American who had gone into the field on D. P team No. 1. They passed through Sauerlautern while it was still burning. He told me it was over 3 months before they heard a single word from higher headquarters. The Army supported them meanwhile.

Chairman Bloom. Were you doing service work for the Army or for the military in Germany?

Mr. Lindgren. Pardon me?

Chairman Bloom. Did you go into Germany to do any work there?

Mr. Lindgren. I was sent out from the Granville base. I was teamed to go into Austria, and we went through Germany.

Chairman Bloom. You were just in transit, going to Austria?

Mr. Lindgren. That is correct.

Chairman Bloom. You were not instructed to do any work in Germany at all, were you?

Mr. Lindgren. No, sir.

Chairman Bloom. You were just in transit?

Mr. Lindgren. Yes, sir; that is right.

That this situation is still not corrected is almost certain. While I was in Karlsruhe, Germany, a forward UNRRA staging area, the Americans and British were forming two different protective asso-

ciations for the field employees, and one of their key demands was more cooperation while they were in the field. The American chair- was Edward Reich. I do not know what has happened to them, but I doubt if anything came of those protective associations, but they were trying. I doubt if anything ever came of it.

11. Miss Marie Wallis, who has now returned to her position on the faculty of the University of New Mexico because of disgust with UNRRA's operations told me about the director of the entire British zone of UNRRA in Germany. His name is Brigadier General Darwell and he was continually openly advocating that the British, the Americans, and the Germans team together at once and go after the Russians. Such open or even hidden political statements are in complete violation of UNRRA's principles. I had heard the same thing about General Darwell before but didn't fully believe it until I heard it from Miss Wallis whose integrity is unquestioned.

12. I had gone over on the same boat with a Dr. Vallarino whose father is Minister of Health in the Republic of Panama. Dr. Vallarino had been recruited for UNRRA and had gone over, as many of us did, with stars in his eyes. He was soon disillusioned and I met him again in London while awaiting transportation home. He told me of his experience in a D. P. camp, of the total lack of cooperation from higher up as well as other almost unbelievable stories of UNRRA inefficiency. He told me of a camp on the German-Holland frontier where almost 800 South American nationals, most of whom were women and children, were living in concentration camp conditions and their spokesman, a former professor from the University of Ecuador, had pleaded with Dr. Vallarino to try to help them somehow before winter set in. Dr. Vallarino showed me the letter describing the terrible conditions in this camp and said he had tried to go there but had been denied permission by the UNRRA head in Hamburg. The letter described these Latin Americans, from about 15 South and Central American countries—the letter showed exactly how many from each country—as being headed for disaster if something was not done quickly. This was just last month. Dr. Vallarino told me in London he would like to testify before Congress on what he saw but because he wasn't an American citizen he felt he couldn't unless he was invited. He is now back in Panama heading a new national cancer institute.

Chairman BLOOM. He never made application to appear here.

Mr. LINDGREN. He did not feel that he should because he was not an American citizen.

Chairman BLOOM. Well, I want the record to show that he never made application to the chairman, or any other member of the committee that I know of.

Mr. LINDGREN. I did not mean to infer that.

Chairman BLOOM. I just want to be sure that is right.

Mr. LINDGREN. I just simply want to say that because he was not an American citizen he felt he should not ask to appear.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would have been glad to give him an opportunity if he had applied. Proceed.

13. Upon my return to London on September 18 I was greeted by the reception department in a way that surprised me not at all. They were amazed that I had been all over the continent; their records didn't show that I had ever left London.

14. There are thousands of UNRRA employees who are now excess. UNRRA still has 327 D. P. teams in Germany according to testimony before the House Appropriations Committee last month; 5,000,000 of 6,000,000 displaced persons have been repatriated. The less than 1,000,000 left and temporarily stateless will be held over the winter. What can UNRRA be doing, then with 327 teams in the German field. A permanent camp is far easier to run than the transient camps the Army was handling with slight assistance from UNRRA. These less than 1,000,000 remaining D. P.'s could be handled in 100 camps easily, an average of less than 10,000 to the camp. This means 227 excess UNRRA teams if the camps were efficiently handled. Some D. P. camps, the transient type—very hard to run—had as many as 20,000 D. P.'s in them.

In addition to the teams in the field, UNRRA has at least 1,000 replacements in Haaren, Holland, Karlsruhe and Pasing, Germany. These replacements are doing nothing but drawing their pay checks.

In spite of this unbelievable top-heavy personnel situation, they are still recruiting in London. During my 5 weeks in London awaiting shipment, I saw on no less than 10 occasions new recruits being brought in. I was only at the UNRRA London office about 10 times during this period. In addition to that, on about October 12, the London office received a request from Frankfurt headquarters for an additional 400 recruits.

Again I quote from the Christian Science Monitor of September 14, 1945:

> The low morale among UNRRA employees also has been due to the fact that many recruited for work in Germany will never be needed. * * * The Army did the job so quickly it even returned home persons who had been living in Germany for many years before the war and had no desire to return to their native land.

That quote is from September 14, and as of a month later they are still recruiting in London. I might also add they are still recruiting in the Paris office. And still, according to a statement by Director Lehman on page 74 of the House Appropriations Committee report of last month, it will be necessary to recruit for UNRRA to expand still more for China, Italy, and Norway. Some people might call this empire building.

POOR PLANNING

I am going to give you just a few examples of poor planning and lack of foresight on the part of UNRRA.

The mess which has been made of the German operation has continually been blamed on the Army because UNRRA said they would not cooperate in telling them what to plan for in the way of people for the D. P. program until it was too late for UNRRA to handle it well. I do not doubt but what they did not receive cooperation but, based on what I have seen of UNRRA, there is just a chance that the Army's antipathy for UNRRA had something to do with this lack of cooperation.

Chairman BLOOM. Why was there that antipathy of the Army? Now, you know something about that, you were at the camp in France.

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir; I can tell you something about that.

Chairman BLOOM. Why was there that antipathy?

Mr. LINDGREN. I attempted to get comment from the Army officers, and also from the enlisted men, some of whom had the

opportunity of working directly with UNRRA, and some of whom only knew about its operations from what they had seen.

The Army, the American Army personnel over there is very anxious for UNRRA to succeed because they want UNRRA to replace them so that they can come home, but generally speaking, I have heard not one single complimentary remark about UNRRA, but I have heard many, many uncomplimentary remarks both from American officer personnel and from enlisted personnel on scores of occasions.

Chairman BLOOM. You were 6 weeks at the camp there in France?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. Is it not a fact that the Army, or the military, rather, wanted to try to do the work themselves instead of having UNRRA do it?

Mr. LINDGREN. I am not sure of that, sir. I would say that might have been true before VJ-day. I am guessing; I do not know.

Chairman BLOOM. You do not know whether it was so or not?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir. I have heard that report, and I do not know, sir.

Mr. JONKMAN. May I ask a question at that point, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. JONKMAN. I believe the witness said he does not mind interruption?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. JONKMAN. I merely want to ask whether this antipathy of the Army was because of the inefficiency of UNRRA?

Mr. LINDGREN. From what I have seen of the type of personnel that made up UNRRA, I would guess that it was because of the low type of personnel recruited in UNRRA for which our boys, you might say, had contempt plus the inefficient way in which they operate.

For example, take the way they sent these D. P. teams out. You would have a D. P. team operating, for instance, in a camp, and the members of the staff could not even talk to each other without an interpreter, and you would have inefficiency of the highest degree in such cases. The Army saw all of those things, and I think the Army was simply contemptuous of the whole UNRRA picture. I could give you an example if you would like to have it.

Mr. JONKMAN. We would be glad to have it.

Mr. LINDGREN. At Granville, the principal mobilization training center, they had a bad situation there. There was a terrible lack of sanitation, one of the worst of which was that all of the cups were cracked all around the edges, and according to the doctors that is a very bad breeding place for germs. In fact, a group of Cuban doctors went over and complained enough that finally they went down and smashed all of those cups.

In addition to that, the personnel of the mess hall wore not only filthy aprons, but burlap sacks across the front of them. In addition to that the food was not well prepared. The staff there had been entirely British. Now, I am not an Anglophile at all, but just having come out of the American Army, I can go and talk to American officers and American enlisted men much better than I can go and talk to British officers and enlisted men. As a result I went to Cherbourg, and in 15 minutes I had arranged for aprons being made by the prisoners, and I got 500 Army cups.

As an American you can do that in the American Army, you can scrounge in the American Army, and by the same token you cannot

scrounge in the British Army, and with the Director and the Deputy Director and the supply officer, it was very important that at least two of those members be of the same race. That would have made for cooperation. Now, if that operation had been deliberately sabotaged, they could not have done better.

Mr. JONKMAN. The reason I ask that is because we had a similar experience, for instance, in Frankfurt, where the committee wanted to visit some of the displaced persons camps in the vicinity of Hamburg.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. It was at Hanna, outside of Frankfurt.

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes; and the chairman said that he wanted somebody that could take us out there and take us to those camps. We called UNRRA headquarters, which was in the same building that General Eisenhower was in, and after considerable delay a man came down and said he did not know where those camps were. It was suggested that he go back and get somebody that did know. Nobody went with him, but after a little while he came back and said that he probably could find it. Our driver knew the way to Hanan, where the camp was, but he did not know, and, apparently, there was not anybody in the organization that knew where the camp was, and the trip that we should have made in finding it should not have taken over 30 minutes, but I think it took us about 2 hours before we got to that camp so that we could look it over. It might be an individual instance, but it was apparent that there was not anybody in the headquarters there that even knew where the camp was.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I think perhaps it would be fair to say that we asked for a guide to go out there without giving them advance notice. That is, we wanted a guide immediately. It was unfortunate that we had not told them in advance. It was also unfortunate that this was the only D. P. camp you could see in Europe.

Mr. JONKMAN. No; I saw some others.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. In Germany or Italy?

Mr. JONKMAN. I think we should confine ourselves to the issue.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. The road we took had been changed by reconstruction work and so it was a circuitous route. The other camps we visited were not so hard to get to.

Mr. JONKMAN. But the fact remains that the man did not know where the camp was, and, apparently, they did not have anybody in headquarters that did know where the camp was.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. He happened to be an acquaintance whom I had known in Chicago. His job was not with that camp, and he had never been there. It was unfortunate that he did not know the route out there.

Mr. JARMAN. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes; I shall be glad to.

Mr. JARMAN. I believe your acquaintance went with us as a guide because of his acquaintance with you rather than because that was his function in UNRRA.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. No, that was not his function in UNRRA.

Mr. JARMAN. And, furthermore, I think in all fairness we ought to say that during that 2 hours we stopped for a considerable period at the leather place shopping, did we not?

Mr. JONKMAN. No; I do not think so.

Mr. JARMAN. Yes; I think we did.

Mr. JONKMAN. No; that was not that trip.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Yes; that was that trip.

Mr. JARMAN. I may be wrong about it, but that is the way I recall it. I purchased a suitcase.

Mr. LINDGREN. I do not believe there is any question but what there is a very serious and there always has been a serious lack of cooperation on the part of not only the American Army but the British Army with UNRRA, but I still believe that the background may be at fault for that lack of cooperation.

I came back on the same boat with Meyer Cohen, who had been chief of the Austrian mission, and had laid the ground work.

I had heard that they were going to get some real cooperation. He said now they have British directors and deputy directors and British supply officers, in the American zone and I do not know what will happen. They cannot deal with those American officers, sergeants, and enlisted men, and that is the rule on the way things are handled.

In any event, since they did not get it, then why did not UNRRA say to the Army you go ahead and handle this D. P. program for the summer—the Army virtually handled it anyway—and we will get 75 percent less personnel, take our time about screening them and get good people, and be ready to take over the one-million-odd hard residual core of stateless people at the end of the summer. This would have given UNRRA 5 months to get set up, they would have hired 75 percent less personnel and would have been in a position to set up an efficient operation. The D. P.'s would unquestionably have been repatriated just as fast and just as well if no UNRRA team had ever set foot in Germany during the summer.

2. During July and August almost all American directors of D. P. teams were flown from Washington to London at a cost of, I was told, $750 each. The boat fare was only $150. These directors were urgently needed so they were flown. They then sat in London for 1 or 2 weeks, in Granville for 2 or 3 weeks, on the road for almost a week, and in Karlsruhe for a week or two. I knew almost all of them personally and I know what happened to them.

3. In August, as mobilization officer, I handled a shipment of Australians who had come down to Granville from London. Major Wattlesworth, who was in charge of the group and who had charge of all UNRRA recruiting in Australia, told me their story. That group was flown half way around the world from Australia at a cost of $1,600 apiece. They then sat in London for over 4 weeks awaiting attention from the London Travel Section, and then the usual delay in Granville and Karlsruhe. They were supposedly needed so urgently they had to be flown at that cost.

4. In August a group of about six or eight American girls, all holding minor positions as clerks or statisticians, were flown from Washington to London to get them in the field in a hurry. They sat in London until October 1 doing nothing. Two of the girls, Cleta Vernon and Thelma Schackart, told me their story.

Chairman BLOOM. What were the dates?

Mr. LINDGREN. Those girls came to London in August and they left about October 1.

Chairman BLOOM. Of this year?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. I just wanted to get the dates.

5. In the fall of 1944, 30 nurses, Canadian and American, were shipped over to north Africa. There was nothing for them to do there so they were sent to Italy. After lying around for weeks with no duties, in desperation, they went to work in Army hospitals. They worked from 4 to 7 months for the Army, UNRRA, of course, paying their salary. Some of them resigned and managed to go home direct from Italy, some came to Granville and resigned and a few went into the field from Granville. The last I heard a month ago 23 of the 30 had resigned in disgust and returned home. One of them was Dora Gray, the nurse on the team I took to Austria. She resigned in Salzburg shortly after I did and when I saw her in London she told me she had dated her resignation one year to the day that she had reported for duty to UNRRA in Washington. During that year she had not done 1 hour's work for UNRRA.

Chairman BLOOM. Right at that point, how long were you with UNRRA before you resigned?

Mr. LINDGREN. I reported here in Washington June 15, and I asked for transfer back to Washington for the purpose of resigning September 10.

Chairman BLOOM. You sent in your resignation, as I understood, from Austria?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir; I asked for a transfer to Washington for the purpose of resigning, but the resignation did not take effect until I arrived in Washington.

Chairman BLOOM. But that was from Austria?

Mr. LINDGREN. From Salzburg, Austria.

Chairman BLOOM. How long were you in Austria?

Mr. LINDGREN. About a week.

Chairman BLOOM. Before you sent in your resignation?

Mr. LINDGREN. No; what happened, if you would like to have me state it was, the second day when I was in Salzburg, five teams were deployed into the field. There were only three other teams prior to that, which made a total of eight. As I have said, there are three key positions in these teams, the director, the deputy director, and the supply officer. For the American zone there you had a total of 15 members, so far as the Army dealing with UNRRA was concerned, and of the 15 key members, 8 were British or Canadian, and there was 1 American of the 15, and this was in the American zone. In addition to that the thing that incensed us so, and in which Meyer Cohen and Bob Corkery agreed with me, on the very same day, to my personal knowledge, because I was there, there were 4 American directors, 6 American deputy directors, and 6 American officers of UNRRA sent to the British zone in Austria. That was the final straw with me.

Chairman BLOOM. As I understand it, you were in Austria 3 days when you sent in your resignation?

Mr. LINDGREN. About 3 days. If I remember I came there Friday or Saturday and put out on the following Monday.

Chairman BLOOM. Then up to the time you sent in your resignation you were in the employ of UNRRA for 3 days, is that right?

Mr. LINDGREN. No; I was mobilization officer in Granville.

Chairman BLOOM. I understood you were waiting there for instructions.

Mr. LINDGREN. No; at that time I was a member of the permanent staff. Now, that staff was formed about August 1, and there was

another new administrative staff installed, and I was installed as administrative officer of the staff at Granville.

Chairman BLOOM. All right; proceed.

Mr. LINDGREN. 6. When we were in training at College Park in June we were told that UNNRA could not get travel space because all the boats were jammed, and this necessitated holding personnel at College Park when they were ready to go. In retrospect and with my knowledge of the notorious inefficiency of the London travel section, I now wonder about that, because the *Mariposa*, which we shipped out on July 3, 1945, had sections of entirely empty cabins.

Chairman BLOOM. Will the witness at this point permit an interruption?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes.

Chairman BLOOM. We have two witnesses here that I promised to call as soon as they got here. They should have been here before, and if you do not mind an interruption at this point, I would like to hear them.

Mr. LINDGREN. I do not object.

Chairman BLOOM. I want to take the testimony of Mr. Leslie B. Moss, of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the other witness is Mr. Robbins Walcott Barstow, director of the Commission for World Council Service. So, if you do not mind, we will call on Mr. Leslie B. Moss at this time.

Mr. VORYS. Have you any assurance, Mr. Chairman, that these witnesses will be brief? This gentleman also comes from out of the city.

Chairman BLOOM. I will say this, Mr. Vorys, that before he was scheduled here we had already requested these people to come here this morning, and stated that we would hear them right away. If there is no objection we will continue with your statement later.

Mr. LINDGREN. I will be glad to wait, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. How long will you take?

Mr. MOSS. I can say what I have to say in about ten minutes, and Dr. Barstow will require a somewhat similar amount of time.

Chairman BLOOM. If you do not mind we will just hear them and let them go, because I know it will take quite a little while to finish with the witness on the stand at the present time.

Without objection, we will hear Mr. Moss at this time.

STATEMENT OF LESLIE MOSS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CHURCH COMMITTEE ON OVERSEAS RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Chairman BLOOM. Please give your full name and whom you represent.

Mr. MOSS. Leslie Moss. I am here in place of Bishop Oxnam, president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, who is unable to be present today. The Federal Council at their meetings on May 15, and again on September 18, adopted resolutions in regard to what it was felt was the necessity for feeding peoples who are in need in other parts of the world. On September 18 it specifically, among other things, recommended that the appropriation of $1,350,000,000 be approved for the UNRRA operation.

I have copies of these documents here which I will be glad to leave with you, Mr. Chairman, and I have also a supporting statement from the Federal Council's committee on overseas relief and reconstruction with some documents indicating the grounds for our belief in the needs that exist.

Chairman BLOOM. Do you not think that they ought to go into the record? Are they long, Mr. Moss?

Mr. MOSS. They are a little long to read, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Without objection they will be inserted in the record.

Mr. MOSS. That is what I brought them for.

Chairman BLOOM. Without objection they will be inserted in the record. If there is anything that you want to place in the record, I shall be very pleased to ask permission to do so. Is there just that one statement, Mr. Moss?

Mr. MOSS. No; there are two statements here, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Do you want to read them or place both of them in the record?

Mr. MOSS. I will place both of them in the record, and then make a brief verbal statement.

Chairman BLOOM. Without objection, we will be glad to have the statements placed in the record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA,
New York 10, N. Y., November 19, 1945.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America presents to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives the accompanying actions expressing its conviction that it is of the greatest importance that the United States should provide its appropriate share of the cost of the program of UNRRA. These actions were taken at meetings of the Executive Committee of the Council on May 15, 1945 and again on September 18, 1945.

1. It is necessary to meet the urgent human needs for food, shelter, and clothing if we are to build confidence in human relations. No evasion of this responsibility can do anything but bring discredit upon our promises, explicit and implied in recent years, to the peoples of war-invaded lands.

2. The only adequate organization must be international. UNRRA, in spite of shortcomings inherent in its unwieldly international character, and because of the political tensions which have hindered its operation, is nevertheless already functioning. To turn to other organizations at this time would inevitably result in a large increase of suffering while new plans were being made. We must not allow politics to deprive hungry people of food, or to destroy the ground of their hope. Their trust is in the readiness of America to finish the task of their release from the horrors of nazism.

We urge Congress to adopt a bill to authorize the appropriation of $1,350,000,000 as the American share of the UNRRA program for 1946.

ROSWELL P. BARNES,
Acting General Secretary.

ACTION TAKEN BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, MAY 15, 1945

The restoration of order among European peoples is largely dependent upon food, clothing, medicines, and other supplies. As a result of the cumulative effects of the war, conditions in some of the liberated countries are now reported to be considerably worse than during the period of occupation. It is therefore urgent that food for starving and undernourished people should be provided at once.

The task must be undertaken mainly by governments because of its size. A major part of the supplies must come from America. The allocations for military usage can probably not be reduced in the near future. The allocations for civilian supplies must provide most of the extra help to feed European peoples until the

next harvests can be garnered. It is within the competence of government authorities to divert from civilian consumption such amounts of food as may be necessary but this will of necessity involve stricter rationing. The American people need to make clear their willingness to accept continued rationing and further sacrifices that millions may live.

The Christian obligation is clear. We should provide an example of voluntary sacrifice at a time when many are unthinkingly preparing for expanded personal expenditures for food and other items.

First, we in the churches need to avoid the waste of food in our own homes. Secondly, we ought to help in every way possible to increase the production of food during this critical season. Thirdly, for the period just ahead, we ought to deny ourselves part of the protective foods available but in short supply, particularly meats, fats, and milk products, and use to a larger degree the more abundant foods. Our diet has generally been such that this self-denial will not injure our own health, but may make the difference between life and death for thousands in devastated lands. And, finally, we need to support more generously the agencies of relief, particularly our church agencies of relief and reconstruction.

Action Taken by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches September 18, 1945

Our hearts are deeply burdened at the prospect that millions of men, women, and children of liberated countries may suffer acutely from hunger and cold this coming winter. The cessation of war has brought with it the abrupt withdrawal of wartime controls in this country and the virtual end of rationing of foods. The end of lend-lease and the sharp reduction in needs for the armed forces, coupled with record-breaking production of many goods in our own country places us in a position to devote unexpected quantities of food and other supplies to the relief of dire need overseas.

In accord with our resolution adopted May 15, 1945, we believe that Christians should continue to uphold by their conduct and spoken word the standard of voluntary sacrifice, if need be, that food, coal, and clothing should be sent to war victims overseas. We are anxious to see the pledge of our President implemented. We would undertake to inform our Government officials of our continuing concern in this matter.

We recommend support for the requests of UNRRA for $1,350,000,000 from our Government. Support for the National War Fund will assist governmental and private agencies in their programs supplementary to the UNRRA or national relief undertakings in various countries.

In addition we would urge upon our church people generous support for the postwar funds being raised in most denominations during this fall and winter. Large portions of these funds will assist in restoration of church life and functioning in lands of Europe and Asia and will be essential if new life is to blossom into peace and world brotherhood.

Our Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction is now also prepared to serve the churches by forwarding contributed supplies of clothing and household needs to church bodies in Europe and Asia.

Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction,
New York 10, N. Y., November 19, 1945.

Memorandum Supporting the President's Request That Congress Authorize an Appropriation of $1,350,000,000 for Support of the UNRRA Program

THE GROUP SUPPORTING THIS PROPOSAL

The Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction is the official agency of the Protestant churches established by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, acting jointly. Its responsibility is to coordinate the whole overseas program of relief and reconstruction as projected by the churches. It provides the ground on which the various denominations can be informed of the needs and can plan together their several responses to those needs. It has further given direction to the interdenominational organization needed to accomplish the plans which have been worked out.

Sources of information.—The committee has authentic reports from church representatives in nearly every country of Europe and Asia. In Europe most of these reports have been vouched for by official American church representatives connected with the staff of the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland. For Asia we rely on national christian councils of various countries such as Burma, Korea, China, Philippines, Thailand and others. Coupled with these are American missionaries active in all these lands, familiar with the needs and assisting for years in relief measures.

Nature of reports.—For the countries in which UNRRA operates our reports indicate the most desperate need ever known in modern times. We attach a brief report on the condition of children in eastern European countries and Italy.

On November 15 the following cable was received from our representatives in Prague, Czechoslovakia. "Czech government, UNRRA, American Relief, and Czech Red Cross join in appeal churches behalf newborns now wrapped newspapers (send) 1,000,000 diapers * * *."

A recent appeal from the World Council of Churches in Geneva says, "We who have had first-hand opportunities to discover the conditions that exist today in Europe * * * appeal to the churches of the more favored lands to launch an immediate effort to secure material supplies for relief * * * the need in Europe is much more desperate than has yet been realized."

Another report, "There are some 12,000,000 refugees, homeless and hungry, milling across the borders of eastern Europe, without shelter, without destination, almost without hope. A large proportion of them are former inhabitants of the Balkan States."

International governmental effort necessary.—These needs in Europe and Asia are too vast to be met even in a small way by private agencies. All of these agencies are eager to help, but the bulk of the supplies and distribution can only be adequately handled by the official relief agency set up by the nations, UNRRA. It is too late to organize some new agency. It is the gesture of folly to call upon some unprepared agency to try to take over the task. It is an admission of defeat for Americans to sabotage UNRRA when it was erected in response to our vision. To accept or counsel defeat in this initial agency of international cooperation, in so basic and essential a humanitarian undertaking, convicts America of inconstancy and weakness in its efforts for peace and world order.

Therefore we most urgently request Congress to adopt a bill for support of the UNRRA program for the full sum requested by President Truman, namely, $1,350,000,000.

LESLIE B. MOSS, *Executive Director.*

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES APPEALS TO THE CHURCHES FOR PHYSICAL RELIEF IN EUROPE

We who have had first-hand opportunities to discover the conditions that exist today in Europe as an aftermath of the war appeal to the churches of the more favored lands to launch an immediate effort to secure material supplies for relief. It has become entirely clear to us, as winter comes, there will be appalling suffering and that great numbers will perish from hunger and cold unless generous assistance is given.

What we have seen with our own eyes or heard from unimpeachable witnesses convinces us that the need in many parts of Europe is much more desperate than has yet been realized. This is particularly true of Central Europe, where the lack of food and clothing and other necessities of life during the coming winter will be most acute and where no adequate plans for relief have yet been made. In Germany the problem is greatly aggravated by the precipitate influx of millions of exiles from the areas in the East in which they are no longer allowed to live.

We do not propose that the churches assume any part of the responsibility which belongs to UNRRA and the military governments. We believe that these agencies must assume a much greater task of large-scale relief than they have yet undertaken, and be given increased financial support. We have come to the definite conclusion, however, that the churches must supplement the Government program by special efforts of their own to give such assistance as they can, through their own channels, to those who will otherwise be unreached.

In appealing to the churches to give physical relief to the suffering in Europe during the critical emergency of the coming winter we do not suggest that they make this a substitute for the program, already under way through the World Council of Churches, for rebuilding the shattered church life of the Continent. On

the contrary, we urge with all the power at our command that the plans for undergirding the churches of Europe in their distinctive evangelistic, educational, and social work be pressed with the greatest vigor. We regard this program as fundamental to the spiritual life of Europe. But we ask that in addition to these plans there be a united effort at once to secure large quantities of food, clothing, bedding, vitamins, medicines, and other essentials for the maintenance of life, as an emergency measure for the winter that lies ahead.

On the basis of supplies already assured by the American churches and in expectation that far greater supplies will be available when the full extent of the need is realized, the Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid in the World Council of Churches has decided to create a special section for material aid. As a result of inquiries already made, the staff of the council is convinced that it can provide for the effective distribution of all such supplies through the churches in the countries where the need is greatest and through other existing agencies which have given assurance of their cooperation. In some of these countries the churches are already organizing in a way that enables them to be centers of distribution for whatever supplies we can furnish. The efforts for physical relief will thus be integrally related to the program of Christian reconstruction.

Signed: W. A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary, World Council of Churches; J. Hutchison Cockburn, director of the Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid; Stewart Herman, assistant director; Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (on loan to the World Council); Benjamin Bush (Presbyterian); S. C. Michelfelder (Lutheran); Robert Root (Congregational Christian); Carl E. Schneider (Evangelical and Reformed); Werner T. Wickstrom (Methodist); M. R. Zigler (Church of the Brethren); Elsie T. Culver, United Council of Church Women.

GENEVA, *October 9, 1945.*

NOTE.—Shipments of goods in response to this appeal should be sent to the United Church Service Center, New Windsor, Md. (or United Church Service Center, Modesto, Calif.). Supplementary gifts of money designated for material aid for Central Europe may be sent through local churches and denominational offices, or directly to the Commission for World Council Service, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, 10, N. Y.

EUROPE'S CHILDREN

(This material is supporting evidence furnished by the International Red Cross—very recent and authentic)

Six years of war have brought immeasurable suffering to Europe's children. Their plight began by a gradual reduction of food rations. Later on clothing and soap became scarce. Undernourishment and the lack of hygiene paved the way for scabies, typhus, and tuberculosis. Then came the mass destruction from the air or otherwise of hospitals, schools, and private dwellings and the shortage of coal due to the disintegration of the transport system. Those who were not buried alive under the ruins of their homes and escaped death from suffocation in their burning towns were compelled to seek shelter in damp cellars offering little protection from rain and hardly any from cold but presenting to their inhabitants every guaranty of immediate or future rheumatism. The full story of children martyrdom during the war will never be told. It will only be guessed from the indelible traces which it will have left on Europe's rising generation.

The most difficult problem in Italy is to determine the exact number of children in need of relief. Orphans and destitute children usually gather in gangs and live from theft. The efforts of the Italian Government to shelter these homeless children in orphanages and children homes have had so far a limited result.

Even as late as May 1945, the children of Greece were in a tragic situation. There is a large number of orphans, undernourished, homeless, and sick among them, particularly in the Epirus. As a matter of fact, this province being poorly provided with communication facilities never received more than 20 percent of the foodstuffs alloted to it. Malaria and tuberculosis are rampant. The number of orphans in the Epirus is about 5,000, in Macedonia more than 10,000, and in the whole country more than 30,000. Providing homes and clothing for these children during the coming winter is of the utmost importance. It should be stressed that in many cases the parents of 5 or 6 children have been killed during the war and the eldest brother or sister, sometimes not older than 14 years, must look after the younger ones.

A visit of the orphanages and hospitals of the island of Rhodes established that as late as September 1945 the children had not recovered from the long period of undernourishment.

Reports from Albania show that already in the latter part of 1943 infant mortality has reached 25 to 40 percent. The cause of this mass dying of babies was diarrhea due to improper diet; 50 percent of nursing mothers were not in a position to feed their children, suffering themselves from anemia and undernourishment. The usual diet of babies in the war-stricken areas of Albania probably still consists, as in 1943, of a pap made of maize-bread and water. In 1943 a can of condensed milk of Italian origin (Nutricia) cost about $10, and the milk frequently was spoiled. The number of orphans is estimated at 10,000, and that of undernourished children at 70,000.

Similar reports are arriving from Yugoslavia (Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Croatia), where military operations have resulted in the complete destruction of many towns and villages. By the spring of 1945, the food situation in Croatia had become terrific. In Bosnia, the town of Petrovac, for instance, which numbered 10,000 inhabitants before the war, had been wiped out and grass is growing now on its ruins. All the surrounding villages have been burned down. The local population is living in caverns. There are districts in which even the bark of the trees has been eaten up by the hungry inhabitants.

In many districts of Bosnia the peasants are obliged to till their land at night, because they are completely deprived of clothing. There are no draft animals, so that the plows are pulled by manpower alone. Five men and women pull the plow, while one is holding it the whole night through till dawn. Then they go back to their primitive homes, lie down, and hide their nakedness from the sunshine.

Thousands of children do not know who were their parents or where they came from. They were too small when their parents were killed and were just picked up by passers-by who found them in their burning villages or in the woods. The food of the children in the distressed areas consists of plants, roots, leaves, kernels, and water. Their health is compromised; they look like skeletons, are covered with lice and suffer from all imaginable diseases; tuberculosis, skin disease, and typhus occur most frequently. Doctors who have examined these children say that they have found among them diseases which they never met before but in medical books. Whoever is ready to help these people must keep in mind that the only available commodities are water and timber; nothing else.

During the siege of Budapest, when the population lived in cellars, most children below 1 year succumbed. By now it has been possible to reduce infant mortality to 23 percent. This rate, however, still is twice as high as the rate of 1942. Children from 3 to 12 show a loss of weight reaching as much as 18 pounds. The number of orphans is estimated at 200,000, that of children suffering from tuberculosis at 17,000. In Hungary there are 10,000 homeless children while 20,000 children from 1 to 4 years need relief in Budapest alone.

Appalling conditions are also reported to exist in Bulgaria and Rumania. In November 1944 the number of children poorly provided with food and clothing in Bulgaria exceeded 100,000. In Rumania the number of orphans and destitute children is about 250,000. The children refugees of various nationalities are about 5,000.

The situation of the children in Poland is hardly much different from that in Yugoslavia and in Greece. Of 6,000,000 children below 14 living in Poland not less than 2,000,000 are undernourished. It is estimated that 150,000 children live in cellars, in abandoned anti-air-raid shelters, and in trenches. Many of them are covered with lice and suffer from scabies. In Warsaw the task of collecting firewood and carrying water is mostly performed by children often not older than 6 years. How great is the number of orphans in Warsaw may be seen from the fact that in a primary school the father of only 1 child out of 100 was alive.

The plight of concentration camps, in which so many children lost their lives, is hardly over and the plight of refugee trains has broken over Europe.

Adults declared the war and are responsible for it. Children are and remain innocent. Must they perish from hunger and cold now that the war is over?

[Cable]

PRAGUE, *November 15, 1945.*

Moss,
297 Fourth Avenue, New York:

Churches anxious material reenforcement spiritual program through community service. Czech Government, UNRRA American relief, and Czech Red Cross join in appeal churches behalf new-borns now wrapped newspapers (send) 1,000,000 diapers. * * *

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to address my remarks to two particular points this morning. The first is that we believe, in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, that it is the responsibility of America to undertake the job of doing an adequate, or as nearly as possible an adequate, relief job.

We have been told repeatedly that it was a part of the military invasion plans that promises were made to the people of the invaded countries when the Allied armies went into Europe that they should sabotage as much as possible transportation and other improvements and that we would make good the losses, and that we would provide them with the food and other materials that they needed when victory was won.

Furthermore, we pledged our word when we went into the UNRRA organization more than a year ago that we would undertake with other nations the job of relief that presented itself as a result of the aftermath of the war.

In the third place, from the point of view of the churches, we feel it is of high importance that we should carry through the humanitarian considerations which impel all of us in meeting the needs of the peoples in these various lands, giving to them that kind of assistance which will enable them to win their way back to independence and to new life and responsibility.

In the fourth place, under this matter of responsibility, I should like to mention the fact that we believe that the necessity for developing a peaceful world rests with our undertaking an adequate job in this matter of relief for people who are starving, and that you cannot build a peaceful world on any basis of starvation or people who are freezing without adequate care.

On this matter of responsibility, our feeling is that if we evade this responsibility as Americans, or seek to pass it by, we shall not only bring discredit upon our promises, both explicit and implied in recent years, but we shall do a great deal toward breaking down the kind of international fabric and world order which we are intensely interested in seeing built up.

Now, with regard to the matter of means by which this should be carried out, I understand that there are many proposals which hinge around three possibilities.

One of them is that the Army might operate in the field of relief, and another is that the job should be turned over to the Red Cross, and the one with which we are dealing here today, or UNRRA should be given the means of carrying forward the undertaking.

We believe that this matter of carrying out a relief program on so vast a scale is a civilian job, and not an Army job.

The Army undoubtedly could do it if they were organized to do it, but they have gone on different errands into these countries, and it is going to take a considerable job of changing over and reconversion in their intentions and purposes if they are to undertake it.

Moreover, the American Army, at least, is not operating in some of the countries where UNRRA is operating.

With regard to the Red Cross, our conviction built up over the years in dealings with the Red Cross has led us to believe that their basic charter does not look to this kind of a task, that they are more deeply interested in medical relief as such, and that for this war they have been geared up to do a job behind the Army, and in association with the Army, and not in the international field in various countries where they would have to look to the Red Cross of the various countries, working up relations with them. Moreover, we do not believe that they have the personnel ready to do so large a job as is necessary, nor the supplies in process as the UNRRA has.

Now, may I speak positively about our conviction that UNRRA ought to be given the means with which to do this job?

In the first place, we are convinced that peace and world order must be a cooperative undertaking; that if we are going to build any stable world order, it will have to be done by nations working together.

We have in UNRRA, it seems to us, the simplest ground work and the place at which we have an opportunity to do the job in international relations. To allow ourselves to be set aside or turned aside at this most basic and relatively simple place is to prejudice, it seems to us, our whole international relations in the period that is ahead of us. If we are going to fail to carry through the relief operation, which is for the basic welfare of humanity on an international basis, how can we hope to achieve any international understanding in the more complicated political processes that are involved?

UNRRA has the staff, it is trained, it is already in operation, and they have the supply lines or the pipe lines which are already flowing to these various countries in which they operate. To interrupt it would be a very serious matter.

We understand that in Asia, particularly in China, that the Chinese National Relief Administration, the China section of the UNRRA organization, is expecting to use missionaries of the churches who have been in China, many of them for years, who are qualified by experience and knowledge of the people to carry on a suitable and satisfactory program.

We believe, therefore, that with the UNRRA operation in China, as well as in other countries, there is every likelihood of an excellent job being done through the utilization of skilled and experienced personnel.

It seems to us that to switch now to another agency entails, in the first place, a loss of time, and in the second place, a loss of motion, in the third place a waste of money, and in the fourth place, untold suffering.

We believe that the American people would want to see the feeding of and the care of and the rehabilitation of these peoples of other lands done as promptly, as expeditiously, and with as little loss of life and energy as might be possible. We believe that UNRRA is in the best position to accomplish this.

We hope, Mr. Chairman, I might say, by way of comment, that it will be possible to send forward this bill without any amendments such as that attached to the bill for the $550,000,000. I speak particularly of the press amendments of which I think Mr. Meyer of the Washington Post is reported to have spoken the other day. We

believe that this kind of a unilateral tie-in to the program of an international organization is, if not disastrous, at least deflecting from the purpose and the thing that we are trying to do, and we do not believe that political capital ought to be made out of the feeding of the hungry people who are members of a world which we want to see become one world.

Thank you, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Moss, would you tell us briefly what constitutes the Federal Councul of the Churches of Christ in America, for which you speak?

Mr. MOSS. There is on this letterhead a list of the denominations which are members of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Mr. JOHNSON. Will you kindly read those for the benefit of the record?

Mr. MOSS (reading):

The National Baptist Convention, Northern Baptist Convention, Church of the Brethren, Congregational Christian Churches, Disciples of Christ, Evangelical Church, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Friends, Methodist Church, African M. E. Church, African M. E. Zion Church, Colored M. E. Church in America, Moravian Church, Presbyterian Church in United States, Presbyterian Church in United States of America, Protestant Episcopal Church, Reformed Church in America, Reformed Episcopal Church, Russian Orthodox Church of North America, Seventh Day Baptist Churches, Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Church of North America, Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America, United Brethren Church, United Church of Canada, United Lutheran Church, and United Presbyterian Church.

Mr. JOHNSON. That constitutes practically all of the Protestant churches in the United States, does it not, Mr. Moss?

Mr. MOSS. No; not all of them, but the majority of the Protestant bodies who are accustomed to cooperative undertakings.

Mr. JOHNSON. Your statement, I think, is a very clear, very logical, and, I think, very forceful statement of the situation with reference to relief in the stricken countries. I take it that this subject is one that your organization feels that, based upon humanity, as well as upon the larger scope of peaceful relations and the restoration of peace throughout the world, makes relief at this time very, very important?

Mr. MOSS. We do, yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON. You also realize, I take it from your statement, and you feel that speed is necessary if relief is to be given in time due to the suffering and hardships that will be severe this winter?

Mr. MOSS. This current year in which we are now operating, that is, this winter, and the coming spring, are going to be the most terrible years that the world has ever faced in this matter of need for relief.

Mr. JOHNSON. There will probably be more human suffering this winter throughout the world than ever before in the world's history; is not that true?

Mr. MOSS. I think so.

Mr. JOHNSON. I agree with your statement that in view of the fact that winter is upon us and that this work is here, and that UNRRA has an organization, that even though mistakes may have been made, that we cannot afford to attempt to set up another organization at this time, and that the importance of the work and the necessity for speed require its use. I think that is a sound and fair statement.

I believe that is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Chiperfield.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Did I understand you, sir, to say, that the amendment offered, I think it was either Mr. Brown's or Mr. Dirksen's, to the $550,000,000 appropriation was offered for political purposes?

Mr. MOSS. No, sir, I did not say that.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. What did you say?

Mr. MOSS. I said that we hope that it would not be necessary to add that to the new bill, because we hoped it would not be necessary to add to the bill something that was unilateral in an international undertaking and would thus prevent the operation of it satisfactorily.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. How did you use the word "political" a moment ago?

Mr. MOSS. I am not sure. Maybe we might have the record read.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You are not questioning the motives of those gentlemen, are you, in offering that amendment?

Mr. MOSS. No, sir. I think it is a mistake to do it, but I am not questioning their motives.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is what I wanted to bring out. Have you had any opportunity to observe the work of UNRRA in the field?

Mr. MOSS. I have not been overseas, but we have representatives over there. I have not personally been there.

Chairman BLOOM. Judge Kee.

Mr. KEE. I think that your statement, insofar as public sentiment in this country can be ascertained, very accurately represents the sentiment of the people of America upon this question that we have before us today.

CHAIRMAN BLOOM. Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Richards.

Mr. RICHARDS. I have no questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. JONKMAN. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jarman.

Mr. JARMAN. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. I have no questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Emily Douglas.

Mrs. EMILY DOUGLAS. I have no questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Did you not like it?

Mrs. EMILY DOUGLAS. I liked it very much.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wasdworth is here, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Senator Wadsworth; I am sorry.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have no questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Ryter.

Mr. RYTER. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Flood.

Mr. FLOOD. I have no questions.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask one more question.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. You answered a question a moment ago, Mr. Moss, stating that while you had made no personal visit to Europe to observe

the work of UNRRA, that your organization had sent representatives over there and had made such investigations. What is the result of those investigations as reported by those whom you sent over there to investigate the work? Would you tell us that, please?

Mr. Moss. Well, I think it all flows from a general understanding that we have of the tremendous need that is involved in all of these countries. It is pretty hard to quote specific instances. I have here attached to one of these documents lots of information with regard to the condition of the children in the several countries which I did not take the time to read, which would help to indicate the situation.

Mr. Johnson. They all confirm your statement that it is quite necessary that this relief be granted and be granted quickly, and that they think UNRRA is the best means of carrying it on?

Mr. Moss. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. That is based upon personal observation of your representatives?

Mr. Moss. Yes, sir.

Mr. Chiperfield. I have one more question, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Bloom. Mr. Chiperfield.

Mr. Chiperfield. Will you be kind enough to place in the record who those people were who made those observations, and enough about their journey in Europe, or other places, to indicate what their experience was?

Mr. Moss. I can name some of them from memory, Mr. Chairman. I cannot name all of them at the moment.

Mr. Chiperfield. I want it just simply in the record.

Mr. Moss. Elden Burke, who has been in France, and who has gone from there into Yugoslavia, and who is now there.

Chairman Bloom. Who is Mr. Burke?

Mr. Moss. Mr. Burke is the representative jointly of our committee on overseas relief and reconstruction under the Federal Council and of the Church of the Brethren.

Also Bishop Garver, of the Methodist Church, who is in charge of their work throughout Europe, has visited in Yugoslavia and some of the other European countries. I cannot name them at the moment, because he has not been back.

Mr. Chiperfield. Have you consulted with him?

Mr. Moss. We have had communications from him and the Methodist Church has had communications through their staff. Miss Elsie Thomas Culver has been in Europe and Geneva, Switzerland, and is now at the moment in Yugoslavia, and has sent us written appeals from Yugoslavia for help saying that the Czech Government, UNRRA, and the Czech Red Cross are, all of them, asking the churches to assist in this situation.

There are six or seven American representatives on the staff of the World Council of Churches, and maybe Dr. Barstow can speak on that. He is secretary of that organization and he can give you their names if you will ask him for the names when he speaks.

Chairman Bloom. Are there any further questions?

Thank you very much for appearing before the committee. Mr. Barstow?

STATEMENT OF ROBBINS WALCOTT BARSTOW, DIRECTOR, COMMISSION FOR WORLD COUNCIL SERVICE

Mr. BARSTOW. Mr. Chairman, I have copies of these papers here to pass around to the committee if they would be interested in them.

Chairman BLOOM. The clerk will see that they are passed around. Thank you very much.

Mr. Barstow, kindly give your full name and whom you represent for the record.

Mr. BARSTOW. Robbins W. Barstow, and I am director for the Commission for World Council Service.

I appear as the representative of the World Council of Churches, which is composed of some 89 Christian bodies in 29 different countries, with its international headquarters in New York, and especially as representing the 25 cooperating denominations in America, approximately the same groups that are represented in the committee for which Mr. Moss spoke. Together we are seeking to render substantial aid to the European people, particularly by way of rehabilitating and strengthening the activities of their churches and their cultural foundations as basic to the whole program of recovery that alone can lead to lasting peace.

In connection with this general program, I would like to read into the record, if I may, a telegram from General Eisenhower:

> Upon the religious agencies and individual churches and congregations and the devastated areas of Europe there is a tremendous task of reorganization and reconstruction. No doubt the cooperative efforts of the World Council of Churches will be appreciated. I conceive the task to be monumental, and the need urgent.

Chairman BLOOM. And that is signed by whom?

Mr. BARSTOW. That is signed by Dwight Eisenhower.

Chairman BLOOM. As of what date?

Mr. BARSTOW. The date of it I have not here, sir. It was about the 1st of August, or, perhaps, early in July.

Mr. JOHNSON. This year?

Mr. BARSTOW. This year; yes.

Chairman BLOOM. Proceed, Mr. Barstow.

Mr. BARSTOW. Bearing upon this important problem, we are undertaking not only the strengthening of the church organizations, and seeking to help in reestablishing that basic factor in the life of the European nations, but in the light of this existing emergency, we are engaged in an extensive and expanding program of material relief, but that is based entirely on the predication that the work of the UNRRA is carrying the major load of relief. Of course, it is perfectly obvious that you cannot rebuild a civilization on skeletons and crosses. People have got to be kept alive, and we have assumed that the governments, primarily UNRRA, would undertake that primary task of saving the lives of people, and our contributions by way of relief, material aid, are all supplementary to that program.

We are shipping goods in such quantities as they are available. We have a fiscal program of relief and reconstruction that runs into this year, and it will probably run into $3,000,000 or $4,000,000, but you see anything that can be done by private agencies, even churches united, is in terms of millions where that need is so tremendous.

We are throughout cooperating with the Army and with UNRRA and with the other secular agencies, and all together we feel that this

is a tremendous burden, an obligation that rests upon the victorious nations, and particularly upon the United States.

It seems to us, and I think I speak for my colleagues in the World Council of Churches, that it is a matter both of national honor, and it is a matter of practical politics I would say, and also just considerations of plain human decency and charity.

Mr. JOHNSON. Do you use the word "politics" in a narrow or a broad sense?

Mr. BARSTOW. In a broad sense, in the international relationships, and just plain working tocgther and integrating the world organization which we are hoping to have.

There is no question in our minds as to the basic need. We have letters and cablegrams almost daily emphasizing the desperateness of the need. We are seeking to do what we can, but we are counting on the Government agencies to do the main job. We are seeking to support that, and for that reason I register support for this appropriation.

I think that is all I have to say.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. Your organization is not the same as the organization Mr. Moss spoke for, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America?

Mr. BARSTOW. No, sir. Ours is the World Council of Churches.

Mr. JOHNSON. Is that a larger organization? That is, does it comprise a larger membership of world churches than the other organization?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir; we comprise churches in 29 different countries.

Mr. JOHNSON. The Federal Council is a national organization?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes; that is right.

Mr. JOHNSON. Whereas yours is international?

Mr. BARSTOW. It is sort of like a concentric circle. Ours is an international body which corresponds to the Federal Council in this country.

Mr. JOHNSON. Where is your headquarters located?

Mr. BARSTOW. In New York.

Mr. JOHNSON. How many countries are there in the World Council of Churches?

Mr. BARSTOW. Twenty-nine.

Mr. JOHNSON. And how many different denominations?

Mr. BARSTOW. Eighty-nine different churches.

Mr. JOHNSON. Eighty-nine?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir; of which 24 are in this country.

Mr. JOHNSON. Do you have any representatives of your organization over there that have first-hand knowledge, by reason of contacts in Europe, with reference to the need there?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir; we are organized in this aspect, through the department of reconstruction in church aid, with headquarters at Geneva. The senior secretary is Dr. Cockburn, who is former moderator of the Church of Scotland, and associated with him are about eight or nine Americans and several Britishers, some Swedish representatives, and so forth.

Mr. JOHNSON. Do these representatives make reports to your organization with reference to conditions?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON. And your statement is based upon the information you have from them?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON. Have you yourself been to Europe?

Mr. BARSTOW. No, sir; not since this emergency.

Mr. JOHNSON. Not since the emergency?

Mr. BARSTOW. No, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON. So your statement is based upon reports to your organization?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir. They are official reports which come to us in formal documentation, and as representatives visit the various countries they report back on their responsibilities and what they have seen.

Mr. JOHNSON. Based upon their reports you can say that the need of relief in Europe is very great?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir; there are no words to describe it.

Mr. JOHNSON. It is indescribable?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. The suffering this winter will probably exceed that of any other winter in the world's history, will it not?

Mr. BARSTOW. I think there is no question about that, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON. I believe that is all.

Mr. BARSTOW. I might say that I feel the conscience of America, at least, through its church people is very keenly aware of this situation, and they are eager to do what they can.

Mr. JOHNSON. May I ask one additional question, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. The representatives of your organization agree, do they, that UNRRA should be permitted to continue this work now which they have started?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir; very specifically, saying that whatever we can do as a church organization is supplemental to the major program.

Mr. JOHNSON. And they feel that the work of UNRRA should be carried on?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir; there is no question about that.

Mr. JOHNSON. And that this additional appropriation should be made to insure its being carried on?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. I would like to just ask one question: When you use the word "reconstruction" you mean rehabilitation?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Chairman BLOOM. You do not mean to go into the reconstruction of Europe or anything of the kind, but the relief and rehabilitation of Europe?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes; the committee is called the Committee on Reconstruction in Church Aid, but reconstruction does not mean physical upbuilding.

Chairman BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. BARSTOW. Although eventually we would like to help in that.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Chipperfield.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Judge Kee.

Mr. KEE. I understand that the relief you are sending to Europe is purely supplementary to the relief given to UNRRA. You have

agents over in Europe to follow it up to see whether or not the relief you are sending is properly distributed to the people there?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir; the World Council of Churches, with its central organization, is related to inter-church groups in each country and in every country the interdenomination group works out its program in relation to UNRRA, with the secular relief organizations following through. We have very definite reports on it and careful organization and supervision.

Mr. KEE. Do you know whether or not you use any of the facilities of UNRRA in making this distribution?

Mr. BARSTOW. I think in Greece there has been more of that cooperation than elsewhere. Beyond that I cannot give you a factual answer to that.

Mr. KEE. I would like to have you tell us whether or not you have received any complaints from your agents in Europe as to the conduct of UNRRA in making distribution of relief?

Mr. BARSTOW. I have not, sir, on that point. We have had reports on the program where we overlapped most definitely as in Greece and in Italy, but I have had no adverse reports as to the distribution of relief.

Mr. KEE. I take it that, necessarily, your agents in Europe would be familiar with UNRRA's conduct of the work over there in order to avoid duplication?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEE. You would not want to duplicate their efforts?

Mr. BARSTOW. That is right; from our point of view.

Mr. KEE. And they would, naturally, be familiar with the methods employed by UNRRA?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir. The only thing is that they do say that even all that UNRRA can do will not be enough to prevent starvation and death this winter.

Mr. KEE. I take it that that is granted by everyone.

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Mr. KEE. That is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Vorys?

Mr. VORYS. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Richards?

Mr. RICHARDS. Does the Catholic Church or any branch of it have representation in your organization?

Mr. BARSTOW. Not their organization, sir. They have a very active organization and they are carrying on work in a hundred of these areas. We are working in cooperation.

Mr. RICHARDS. I ask that question because the population in those countries where UNRRA is operating now is predominantly Catholic.

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes. Our particular church program is for people of our Protestant minorities in those countries, but we have understandings and agreements and are seeking to integrate the whole program.

Mr. JOHNSON. The same with the Jewish organization?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes. They have a separate organization.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jonkman?

Mr. JONKMAN. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jarman?

Mr. JARMAN. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Bolton?

Mrs. BOLTON. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Senator Wadsworth?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Ryter?

Mr. RYTER. Doctor, in what countries is your organization undertaking any relief measures?

Mr. BARSTOW. Norway, Finland, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Italy, and Greece. We have not yet been able to get into Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, but we hope to render aid there, and in Germany and Austria just as soon as the way is open.

Mr. RYTER. Thank you. That is all.

Chairman BLOOM. You do cooperate, do you not, with the Catholic and Jewish organizations in your work?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. Why is it that you cannot get into Czechoslovakia at this time?

Mr. BARSTOW. I think we are just now at the point where we can.

Chairman BLOOM. I can understand about Poland.

Mr. BARSTOW. The way is now open in connection with the Czech Government and the Czech relief.

I have a cablegram here. I do not know that it should be read into the record.

Chairman BLOOM. Read it in.

Mr. BARSTOW. It is as to the need for specific material relief, and it says that 1,000,000 diapers are needed as a great Christian witness of the strategic moment. We all know that diapers are needed for strategic moments. The babies there are wrapped in newspapers; and we are going to see if we can get some baby stuff over there.

Mr. JOHNSON. Where is that cablegram from?

Mr. BARSTOW. Prague, in Czechoslovakia. The Red Cross unite in that request.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very much for appearing before the committee. Do you have any statement that you want to leave with the committee?

Mr. BARSTOW. I have no statement to leave, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. We will go back to the other witness. I want to thank Mr. Lindgren for allowing these other witnesses to appear.

STATEMENT OF RAYMOND E. LINDGREN—Resumed

Mr. LINDGREN. I have never been before a committee before, Mr. Chairman. Is it correct if I ask to be allowed to complete my statement, which I think will take about 10 minutes?

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair asks that. Do you prefer not to be interrupted?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. The committee will recognize that fact.

Mr. LINDGREN. The next point is under the heading of "Corruption."

CORRUPTION

1. Upon arriving at Granville, one of the first things we heard was that UNRRA trucks were dropping off the trainees' rations all along the road from Cherbourg where they were procured from the American Army, to Granville. The quantity and the quality of the food served seemed to bear this out, because we knew we were supposed to be getting American Army rations, and we fellows who had been in the Army knew we weren't. We were the first large group of Americans ever to arrive at Granville, and we raised the roof. The messing officer was fired our first week and replaced with an American, John Coleman; the food immediately improved in quantity and quality.

2. We also upset the applecart on another racket there. UNRRA trainees are supposed to get their food free, but in the mess hall they had French cooks, bus boys, and waitresses. We were told, and this had been going on for months before we got there, that the French labor laws wouldn't allow them to pay enough for the help, and the help wouldn't stay on what they were allowed to pay them. So each trainee, upon getting his weekly meal ticket, was compelled to pay 35 francs, equivalent to 70 cents in American money, as a weekly tip. It was not voluntary—no tip, no meal ticket; I saw examples of that. Granville had from 750 to 1,500 trainees there at all times. This meant from $525 to $1,050 each week was paid into this tipping fund. There were never more than 30 to 40 mess-hall employees. Within 3 weeks we stopped that, and they did raise the pay of the civilian employees in the mess hall. The French labor law was all a blind.

3. From July 6 until August 10 of this year, the Criminal Investigation Department of the United States Army carried on an investigation of black-market activities on the part of the UNRRA staff at Granville. This had to do with everything from a money black market to at least 127 3-ton trucks which disappeared, and from food to thousands of sheets which are worth $18 apiece in London. To my knowledge no UNRRA trainee ever saw a sheet unless it was his own, but at some time they were shipped to UNRRA at Granville. This black market was not small time by any means. As a result of it, on about August 1, almost the entire administrative staff was removed. It was at this time I became a member of the staff as mobilization officer.

4. Early in September an UNRRA hostel outside of Paris, in a small town called Nonancourt, was investigated by the CID for black-market activities.

5. A resigning American nurse whom I met in London last month and who had been in the field since May told me her story. She asked me not to mention her name, but I will give it to the committee in confidence if necessary. She told me how the UNRRA personnel of her team sold UNRRA food and supplies into the German black market—food and supplies which were supposed to go to the displaced persons. She also told me stories of moral turpitude concerning her team which was shocking. M. Sabin, the French director, also told me many stories of that kind.

6. Miss Wallis, whom I mentioned before with her background, told me of black-market operations in Hamburg on the part of UNRRA personnel. She said in this UNRRA hostel at which she was quar-

tered they rarely had more than eight people, mostly transient. The hostel could hold 40, and so they indented for food and cigarettes for 40 each day and sold the balance into the German black market.

7. Miss Dora Gray, the nurse I mentioned earlier, told me what she saw in the new Austrian operation. An UNRRA employee was selling etchings in the office of the Austrian Mission to UNRRA employees, but he would accept only cigarettes, not money. This is in violation of Army regulations on bartering PX supplies and is being carried on right in the UNRRA office.

LACK OF AMERICAN REPRESENTATION, GERMAN DISPLACED PERSONS PROGRAM AND IN LONDON

1. As of July 8, 1945, there were, according to official Granville figures, 296 D. P. teams in the field in Germany. Each team had its director, and there were just 12 American directors and other positions in the same ratio.

2. This made me curious so I went back through the records of the Mobilization Department, from March when the base was activated until August 22. I submit herewith a copy of these figures which show that until July and August, by which time the D. P. job was almost over, there were almost no Americans in the field.

3. The European regional office in London is almost entirely autonomous and Washington has little jurisdiction. We were first told this at College Park in June. Three weeks ago one of UNRRA's high officials here in Washington admitted it to me and agreed that though, theoretically Washington laid down policies, and so forth, the actual administration and execution of the European theater was in the hands of the London office. In short, London runs the European program, definitely not Washington. Therefore, knowing that the United States is paying 72 percent of the bill for UNRRA, it is a bit irritating to see that there is no decent American representation in the London office in the top positions. There are 14 directors of divisions which, in effect, run UNRRA in Europe. Of the 14, 9 are British, 1 Australian, 1 New Zealand (total of 11 British Empire), 1 French, 1 Russian, and 1 American. The American is Director of Welfare which is a job of very slight importance in UNRRA administration.

Chairman BLOOM. Pardon the interruption, which I must make. If you are going to quote what an official of UNRRA said, you should have no objection to putting the name into the record.

Mr. LINDGREN. The only objection is that I do not want to put him on the spot.

Chairman BLOOM. You are putting all of UNRRA on the spot if you do not name him. We would like to have all of these people named to whom you refer.

Mr. LINDGREN. It was Fred Hoehler, in charge of the UNRRA D. P. operations.

Chairman BLOOM. You are making some very, very bald statements; and Governor Lehman said that he was going to be here around 12 o'clock. I would like to ask of the committee that we just recess for a couple of minutes. It is 5 minutes past 12 now. I think that the Governor should be permitted to listen to this statement. He would be very much interested.

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. I would like to have the views of the committee.

Mr. JOHNSON. I think that is proper, in view of the charges made.

Mr. JONKMAN. Have you almost finished?

Mr. LINDGREN. I have two more pages, sir.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, since so much of his statement has taken place in the absence of the Governor, I wonder whether it would not be better to let the witness complete his statement and not waste time, because so much of it has already been given. Then, of course, Governor Lehman may care to go over the statement after it has been prepared by the reporter, and make any comments he cares to. But certainly Governor Lehman has not heard anything that transpired before, and therefore he could not comment very intelligently on the many matters that have already been testified to.

Chairman BLOOM. The only thought is this. He is bringing some very serious charges against UNRRA himself. The other things are hearsay. I think, in justice to the Governor, who has been very fair as a witness before this committee, that we should wait for him. I expect him here in a couple of minutes.

Mr. SMITH. I agree with the gentleman from Ohio. The statement will be in the record, and Governor Lehman probably would not want to make an answer to it now.

Mr. JOHNSON. I think the fair thing would have been for Governor Lehman to have heard the entire statement.

Mr. SMITH. He can read it, can he not?

Chairman BLOOM. Yes. The only thing is to come back and have the same members of the committee hear it who have heard the testimony, to hear Governor Lehman's answer to it. The press has this statement, and the press will naturally publish the report of the statement of the witness.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Obviously Governor Lehman could not reply to these charges today. The witness has completed something like three-fourths of his statement and the Governor has not heard any of it. He cannot be familiar with it until he reads it.

Chairman BLOOM. There are several questions that the Chair would like to ask of the witness while the Governor is here, so that the press can get the answers to these charges that the witness has made. It is merely a suggestion or thought of the Chair. It is up to the committee to decide what it wants to do. The Chair is not going to decide. But these are very serious charges.

Mr. LINDGREN. I am very willing to stay here, sir, and answer any questions I can of Governor Lehman or any of the members of the committee.

Mr. SMITH. It is unfair to the committee. The House is in session now and some of us want to go to the floor. This witness was interrupted by other witnesses. He very courteously yielded to them. I think the witness should be permitted to complete his statement. If not, I will object and raise the point of order that the House is in session, and we ought to be on the floor.

Mr. JARMAN. I think the point is well taken.

Mr. RICHARDS. Will you withhold that?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. RICHARDS. I think the gentleman is correct. Three-fourths of the statement has already been read and one-fourth of it is left. I

think the Governor will want to consider it carefully before he answers it. I cannot see any reason why, in justice to the witness, we cannot go ahead with the rest of his statement.

Chairman BLOOM. If the point of order is going to be made that the House is in session, that will prevent the Governor from saying anything at this time.

Mr. RICHARDS. He said he would withhold the point.

Chairman BLOOM. Are you going to withhold it for good, or are you going to make it after the witness is through?

Mr. SMITH. How long are we going to be held?

Chairman BLOOM. I do not know. We have been sitting here until half past 1 or quarter of 2 every day and the Chair is willing to stay any time at all. But if the point of order is going to be made after the witness is through, then the point of order ought to be made now.

Mr. SMITH. Do you think that would be fair to this witness?

Chairman BLOOM. It would not be fair to the Governor to let him proceed now.

Mr. VORYS. Now, wait a minute. This committee is being run not for the benefit of Governor Lehman; it is to obtain information about legislation, and if the Governor cares to obtain information and testify, all right; but it seems to me that we ought to proceed in the regular order. We have a witness on the stand who has been interrupted a number of times. Let us proceed to hear from the witness. I demand the regular order.

Chairman BLOOM. If you are going to demand that, I will sustain the point of order. The point of order is made that the House is in session. So the committee will have to recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

Mr. JARMAN. The committee is not run for one or two members, either.

Mr. VORYS. All I am asking is——

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair has ruled, Mr. Vorys. We will take a recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning, when General Eisenhower will appear.

(Subsequently, after informal discussion, the following proceedings occurred:)

Chairman BLOOM. Without objection, suppose we meet this afternoon at 2:30 o'clock. Is there any objection to asking permission that the committee be permitted to sit during the session of the House? (No response.)

(Thereupon, at 12:20 p. m., a recess was taken until 2:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The committee resumed its session at 2:30 p. m., upon the expiration of the recess, Hon. Sol Bloom, chairman, presiding.

Chairman BLOOM. The committee will kindly come to order, in further consideration of H. R. 4649.

Governor Lehman wishes to make a statement for the record.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Chairman, may I say for the record that the reason I did not attend the hearing here this morning was because I was compelled to attend a hearing before the Senate Appropriations Committee which did not adjourn until after 12:30.

Chairman BLOOM. We missed you, Governor.

Let the witness kindly proceed.

STATEMENT OF RAYMOND E. LINDGREN—Resumed

Mr. LINDGREN. Before I start this, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that of necessity it was necessary for me in this testimony to mention Director Lehman by name. I want him to know that I always had and still have great admiration for him. This is not personal at all; it is just directed at the head of the organization, and not to a man.

Following is a recapitulation, by nationalities, of UNRRA personnel which has gone through this base since it was established in March 1945. Records of the Reception Division and of the Personnel Department have been utilized in making this up. The records prior to April 28 were not wholly complete but it is believed this recap will be about 98 percent accurate and will give the complete personnel picture in this European theater (exclusive of the Balkan mission which was entirely separate). Also, it is not believed that the relatively small number of teams which were sent direct from London, Paris, and Brussels would change this picture materially. The following presents the picture as of August 22, 1945:

	American	British	French	Belgian	Others [1]	Totals
To June 1	92	418	888	401	336	2,135
June	47	154	391	237	151	980
July	155	213	212	72	88	740
August, to 22	157	80	5	11	146	399
Total	451	865	1,496	721	721	4,254

[1] "Others" include all other continentals, Canada, Australia, etc.

I submit herewith the names, positions, and nationalities of these top 14 men. This was true as of October 12, 1945.

The following names and positions, with nationalities, were procured at the UNRRA office. Nationalities were checked at the Personnel Records Section with the head of the section, Mrs. Godman. It was also ascertained that this list is current and up to date (European regional office, London).

Position	Name	Nationality
Deputy-Director General	Sir Humphrey Gale	British.
General counsel	Mr. Dudley Ward	Do.
Legal adviser	K. A. Aicken	Austrailian.

Mr. VORYS. May we proceed with questions just from committee members?

Chairman BLOOM. If there is a correction to be made, we want to get the facts, Mr. Vorys. I hope there will be no objection if there is a correction; and I do not think the witness would mind a correction from the Governor if the witness makes a statement about a certain person and the Governor can correct it. Without objection, I think that should be allowed.

Mr. LINDGREN. When I finish this, sir, if you think it is advisable, I will tell you how I happened to have these names and checked their nationalities.

Chairman BLOOM. All right. Proceed.

Mr. LINDGREN (continuing):

Position	Name	Nationality
Director, Division of Public Relations	H. B. Cummings	British.
Chief Missions Office, Director	D. H. Adair	Do.
Deputy-Director General, Finance and Administration.	Major General Lewis	Do.
Director, Division of Organization and Management.	Air Commander P. Warburton	Do.
Director, Division of Finance	M. A. Morhange	French.
Director, Division of Audits and Accounts	L. W. Le Gros	British.
Director, Division of Personnel	Major Grimond	Do.
Director, Administration Service Division	L. R. Lockie	New Zealand.
Director, Division of Health	Dr. Goodman	British.
Director, Division of Welfare	Van Hyning	American.
Deputy-Director General of Supply	N. J. Feonov	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The way I happened to stumble on this, sir, was that I was over to the personnel office of UNRRA, in London, on business, and I was waiting in the reception room, out in the hallway, and alongside of the chair was a lot of mimeographed sheets, and I was wondering if there were any Americans that I might know still working in the London office who were there when I had been there. So I picked it up and sort of glanced through it, and in the front of it I happened to notice that they had the administrative lay-out for UNRRA in the London office by these different divisions I have told of, and that in the lay-out was the name of the man who was the director. So I noted it down, being very curious about the nationalities. Later on, after I had finished my business there, I went up to the personnel records section and saw Mrs. Godman, who was the head of it, and I told her I had some names and I would like to know the nationalities. She was very cooperative and pulled out a card file, and her secretary and I copied down the nationalities as they were in the file. I asked if all these people to her knowledge were still in the same positions, and she said they were.

Mr. LEHMAN. May I make one correction, if the committee will permit me?

Chairman BLOOM. Yes; go ahead.

Mr. LEHMAN. You have omitted one very important member of our staff; and that is Mary Gibbons, Deputy Director General in charge of the Bureau of Services. She is an American.

Mr. LINDGREN. I cannot conceive of how I overlooked it if she was on that list that I saw.

Mr. LEHMAN. I am sure you overlooked it, because she is Deputy Director General.

Mr. LINDGREN. Was she in the last administrative set-up?

Mr. LEHMAN. She has been there for many months.

Mr. LINDGREN. I did not deliberately overlook it; I can assure you of that.

Mr. LEHMAN. I am quite sure of that.

Mr. LINDGREN. One of the reasons there was such little American representation in the German field until so late was the fact that, from

the time an American reported for duty in Washington until he actually got into the field and working, a period of close to 3 months elapsed.

Mr. LEHMAN. Would you mind reading those dates about Austria?

Mr. LINDGREN. It was about the middle of August, because my job was that of mobilization officer, and it was part of my job to supervise the sending of people out of Granville. I knew quite a few of the boys who worked in the headquarters, and it was about the middle of August that the first real supply for the Salzburg headquarters left Granville, and it was the 27th of August when the first convoy of D. P. teams left Granville to go to Austria. I was in the second convoy, which consisted of about 27 trucks, and we left Granville the 29th of August; in other words, about September 1 was the first time that the Austrian D. P. program was really getting going; and I do not think there was any plan as a matter of fact, to have more than about 20 teams in the whole operation. It was a very small operation.

I am sincerely sorry that I feel constrained to testify along these lines. I went over to Europe with a deep and abiding conviction that UNRRA might be a wonderful thing. I returned completely and utterly disillusioned. Most Americans who have returned—and there will be many more in the next 60 days—find themselves in the same position.

WASHINGTON'S LACK OF KNOWLEDGE ON WHAT IS HAPPENING IN EUROPE

1. At College Park when I was in training from June 15 until July 1, we were told that it was not possible to give us any information on what was happening in the D. P. program in Germany despite the fact that it had been in operation since early April. Our instructors told us that they had cabled, telephoned, and written London continually and had never been able to get any information at all. So we were shown how the D. P. camps in North Africa were run, which was considerably different.

2. Upon leaving for Europe we were asked to please write back personal letters to UNRRA headquarters because that was the only way they had any idea of what was going on.

3. On page 118 of the House Appropriations Committee report Director Lehman says there were rumors of black-market operations at the Granville base. This C. I. D. investigation at Granville was completed about August 10. The London office had a full report of the findings on or about October 1; the Washington office has a copy of the report and has had for over 3 weeks. Yet, on October 15, this is classified as a rumor. Evidently the London office didn't see fit to advise Washington in much of a hurry on what is unquestionably the biggest scandal since UNRRA's inception.

4. On page 188 of the report, Director Lehman states the Granville base should be called a staging center rather than a training center. Yet, at an executive staff meeting at Granville in August the Director and the Director of Training agreed that Granville was principally a training center and not a staging center so far as first importance goes. It was agreed that no trainee should leave the base unless he had gone through the training which was of the first importance. I was on the executive staff at the time and present at that meeting. Evi-

dently, as of October 15, this advice has not yet reached Washington. Granville has been closed since early September. The real staging area since August has been Karlsruhe, Germany, and now, I believe, Pasing also.

5. On page 80 of the report, Director Lehman, by inference, states that as of July 31 there was some sort of D. P. program going on in Austria. At that time the ground was being prepared and there might have been a very few top officials there preparing it. The personnel of the headquarters staff for Salzburg, the headquarters for the Austrian Mission, did not depart from Granville until the middle of August and the first D. P. team to go into Austria left Granville on August 27. I was in the second group to Austria on the 29th.

The foregoing statement consists of things I saw myself or which were told to me by people who themselves saw them and in whom I have the utmost confidence. I should like to point out that this statement, in my opinion, is only a very tiny part of the whole picture—of a very bad picture.

I came to Washington at my own expense and to my own inconvenience because I felt a strong obligation to tell this committee what I had seen. I felt this was particularly necessary because I had noticed in reading through the House Appropriations Committee report that there was no such a thing as an unfavorable witness since everyone testifying was either employed by UNRRA or had other reasons for wishing it to continue.

If this committee is really interested in getting a well-rounded picture of UNRRA at work in Europe, I would suggest the following procedure. Obtain from the Washington office—and they have records of all returning Americans—it is not necessary to send to London—the names and addresses of every American who has either resigned or been terminated since September 1. I suggest that date to refute claims that all these past mistakes have been rectified. Make up a form letter along these suggested lines and send to all these former UNRRA employees:

1. What was your job before coming with UNRRA?
2. What is your present job?
3. How long were you overseas with UNRRA?
4. Where?
5. What was your position with UNRRA?
6. Were you terminated or did you resign?
7. While in Europe, did you see evidences of (*a*) wasted and idle UNRRA manpower, (*b*) UNRRA administrative inefficiency, (*c*) corruption on the part of UNRRA personnel?
8. State briefly your reasons for coming home.
9. Do you think UNRRA can be a success?

If you will send such a form letter you will find that the replies will substantiate, perhaps in different ways, the things I have said here.

It is my belief that UNRRA was a "noble experiment" which has failed miserably.

The day before yesterday in the New York Times coming events were casting the shadows afore. There was a long article on the terrible plight on D. P.'s in UNRRA-operated camps. I would like to predict at this time that by February 1 the stories coming out of Europe on UNRRA will make the American public wish we had never had a part in it. For the sake of those people who are going to suffer

unnecessarily because of UNRRA's inefficiency I hope I am wrong, but I am afraid I am not.

I want to say that so far as my own relationship with UNRRA is concerned, my record is perfectly in the clear. For one thing, I can say this, that if the treatment that has been accorded me personally in the London office and in the Washington office had been accorded me at Granville, at Salzburg and Karlsruhe, frankly, I would have no complaint. I have always been treated very courteously and have received cooperation in things that I was trying to do. I have no complaint whatsoever of my treatment by UNRRA. I have here a copy of a letter from the mobilization officer at Granville. I requested to resign as mobilization officer and requested to be sent into the field, and this is a copy of the acceptance of my resignation which was signed by Mr. Lawton, the director of the Granville mobilization and training base [reading]:

AUGUST 14, 1945.

To: Raymond E. Lindgren.
From: Director, Mobilization and Transportation Base.
Subject: Resignation.

After reading your memorandum of August 12, in regard to the above subject and after discussing the matter with you, I accept your resignation, effective as soon as the proper person can be secured to fill the vacancy.

I wish to express my appreciation for the work you have done the past week in organizing the branch of reception and movement. You have handled the organization and operation of this branch effectively and creditably. Furthermore, you have been of considerable assistance to me in the over-all reorganization of the base.

I am confident you will do an excellent job in the field and I am asking Mr. Fotheringill to give your deployment immediate consideration. I wish you much success.

AL; L. A. H.

Copy to: Hugh Fotheringill, Division of Personnel; Col. A. G. Katzin, Deputy Director General, E. R. O.

A true copy.

R. E. LINDGREN.

NOVEMBER 19, 1945.

That concludes my statement, sir. Thank you very much.

Chairman BLOOM. You mentioned the black market, and the waste in France. How much would you say was the amount that was squandered or stolen and diverted to the black market?

Mr. LINDGREN. Of course in France the only thing I have any knowledge of is Granville. I would say unquestionably that it must have been around hundreds of thousands of dollars. That is an estimation. I have no way of proving that. That is based on things that I learned.

Chairman BLOOM. That is of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. LINDGREN. Oh, no; I could never prove that—of course not. I say, that would be what I would estimate.

Chairman BLOOM. When you say hundreds of thousands of dollars, how much do you mean?

Mr. LINDGREN. Again, I don't know. I had no occasion to attempt to find out the particular prices of different things on the black market in France; nor, of course, do I have any way of finding out exactly how much of everything was disposed of. I don't know. I will tell you what my figure is based on, sir. Also you might be interested in knowing how this C. I. D. investigation in Granville came about. I don't know if you are familiar with that or not. Would you like me to tell you how it happened to come about?

Chairman BLOOM. Would you say $500,000 all together, or more or less?

Mr. LINDGREN. I would guess probably from $100,000 to $300,000. I have no way of knowing for sure.

Chairman BLOOM. You said hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Mr. LINDGREN. Let us say $200,000 to $300,000. That is a pure guess.

Chairman BLOOM. Might it be more than $300,000?

Mr. LINDGREN. Possibly; it could be, I suppose.

Chairman BLOOM. Let me ask you another question, please. That was supplied by UNRRA, was it?

Mr. LINDGREN. I beg your pardon?

Chairman BLOOM. The goods were supplied by UNRRA and they consisted of what—food and clothing?

Mr. LINDGREN. The food we got from the American Army at Cherbourg. We had regular truck convoys going up there two or three times a week.

Chairman BLOOM. Would that include clothing?

Mr. LINDGREN. No. I believe clothing and other things were supplied by UNRRA, as far as I know.

Chairman BLOOM. Well, do you know?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes. From what I know of the UNRRA set-up, I would say yes.

Chairman BLOOM. Would that include coal and such things?

Mr. LINDGREN. Of course it was the summertime when I was there, and I didn't see any coal. Coal would be a pretty hard thing to steal, anyhow.

Chairman BLOOM. Of the total amount, what would be the percentage of things that were taken, in your estimation? What percentage would you say was stolen or diverted to the black market?

Mr. LINDGREN. I would have, sir, no way of even estimating, because I don't know exactly how many people were there. I know that the food situation was far worse 2 or 3 weeks before we got there than it was when we got there. I don't know what it was, but I was told it was far worse.

Chairman BLOOM. And that consisted of a period of how many months?

Mr. LINDGREN. What consisted of a period of how many months?

Chairman BLOOM. The diversion of the amount at the time of the pilfering and the black market and everything.

Mr. LINDGREN. That of course I don't know, because I didn't go there until July 19. However, I would more or less assume that it had started probably a matter of weeks after the activation of the base in March.

Chairman BLOOM. You would not know what the percentage was?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir; I would not.

Chairman BLOOM. Supposing we take your figures of $200,000 to $300,000 worth of goods diverted to the black market: would you say that at least 10 percent or 25 percent was diverted?

Mr. LINDGREN. Let me explain why I took a figure like that, if I may, and then I think you can understand.

Chairman BLOOM. Answer it in your own way.

Mr. LINDGREN. There was an American by the name of Joseph Lunn who had the position of Area Finance Director, which is a

very high position in UNRRA. He was at Granville before I got there. He got to working in the finance department at Granville. I got to know him very well in London before I came back here. He, incidentally, just came back. His boat docked on November 6 at Montreal. Joseph Lunn began to see things in the books at Granville when he started working on them which caused him to begin asking many questions. As he expressed it to me, he said, "They tried to hush me up on this thing. It didn't look good." He had quite an extensive knowledge of books. He said, "I personally called in the Criminal Investigation Department of the United States Army." He said, "They got there about July 6. Their job was completed about August 10." He said, "I know exactly what they found, because I have my own reports from the work I did with them."

One of the things he told me was that one of the biggest ones of C. I. D. had heard that the records from Granville were in a terrible condition from the standpoint of being incomplete and mixed up, and it was most difficult to unravel a lot of stuff. He said that one of the things that he definitely found out and which he said the C. I. D. also found out was that there were at least 127 trucks missing. He said the C. I. D. went to London to try to get manifests of all the trucks that had been delivered to the Granville base. He said they had difficulty in finding records of how many trucks Granville got originally. He said that from all of the records they could find there were about thirteen hundred-and-some-odd trucks, though we believed the figure was far higher. I know that a member of the Transport department told me in Granville that at one time they had received as high as 1,800 trucks. But the best they could figure out was that they had received thirteen hundred-and-some-odd trucks. By their own records that they had kept of the disposition of these trucks—those records were turned over to Mr. Lunn and he was checking them—there would be a truck with motor number so-and-so which would be assigned to team No. 4, and in checking Mr. Lunn would find the same motor number assigned also to team No. 27, to take a hypothetical number. He said he found a total, I believe, of some sixty-eight-odd duplications like that, plus triplications, plus quadruplications, and he said that as far as he could figure, it was incomplete, in his opinion. There were at least 127 trucks missing. I do not know, for instance, what a 3-ton truck is worth. I do know that up to today a 1935 Ford sells for £1,000 in London, so I imagine the price of a 3-ton truck is pretty much up in the money. It is based particularly on those trucks that I came to a figure as high as I did.

Chairman Bloom. All of this time during the 8 or 9 months that you say this pilfering was going on——

Mr. Lindgren. I did not say 8 or 9 months.

Chairman Bloom. The camp was in existence for 8 or 9 months, was it not?

Mr. Lindgren. No, sir. It was activated in March and inactivated about the 1st of September.

Chairman Bloom. You are sure of that?

Mr. Lindgren. Yes, sir.

Chairman Bloom. Did you say what percentage of the total amount you claim was pilfered would be the percentage of the total amount

that was expended at that time at this camp for food and clothing?

Mr. LINDGREN. I didn't say what percentage. I have no way of knowing.

Chairman BLOOM. Supposing you were told that the total amount of money expended on this camp during the time that the camp was in operation, as shown by the records, was not over $89,000: would you want to say that your figures were wrong, or are they still right?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir; because as I just explained, I came to a high estimate based primarily on the large number of trucks that Mr. Lunn told me were missing. Does that figure of $89,000 include the purchase of 1,800 trucks?

Chairman BLOOM. No; it does not. But we are talking about the pilfering of food and other things, when the total amount that was expended during the entire time of 8 months, or between 7 and 8 months, was $89,000. Would you still want to say that your estimate of the amount that was pilfered from the camp was $200,000 or $300,000?

Mr. LINDGREN. I still, sir, if I may, will come back to the point that I attempted to bring out, that the reason I estimated an amount that high was principally because of the large number of trucks which Mr. Lunn told me were missing. It is principally on that that I estimate the figure that high.

Chairman BLOOM. Let us take out the trucks: Then what would you say?

Mr. LINDGREN. That puts an entirely different complexion on the thing. Mr. Lunn told me that there had been a great amount of food going into the black market, and he also specifically mentioned sheets, in the thousands. I was told by a girl that I knew at Granville that a sheet was worth $18 in London. If they are that expensive in London, they must have been very high in France.

Chairman BLOOM. If the total amount was $89,000, what would you estimate as to the amount that was pilfered and put into the black market?

Mr. LINDGREN. Again, I say I come back to the point that I have no way of making an intelligent estimate. I frankly admit that I cannot make an intelligent estimate, because I did know about the trucks specifically, and that is why I made the figure as high as I have.

Chairman BLOOM. That is all for the present.

Mr. LEHMAN. May I ask a question?

Chairman BLOOM. Proceed, Governor.

Mr. LEHMAN. Have you any proof of your own knowledge that any of these supplies specifically got into the black market—of your own knowledge?

Mr. LINDGREN. If you mean, sir, did I actually see anybody stealing supplies and selling them on the black market, no, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I was necessarily delayed this morning and did not get to hear the major portion of the testimony of this witness, and I therefore yield my time to Judge Kee, who heard all of his testimony.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Chiperfield?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You have given testimony here that is critical of the administration of UNRRA. What have you got to suggest to take UNRRA's place?

Mr. LINDGREN. Well, of course I feel that I would be presumptous if I attempted to tell this committee how to spend several billions of dollars. However, since you ask, I will tell you what I believe. I believe one of the reasons, aside from incompetent personnel—I believe that one of the reasons for UNRRA's failure is the fact that it is an international organization, realistically speaking. This will be substantiated by almost any returning enlisted man or officer. Realistically speaking, the British and the French—and again, I would like to repeat that I am not an Anglophobe; I do not dislike the French, but I am inclined to be realistic. They think differently from what we do; they attack problems differently from what we do. I do not think that the British as a whole generally like Americans. They do not get along too well. That has been demonstrated over in the German operation. The same thing is true of the French, and probably of the Belgians.

I believe that the international aspect of UNRRA has absolutely precluded the necessary teamwork that we must have in order to have an organization of this type be a success. I do not believe there has ever been any teamwork in the whole UNRRA organization. I do not believe there is today, and I do not believe there can possibly be, because of the international aspect. We were warned of that at College Park. We were told, "Remember that those people think differently from what you do. Try to keep that in your mind when you deal with them."

Director Lehman himself said in his report last month that the difference in the salary scale was a cause of dissatisfaction. That is perfectly true. It is. I have seen instances of that. When I was mobilization officer I had a Dutchman working under me, a very intelligent man, a man about 45 years of age, I should say. We were discussing things one day and I found out that his official listing in UNRRA was as an administrative officer of supply. So, out of curiosity, I asked him what his salary was. He said it was £400 a year. That is $1,600. I was Deputy Director at that time, and my salary scale was that of a supply officer, because you cannot get a raise in salary before 6 months. So my salary scale was that of a supply officer in exactly the same position he was in. His salary was $1,600 a year; mine was $5,000. That, of course, is a big difference, and I am sure he resented that huge difference in salary.

When I went over there in July I had some hopes—I thought it was a strong force for international peace. But I was warned by friends with whom I discussed it. They said, "You are an idealist. You are not looking at this thing realistically." But I argued against them. But after seeing everything I saw I came back with the firm conviction that the international aspect of an organization like UNRRA precludes teamwork, and without that it cannot be a success.

So, the only thing I have to suggest is that inasmuch as of this $1,350,000,000 we are paying about 72 percent, I would much rather as an American taxpayer see us pay the entire $1,850,000,000 and form immediately a new organization made up entirely of American personnel. I think we can do a far better job and help those people far more if we do that.

I will go further and say this: that if Great Britain were to put up that money through an all-British organization—because the British know each other; they know how they think; they could get team-

work—an all-British organization would be far superior to the international thing that UNRRA is today.

What I am attempting to do is to look at this realistically. Those are my absolutely sincere convictions. I do not know that I can sell them to anybody, but that is what I believe.

Mr. LEHMAN. May I ask a question?

Chairman BLOOM. Certainly.

Mr. LEHMAN. You mentioned a man getting $1,600 a year for doing the same work that you did. Did he quit?

Mr. LINDGREN. Oh, no, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. He continued to do his work, in spite of the fact that he was getting only $1,600 a year?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. And, according to your testimony, he was a good man?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir; he was a very good man. May I answer that a little further, sir?

Mr. LEHMAN. Surely.

Mr. LINDGREN. I think you will find, sir, if you look at the records, that there are very few, in relation to the total number, English or Continentals resigning from UNRRA. From everything I have seen over on the Continent and in London, to my personal knowledge, I have never heard of even one resigning Englishman or one resigning Continental. I have never heard of one; and I was on the executive staff at Granville where I would hear of such things.

Understand me—I do not hold this against him. I think if I were in his position I would do exactly the same thing. One of the reasons that those people are not resigning is because the money that they are making, according to their particular standard of living, is not out of line. I have no quarrel with UNRRA's principle of payments. I think it is probably the only thing you could have done. But including the money, which would be in line with the particular country's standard of living, they are getting food, clothing, and PX rations, which are very important in UNRRA. They are things they cannot get any place else. I would say that if I were in their position I would not resign either.

Mr. LEHMAN. Do you not think it is a fair assumption, in the case of this man who was getting $1,600 a year and doing his job well, a job for which you were paid a much higher salary as an American, that it might have been due to the fact that he was able to adjust himself to an international organization and was more interested in the work than some others?

Mr. LINDGREN. I will say this, sir. You may not believe me—I do not know—but I was deeply interested in UNRRA when I was there, probably as deeply interested as anybody, and I know I was far more deeply interested in the principles of UNRRA than the great majority of the English and continental recruits. So, from the standpoint of interest I will take issue with that statement. However, from the standpoint of perhaps adjusting himself to an international set-up, possibly, being a Dutchman and being in a contiguous country to all surrounding nationalities, that may be very true; I don't know.

Chairman BLOOM. Do you mind these interruptions to your questions?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I am through.

Chairman BLOOM. Did you not agree to stay with UNRRA for 1 year?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir; I did.

Chairman BLOOM. And you stayed 4 months?

Mr. LINDGREN. From June 15 to October 31. May I answer that a little further?

Chairman BLOOM. Surely. Say anything you want to.

Mr. LINDGREN. I told the area director in Salzburg, when I requested a transfer for the purpose of resigning, that I felt that I had tried to give UNRRA a fair trial and that morally and legally I had never contracted to become a part of, as I phrased it, the administrative mess and chaos that UNRRA is. I felt that my moral obligation was fulfilled. After I had tried Granville I was willing and anxious to go to the Salzburg office. I thought they were going to learn things from their mistakes in the past, but I found they were not learning them; and the things I thought were thought by the chief of mission and the area director. They confirmed my thought on the subject.

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not want to reflect on anyone, and my question is merely for information; but as I understand it, you came to UNRRA directly from the Army?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. Is it a fact that you received your discharge from the Army only because you came to UNRRA?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. The Army in discharging you expected you to carry out your obligation to UNRRA for a year?

Mr. LINDGREN. Exactly how deep that expectation would go I do not know.

Mr. LEHMAN. I was under the impression that you got out of the Army only because you came with us.

Mr. LINDGREN. I got back to Europe, in any event, when I was over age.

Chairman BLOOM. But you were only on active service in Austria for 3 days?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is not correct. I was not in active service, doing anything in the way of work for UNRRA, in Salzburg, at all. I was in Salzburg for a week, but I think I was never on active service in Salzburg. The only work I did all the time I was with UNRRA was the work I did as mobilization officer at Granville.

Chairman BLOOM. When you were transferred to Austria you were there 2 or 3 days when you asked to be permitted to return and resign?

Mr. LINDGREN. From my best recollection, sir, I believe we got into Salzburg on a Friday evening. It was the next day, Saturday, when I saw a duplication of those mistakes, which was the final straw that broke the camel's back for me. I thought the matter over very seriously over Sunday, and I think it was on Monday that I made my request.

Mr. LEHMAN. As I recollect your testimony, the first convoy of D. P. teams left on August 27. You left Granville at your own request on August 29?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir; with another convoy.

Mr. LEHMAN. So that the teams in Austria could barely have been set up by that time?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. LEHMAN. It is only at best the lapse of 2 days?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. You arrived there on Saturday, and by Sunday you made up your mind that the Austrian operation was not going to work out. You may act and think much faster than I do, but I would think that that was a very short time in which to evaluate the merit of the work in Austria and come to the conclusion that you should quit your job.

Mr. LINDGREN. I think that was a part of my testimony this morning. May I explain what it was that made me come to that decision?

Chairman BLOOM. Proceed.

Mr. LINDGREN. I arrived there on Friday, if I remember correctly. Saturday morning I went to the UNRRA office, and one of the first things I saw, having been in the Army and a bulletin board reader from my Army experience, I saw a bulletin board and I started looking over it. At that time there were only three teams actually in the field in the American zone. On the board were five additional teams who were in the act of being deployed into the field. I talked to Mr. Cramer and I talked to others. It was well known that one of the big reasons for the continual friction between the occupying armies and UNRRA and for the failure of cooperation which UNRRA itself has complained of many times, was because you have on any displaced-persons team a director, a deputy director, and a supply officer, in addition to other people. Those three are the keymen when it comes to dealing with the Army in that particular zone. There had never been any attention paid to the fact that in, let us say, a British zone, of those three keymen, two of them should be British, because they would have to deal with the Army. I know that as a former Army man. I can go to an American Army sergeant and get cooperation on things by maybe breaking the rules, but I could not do that with the British Army. Only a Britisher could do that. That was a bad error in German operations, and it was frankly admitted.

When I got to Salzburg I saw these 5 teams with 5 directors, 5 deputy directors, and 5 supply officers. There were 8 British and British Empire men; there were a Frenchman, a Dutchman, and so forth, and 1 American out of the 15 key positions on these teams then being deployed in the field at the same time on the very same day. I know, because they were in the same convoy with me through France. On that very same day there were, to my personal knowledge, at least 4 American directors, plus American supply officers, plus American deputy directors en route to the British zone. The British were sent to the American zone; the Americans to the British zone. I discussed it with the chief of mission and the deputy director and they both said it was wrong, that they had protested, but that they had no power to cure it. I took one look at it and also the fact that the chief of mission had no power to cure it, and that was, to me, the final straw. I couldn't take it any more.

Chairman BLOOM. Judge Kee?

Mr. KEE. Mr. Lindgren, let me ask you some personal questions, not out of idle curiosity, but for the information of this committee. UNRRA is an international organization and this committee has

before it the question of further implementing the efforts of that organization in the field of relief.

When an employee of that organization comes before this committee with the serious charges which you have brought here, charges admittedly based mostly upon rumors, gossip, and hearsay, evidence which would not be accepted in any court in the land, I think it is the duty of the committee to find out the background of the party making the charges.

How old are you?

Mr. LINDGREN. I will be 38 in about 2 weeks.

Mr. KEE. As I understood from your testimony, your first employment was in a business conducted by your father; is that correct?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. KEE. At what age did you enter your father's employment?

Mr. LINDGREN. I think I was about 18, sir, or 19.

Mr. KEE. That business was the electrical jobbing business; was it not?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. KEE. Having to do with the disposal, selling, and merchandising of electrical appliances?

Mr. LINDGREN. Not appliances, sir; building materials.

Mr. KEE. What was your salary when you began with your father?

Mr. LINDGREN. I think I started as an errand boy. I think I was paid about $15 a week.

Mr. KEE. How long did you remain in the employment of your father?

Mr. LINDGREN. Until—I believe it was late in 1937 or early in 1938, sir, or thereabouts.

Mr. KEE. What was your salary at the time you left his employ?

Mr. LINDGREN. It was about $50 to $60 a week, but I was living at home with all my expenses paid, and it was during the depression and my dad was not drawing any money out of the business.

Mr. KEE. Fifty or sixty dollars a week?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEE. What was the cause of your leaving the employment of your father?

Mr. LINDGREN. Oh, disagreement over certain business policies.

Mr. KEE. There was a disagreement between you and him over the policy that you had in operating the firm?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEE. You could not agree?

Mr. LINDGREN. On certain things.

Mr. KEE. And he was at that time a supervisor over you?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. KEE. And of course you could not fire him, and he accordingly let you out?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is about the situation.

Mr. KEE. Because of that difficulty with your father and your leaving his employ you accepted employment with another firm, did you not, shortly afterward?

Mr. LINDGREN. I worked for a while for a small air-conditioning company in Chicago.

Mr. KEE. You went into the employ of what is called the Dial-Lite Corp.?

Mr. LINDGREN. That was later than I am talking about now. I worked for a short time for this air-conditioning company, and it was early in 1939 that I first started developing a new publishing idea. I did not go into the employ of Dial-Lite. That was not in existence at that time.

Mr. KEE. You were in a supervisory or an executive position with the Dial-Lite Co.?

Mr. LINDGREN. I was president.

Mr. KEE. You were president of that company?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEE. And even while an employee of your father you had somewhat of an executive position there, too?

Mr. LINDGREN. Sort of a supervisory position.

Mr. KEE. And also with the Dial-Lite Co.?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEE. Then, after you separated yourself from the Dial-Lite Co. or left that employment, you entered the Army?

Mr. LINDRREN. No, sir. May I enlarge on this a little bit?

Mr. KEE. Certainly.

Mr. LINDGREN. As I say, I developed a new publishing idea and worked on it for about 3 years all together, until about 1942. Dial-Lite was formed in 1940, a corporation with offices in New York and Chicago, of which I was president. It was a publishing business, and publishing is pretty much of a gamble, and the big mistake we made—there were stockholders in it and we were underfinanced, and as a result in the fall it was liquidated. I did not leave the employ; it was liquidated. In 1941 and early in 1942 I was sort of picking up the pieces of this business and trying to get it started again, and then after that I enlisted in the Army Air Corps, in 1942.

Mr. KEE. You left the Army Air Corps at the request of UNRRA, did you not?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEE. I think it has been brought out that it was with the understanding that you would remain with them a certain length of time?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEE. During all of your life have you had any experience whatever in social or welfare work?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. KEE. Have you ever been connected with any organization enagaged in welfare work?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. KEE. Then your connection with UNRRA was the first and only connection with such work? That was the only experience you have ever had in the conduct of any social or welfare work?

Mr. LINDGREN. May I answer that question, sir, by giving you some information that I think will tell you what you are driving at, if I may? I believed when I went with UNRRA, and I was told at the Washington office here that that was true, that they were in need—in fact, if you looked into the entire personnel record, including all the continentals and the British, you will find only a handful of people who ever had any welfare experience. Take the whole UNRRA employment, and there are probably more Americans who had welfare experience than anyone else; but with reference to the running of these

D. P. camps, it was not only my opinion, but that of an American Army officer who took me through the D. P. camp at Metz, and it was his opinion that what these D. P. camps needed was not so much a background in social and welfare work as it was a background in administrative work; that that was the important thing to run these camps efficiently—a background in administration, not welfare.

Mr. KEE. You had no experience in this class of work before you went into it?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir. I don't say it is that class of work; that is where I differ.

Mr. KEE. You class the work that you were expected to do with UNRRA as administrative work?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct, sir.

Mr. KEE. And not welfare?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is absolutely correct. Each D. P. team had a principal welfare officer, and in some cases an assistant welfare officer, and it was their duty to take care of the welfare part of the D. P. camp. It was not the duty of the director, the deputy director, or the supply officer.

Mr. KEE. What was your rank in the Army?

Mr. LINDGREN. The highest rank I attained, sir, was a buck sergeant. I was sent to officer candidate school at Miami Beach, but was physically disqualified down there. I was acting first sergeant most of the time I was in the Army.

Mr. KEE. As a matter of fact, from the time you were first employed at anything, first, with your father, and then subsequently with the other firms you have mentioned, you usually had an administrative position and were accustomed to giving orders, were you not?

Mr. LINDGREN. I would not say that was exactly true. Certainly it was not true in my father's case, because the employees he had were his own employees and nobody gave orders to him. In the case of Dial-Lite it was not true, because there was a board of directors that gave orders. As an enlisted man it certainly was not my province.

Mr. KEE. Anyway, you have just stated a few moments ago that while you were in your father's employ you were accustomed to giving orders and instructions.

Mr. LINDGREN. I said I was in a supervisory capacity. Perhaps our interpretations of giving orders are a little bit different; I don't know.

Mr. KEE. As president of the Dial-Lite Corp. you certainly gave orders with reference to carrying out your policies, did you not?

Mr. LINDGREN. Probably the only people in the Dial-Lite concern that I could give any orders to would be the errand boys, the shipping clerk, and the truck driver. The same thing was true there as was true in my father's employ, and it was definitely true in the Army, in dealing with enlisted men. I am not of the temperament that likes to give orders. I like to ask people to do things.

Mr. KEE. Is it not true that when you associated yourself with UNRRA you found yourself in a position where it was necessary to take orders?

Mr. LINDGREN. I had been in that position for 3 years, and it was true, of course—not nearly so much as it had been true in the Army.

Mr. KEE. But that was the situation you found yourself in when you got with UNRRA?

Mr. LINDGREN. Certainly there were higher-ranking people than myself who would tell me what they wanted done; yes, sir.

Mr. KEE. Did you not find some difficulty after your past experience, which you have related? Did you not find it somewhat difficult to adjust yourself to the position you were in when you joined UNRRA, a position in which you had to take orders, and did you not find some resentment in your heart against it?

Mr. LINDGREN. Sir, that was very simple in comparison with having to take orders from a 20-year-old second lieutenant, which I did very successfully.

Mr. KEE. You were in a position there where you found you could not resent it by resigning; was not that it?

Mr. LINDGREN. There was nothing in the way of orders. As I say, personally I got along very well. The only time I really worked with UNRRA was at Granville, and Ann Lofton was my immediate superior, and she and I were very friendly, and I hope we still are. Of course that is taking orders from a woman. I think I demonstrated that I could do that. I think Miss Lofton will bear me out.

Mr. KEE. Most of us have to do that sometimes.

When did you arrive in London?

Mr. LINDGREN. On July 10, sir.

Mr. KEE. How long did you remain there?

Mr. LINDGREN. Eight days.

Mr. KEE. You mean you found out all this information which you have detailed here, in London, in 8 days?

Mr. LINDGREN. It was incumbent on us to be present at the UNRRA headquarters every day while we were in London; yes, sir. As a matter of fact, I think the only one thing I mentioned about my first experience in London was the experience with the travel section, if you will go back over my testimony.

Mr. KEE. Did you do anything in connection with the work of UNRRA while you were in London?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. KEE. You spent most of your time making investigations?

Mr. LINDGREN. Oh, no. These things just came out in the natural course of events. We heard everyone talking about them and saw what was happening. Going over on the boat there were 12 Cuban doctors, who, incidentally, were 12 of the finest people I ever met; and on the 18th of July, when this group who had come over together on the *Mariposa*—a great number of the group wanted to go to Granville. Nine of them went along. Two of the Cuban doctors could not go because the London travel section had not lost their passports but had admitted they had been accidentally destroyed, and the Cuban Embassy in London had to make out new passports, and they finally got out to Granville 10 days later, and they were very incensed.

I also heard of more than one other example. In fact, as I said in my testimony, only a month ago when I talked with Sir Humphrey Gale, we discussed the undue delay in getting transport, and he admitted to me that the London travel section was, if I remember his expression, sort of a mess. I also heard from two Americans who worked in the travel section that they were calling for two experts from Cook's Travel Agency.

Mr. KEE. All the time you had been gaining this information you did not have time to do much of anything else, did you?

Mr. LINDGREN. Sir, may I refute that in this way, that if I had gone over there, as you say, just to get information, certainly I would have taken notes to try to remember things. There are many things that I have not told this committee, because I do not remember them. I never made a single note on anything, because I had no intention of resigning from UNRRA until I got to Salzburg. As a matter of fact, that can be substantiated and proved very easily if you care to write to a certain American over there, a man by the name of Harshberger. He is a welfare officer from Kansas, a very high type of American, and he was one of the boys who was in the convoy going to the British zone, and this was when we stopped in Karlsruhe for a day or two en route to Austria. At that time he was very incensed about being sent to the British zone, and he said, "Let us both go up to headquarters and resign and get out of this thing." I said, "No." I think this Austrian operation is a brand new one. I think they will learn by the mistakes they have made. I felt that we really could do something. So, as of the 5th of September, in Karlsruhe, I still had no idea I was going to resign. So I was not just going around getting information; no, sir. Everything I have told you here has been told from the best of my memory.

Mr. KEE. I noticed it came from your memory and not from observation.

Mr. LINDGREN. Quite a bit of it is from observation.

Mr. KEE. When did you arrive in Granville?

Mr. LINDGREN. On the 19th of July.

Mr. KEE. You stated that you were in charge of mobilization there. What were your duties?

Mr. LINDGREN. The mobilization department had to do with the incoming UNRRA trainees who came in almost every day from Paris, and also with the outgoing trainee movements; in other words, the physical movements of the trainees coming in and going out. We had nothing to do with them when they were actually on the base.

To give an example, at the reception center 2 men who were also employees of the department under me would meet the train. There was only one train a day, which came in about 5 or 5:30, and there might be anywhere from 10 to as high as 60 people on the train, with all their luggage. The first thing was to get those people in the hotel, quartered, and the next thing was to issue them meal tickets and get them fed, and then the following morning we had what we called a processing talk about the different things that were to be done. The people who were continentals came down there in their civilian clothes. They had to be equipped at Granville. That was part of our duties, to see that they were properly equipped as fast as possible. The duty that I had, at least in Miss Lofton's opinion, was a 10- to 15-minute talk that I gave these incoming trainees every morning on what we were trying to accomplish. And one of the things I would like to bring out is this, that one of the key things in the talk was that I tried to tell them that while they were at Granville to try to the best of their ability to mix with other nationalities, because they were going to have to get along with them in the field. These people would stay maybe 2 or 3 days or maybe 5 days, and the next step was going through the training school. It was our responsibility, when the training school was ready, to move these people out about 6 miles outside of Granville. Once we got them out there and got them quar-

tered in the school, our job, so far as those people were concerned, was over until they were ready to leave. Then it was necessary to give extensive briefing to the teams that were leaving. It was also necessary to check their equipment and make sure they had everything, and it was about a full day's job with each team, and we had two men in that department, one a Dutchman, and the other an American, and it was their duty to see that they had all their necessary identity cards——

Mr. KEE. Pardon me, but Granville was really a field base where teams were made up, and they were called from there for service in Germany or in Austria?

Mr. LINDGREN. That was true up until about the 1st of August. The teams were made up in Granville. From Granville they went to Heidelberg, which was sort of a staging area, and from there they went to the field. After about the 1st of August Granville quit making up teams, and in the meantime the Heidelberg base was moved to Karlsruhe. They sent groups of people to Karlsruhe, and the teaming was done at Karlsruhe. That was the final staging area. The only exception to that was the Austrian mission, in which case the teams were again made up in Granville.

Mr. KEE. You knew when you were sent to Granville, however, that you were ultimately destined to be assigned to a team and to do team work over in Germany or Austria?

Mr. LINDGREN. That was my assumption; yes, sir.

Mr. KEE. How long did you remain there before you got such an assignment?

Mr. LINDGREN. I arrived there July 19, and of course in the interim during the full month of August I was working on the executive staff, and I left Granville on the 29th of August.

Mr. KEE. Up to that time you had not done anything with reference to the work for which you were actually employed?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. KEE. That is, the work in connection with displaced persons?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. KEE. When you left Granville you asked to be assigned to Salzburg, did you not?

Mr. LINDGREN. As a matter of fact, I wanted to go to Austria, but what happened was that a telegram or cable came from the London offices requesting that I be sent to Austria. In fact, it was 2 or 3 days before I even knew anything about it. I thought I would like to go to Austria, and I talked to Mr. Matthewson who was at that time chief of the Austrian mission, I believe. I guess it was as a result of that conversation with him that the cable came to send me to Austria.

Mr. KEE. In the last analysis it was at your request that you were assigned to Austria?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEE. Then you went to Salzburg and remained there 3 days, and in 3 days you made a request that you be returned to America, before you had ever done anything toward carrying out the job for which you were employed?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct; but as I have mentioned before, my reasons were substantially those of both the chief of the mission and the deputy director.

Mr. KEE. You mentioned in your statement being promised a promotion at Salzburg?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. KEE. By whom was that promise made?

Mr. LINDGREN. The area director in the American area.

Mr. KEE. When did you find out that you were going to be made managing director, which you say was promised you?

Mr. LINDGREN. I think I know what you are driving at. This Bob ————, who was an American, and I got to be pretty good friends in College Park, and also in London. He didn't go to Granville; he went directly to Salzburg. He asked me when I brought in that letter to reconsider the letter and think it over for a couple of days. I said, "No, Bob; I don't have to. I have thought it over over the week-end, very carefully." It was at that time, after I had definitely told him that I would not reconsider, that he said, "Well, we had plans to make you a director in about 10 days." That was after I had resigned.

Mr. KEE. You were not notified until after you resigned?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is right. He said that had been their plan; but it was after I had given him the letter.

Mr. KEE. Did this failure to make you managing director have anything to do with your decision to resign?

Mr. LINDGREN. I did not even know they were going to make me a director until after I had presented my letter.

Mr. KEE. You had made no application whatever for any promotion?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. KEE. As a matter of fact, you did not resign at that time; you did not resign unil after you came to America?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct. I requested travel to my home station for the purpose of resigning.

Mr. KEE. Summing up, Mr. Lindgren, you came back and resigned in November, did you not?

Mr. LINDGREN. I arrived here the 31st of October and I completed my resignation the second of November.

Mr. KEE. What did you say your salary was with UNRRA?

Mr. LINDGREN. My original base salary was $4,400. Then there was this raise that went through Congress that made it retroactive back to July and amounted to about $250 a year, which brought it up to $4,650, and then the 7½ percent would bring it up to about $5,000 as a supply officer.

Mr. KEE. In addition to that you had your expenses?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEE. The expense of transportation across the sea and your subsistence, and so forth, while there, and then your expense on your return voyage?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. KEE. So that in a total of 4 months' service with UNRRA you received a salary of approximately $5,000 a year and all of your expenses, and you never did reach your post of duty?

Mr. LINDGREN. I never did reach the post of duty that I was actually hired for. However, that is not unusual in UNRRA. Many, many people not only are held around different places like Granville and Karlsruhe, but they are taken from people going through,

if they happen to have a particular qualification, and put on the permanent staff of an outfit like Granville or Karlsruhe or Weisbaden, and they may want to be in an entirely different job. That is very common.

Mr. KEE. But you yourself, 3 days after reaching the point where you were to be assigned to your duties, resigned and came home?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is correct, sir.

Mr. KEE. I think that is all.

Mr. LEHMAN. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman BLOOM. Governor Lehman.

Mr. LEHMAN. I believe that you testified a little while ago that at the time you ended your employment with your father's concern your salary was $50 or $60 a week?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. I just want to put this into the record, that in your application for employment with UNRRA, on which UNRRA of course placed reliance, you stated that your salary was $75 a week.

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir. I stated that as the basis of my job with Dial-Lite. I received $75 a week and also expenses.

Mr. LEHMAN. I am sorry, but that is not the way you stated it.

Mr. LINDGREN. How did I state it, sir?

Mr. LEHMAN. You stated that from June 1936, to June 1938, you were employed by the Lindgren Electrical Supply Co., that your starting salary was $18 a week and your final salary was $75.

Mr. LINDGREN. I probably automatically reverted back to the days with my father, when he told me he would not pay me more than that, due to the fact that I was living at home and had no living expenses whatsoever. In other words, if I had lived by myself I would have been making at least $75 a week. That is probably the reason I put it that way.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Vorys?

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Lindgren, you are a very distinguished witness, in that this is the first time in the history of this committee that any witness has been required to give his history since he was 18 and has been psychoanalyzed and cross-examined the way you have been here.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. And examined by other people than members of the committee.

Mr. VORYS. And this is the first time since I have been a member of the committee that one other than a member of the committee has cross-examined a witness.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair wishes to make a statement, please. The Chair asked permission of the committee for the Governor to ask questions, and there was no objection by Mr. Vorys or any other member of the committee. If they had wanted to make an objection to Governor Lehman's asking any questions, they should have objected to it at that time.

Mr. VORYS. I made an objection when the Governor first intervened, and I was overruled.

Chairman BLOOM. Not at this meeting. There was no time that anyone made an objection. So, get that clear in the record.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Vorys will ask the question.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Lindgren, since we are going so exhaustively into your history, if you have any Army records that show how you performed your duties, please give them to the committee at this time.

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes; I have. Do you want me to read these?

Mr. VORYS. Yes; it would be helpful if you would. Do you have statements from your superior officers as to your work in the Army?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir. I attempted to enlist in the Army—not being married, I felt very strangely about the war, and attempted to enlist in the spring of 1942, and I was rejected on account of physical injuries received in playing football. A few months later I attempted again, and was accepted by the CPT, which was part of the Air Corps Reserve, and was sworn into the Air Corps Reserve on August 18. I subsequently took 8 weeks of flight training in the flight pilots program in the ground school at Carroll College. I was then a member of the Air Corps Reserve and subject to call to active duty. I would like to read these commendations. This is from Carroll College, Waukesha, Wis., V. B. Batha, coordinator CPT.:

JANUARY 20, 1943.

To Whom It May Concern:

Raymond E. Lindgren has completed a course in CPT for the Civil Aeronautics Administration at Carroll College under my supervision.

He made an outstanding record in both his ground work and flying course. In my estimation, he proved himself a leader, a conscientious worker, intelligent, and honest. He is a good loyal American citizen and should go far in any work he undertakes. I am happy to recommend Mr. Lindgren highly.

Yours truly,

V. B. BATHA,
Coordinator, CPT.

Chairman BLOOM. What was the date of that letter?

Mr. LINDGREN. January 20, 1943. I was called to active duty in December at the Roswell Army Flying School as an advanced pilot in the glider school. These letters—not this one, because this is not Army, but the rest of these letters I have here are on file, the originals are on file in the back of my service record in the War Department, and I suppose you gentlemen could see them if you wish to. This letter reads:

ADVANCED GLIDER PILOT REPLACEMENT POOL,
ARMY AIR FORCES ADVANCED FLYING SCHOOL,
ROSWELL ARMY FLYING SCHOOL,
Roswell, N. Mex., February 8, 1943.

201—Lindgren, Raymond E. (Enl.)
ASN 16081106.

Subject: Commendation of enlisted man.

To: Commanding General, Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, Mo. (Through Channels).

1. It is desirable that the efficient and energetic work of the above-named soldier, while attached to this station, be made a matter of permanent record.

2. This enlisted man will be transferred to your command on or about February 24, 1943.

3. During the time he has been a member of the Glider Replacement Pool at this station Private Lindgren has been acting in the capacity of first sergeant. Due to an acute shortage of competent officer and enlisted personnel, Private Lindgren, acting in an administrative supervisory capacity, has been relied upon almost completely for the administration of up to 1,000 men. The confidence thus placed in him has been 100 percent justified.

4. The undersigned, during his tours of active duty, has to come in contact with any other enlisted man who is more qualified to become an officer in the Army of the United States. Men of Private Lindgren's character, integrity, and ability are urgently needed as commissioned officers during the persent emergency.

5. I should most certainly welcome Private Lindgren as a brother officer under my command.

ROSWELL MESSING, JR.,
Captain, Air Corps, Commanding.

Then there are three endorsements from the same post, all of which went with this letter. The first endorsement is from the headquarters at Roswell, N. Mex., February 9, 1943:

To: Commanding General, Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, Mo.

1. Private Lindgren has coordinated the work of the Glider Replacement Pool with the Unit Personnel Office in a very efficient manner. He has shown initiative and has been fully cooperative in every possible way.
2. It is believed that this soldier is of excellent officer material.

W. M. SANFORD,
Captain, Air Corps, Assistant Adjutant.

The second endorsement:

FEBRUARY 17, 1943.

From: President, Officers Candidate Examing Board, AAFAFS, RAFS, Roswell, N. Mex.
To: Commanding General, Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, Mo.

1. Pvt. Raymond E. Lindgren (16081106) has been approved for Officers Candidate School, General Army Administrative, with one of the highest grades that has been given on this post. Private Lindgren is being transferred to Jefferson Barracks, Mo., before orders from higher headquarters could be received ordering him to school. Due to this fact, his papers will be forwarded to your headquarters.
2. It is believed that this man's application to attend Officers Candidate School should be expedited as the Army is very much in need of the services of a man of his caliber.

E. J. PLANTING,
Major, Air Corps, President.

The third endorsement is from headquarters, Roswell Army Flying School, Roswell, N. Mex., February 19, 1943:

To: Commanding General, Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, Mo.

1. Basic letter and subsequent endorsement concurred in.
2. In more than one instance the attention of this office has been called to the character of the administrative work being done by Private Lindgren. acting in the capacity of first sergeant in the glider pool. His work there has been called for a very high degree of judgment, initiative, and all-around improvising and, for the most part, has been work done under continuous pressure. It is not possible for this office to commend him too highly on the results.
3. Private Lindgren's approved application papers for Officer Candidate School were forwarded to Headquarters, Army Air Forces West Coast Training Center, on February 4, 1943. In view of his transfer to your command, request is being submitted this date for these papers to be forwarded to your headquarters for necessary action.

For the Commanding Officer:

CARL W. ANDREWS,
Major, Air Corps, Adjutant.

Next from the office of the theater officer, Jefferson Barracks, Mo., May 20, 1943:

Subject. Commendation of enlisted man.
To. Maj. Lauris Eck, Aviation Cadet Examining Board, 166 West Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.

1. Private Lindgren, while attached to this station, has been in charge of post publicity, working directly under the undersigned.
2. During the time he has been here he has changed and greatly improved upon the methods formerly used in avdertising Special Service events and the movies to the personnel of this post.
3. We would like to have kept Private Lindgren here and have asked him to turn permanent party. However, for reasons of which the undersigned has knowledge and with which he agrees, he does not wish to stay on. Foremost among his reasons for wishing to leave is that he feels he is qualified to handle

more responsible work than it is possible to give him here and he feels he will have more of an opportunity at some other station.

4. Because of his excellent business background of over 15 years, and also because of his ability and willingness to work hard, as has been evidenced here it is without hestiation that the undersigned recommends him for almost any business administrative work where the requisites are judgment, initiative, and intelligence.

THOMAS F. DUANE,
First Lieutenant, Air Corps,
Assistant Special Service Officer.

This is from the Aviation Cadet Examining Board, 166 West Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill., dated November 11, 1943:

Subject: Commendation of enlisted man.
To: Commanding Officer, Army Air Forces Administration, OCS, Miami Beach, Fla.

1. Sergeant Lindgren has been on duty with this board and has served regularly under my command since May 1943. During this period he has performed a number of duties and at the present time is acting first sergeant.

2. His work has at all times been efficiently and capably carried out. He has continuously exerted himself and consistently endeavored to find and recommend new methods of procedure and plans to further the efforts of this board, and to promote more advantageous work on the part of the board's personnel.

3. It was with the utmost confidence I recommended Sergeant Lindgren for Officer's Candidate School and he is being transferred to your command this date.

F. A. WILGUS,
Captain, Air Corps, President.

This is dated March 23, 1944, Headquarters and Headquarters Squadron, Officer Candidate School, Army Air Forces Technical Training School, Miami Beach, Fla.:

Subject: Commendation of enlisted man.
To: Whom it may concern.

1. Having been found physically disqualified for Officer Candidate School, this station, Sergeant Lindgren was attached this unit pending shipping orders.

2. During his stay here—extended to over 4 months—Sergeant Lindgren was put in charge of the OCA eliminee pool. This pool was attached to this headquarters for quarters, rations, and duty, numbered up to 200 men, and operated as a completely independent organization.

3. Because of the constant flow of men in and out of the pool—the average stay of a man was about 3 weeks—and also because of other unusual circumstances which made it unlike any ordinary unit, this was a particularly difficult assignment.

4. Sergeant Lindgren handled this assignment to the complete satisfaction of the undersigned and proved himself to be thoroughly competent both in the handling of the men, 75 percent of which were first three graders, and in the administrative work involved.

ROBERT L. JONES,
Captain, Air Corps, Commanding.

From Information and Education Department, Chanute Field, Ill., April 18, 1945:

Subject: Commendation of enlisted man.
To: Lake Charles Army Airfield, Lake Charles, La.

1. As noncommissioned officer in charge, above-named enlisted man has done an outstanding job while a member of this department.

2. His initiative, judgment, and all-around administrative ability have played an integral part in building and maintaining the various activities of the department.

3. It is the opinion of the undersigned that Sergeant Lindgren is capable of handling almost any administrative position where these characteristics and a deep sense of responsibility are of paramount importance.

4. Sergeant Lindgren is being transferred to your command on this station's Special Order No. 107, par. 6, April 17, 1945, and will report on or about May 5, 1945.

H. G. BROOKS, Jr.
Captain AC, Information and Education Officer.

I was down at Lake Charles, La., about 3 weeks.

Mr. LEHMAN. You finally got into the Army?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. VORYS. You were physically disqualified, were you, at the officers' candidate school?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir. They also have in the Army what they call a "table of organization," which precludes lots of promotions.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Lindgren, some of your testimony has been criticized as being hearsay. We heard here for 2 days Mr. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State, and his testimony was all hearsay, since he said he has never seen any UNRRA operations, so if you will give us the best information you have from any source, we will do the best we can with it.

Now, as to this Granville investigation, when you made an estimate of the property that might have been misappropriated, you were not attempting to say whether it was UNRRA property or Army property, were you?

Mr. LINDGREN. It was UNRRA property.

Mr. VORYS. The trucks?

Mr. LINDGREN. Oh, yes.

Mr. VORYS. Was the food—was that furnished by the Army?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. VORYS. Do you know whether it was billed to UNRRA or not?

Mr. LINDGREN. I don't know what the arrangement on that was, sir.

Mr. VORYS. Any food that disappeared would be either charged to the Army or to UNRRA, but you don't know which one?

Mr. LINDGREN. I don't think it would be charged to the Army, because the Army was in UNRRA's hands, so to speak.

Mr. VORYS. Do you know where the C. I. B. report is now?

Mr. LINDGREN. There is a copy both in London and in the Washington office.

Mr. VORYS. May I ask, Mr. Chairman, that we have a copy of the C. I. D. report on Granville produced before the committee?

Mr. LEHMAN. I have no objection whatever to making it available, provided the Army releases it. I shall be only too glad to make the investigation and report available.

Chairman BLOOM. Well, the chair will state in that respect, you remember the report that was submitted the other day, a confidential report, and it was submitted although it was confidential. Now, if the Army is willing, as Governor Lehman says, to release it for the record, it is all right with the chairman, so far as I am concerned. If it is for personal information, I don't think the Army will object to letting the committee have it.

Mr. VORYS. As I understand it, this is a report which is now in the possession of UNRRA, and of course, in the possession of the Army. I am requesting the chairman to ask UNRRA and the Army to make it available to the committee.

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair will be pleased to notify the Army, and with the Army's permission it will be made available.

Mr. VORYS. Do you know the views of any other returning American UNRRA employees, as to the efficiency of UNRRA?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes; I do. Of course, I talked to some of the men, but the outstanding thing, I think, offhand, in that line was here in Washington. When we come back to Washington here they have a

certain set-up of processing which you must go through. When you are resigning or leaving the service you go to this office to do this and this other office to do that, and so forth—six or seven or eight places you go to. Incidentally, I might say, that is the most efficient set-up I have seen since I have been with UNRRA. One of the places I was told to go was to see a Mr. Morek. Mr. Morek is in the personnel office of the Washington office of UNRRA. He impressed me as being a very sincere and conscientious and concerned man about UNRRA, very much interested in it. He asked me quite a few questions about why I was abandoning—what I was doing over there, and I gave him some highlights for probably half an hour or so. As I talked, he was making notes on a pad of paper, and after were all through I said: "What do you do with those notes, Mr. Morek, that you were making of what I say? Do you have that transcribed?" He said, "Yes; that is what I do. I do that with every American returning, because they all have to come in here and interview me, and I make notes of what they say and have it transcribed." So, out of curiosity, I asked Mr. Morek: "How do the things I have told you jibe with the things these other people tell you?" And he said: "They tell me, in effect, exactly the same as you have."

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to clear up one matter here. The Chair wishes to state that this committee through the Chair has received no request from anyone in opposition to this legislation that we have before us, objection from no one. Even Mr. Lindgren has not communicated with the committee through the chairman, and there is no request before this committee at all for anyone to appear in opposition. I just want to get that clear in the record. I think, Mr. Lindgren, I am correct in saying that you have never communicated with the Chair or with this committee previously?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I communicated with you by telephone last Saturday and arranged for this meeting.

Chairman BLOOM. Yes; but that is not Mr. Lindgren directly communicating with the chairman of this committee.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, along that line, I don't know why the communication was not made to you. A member of the Stuttgart UNRRA informed me that Mr. John Beecher, whose present address is 3118 Country Club Road, Birmingham, Ala., would like to testify next week or later, if he could hear from the chairman as to when would be a convenient time.

Chairman BLOOM. He did not communicate with the Chair. Kindly have him communicate through the proper channels, and the Chair will be very glad to hear him if we are continuing hearings at that time. No one has been refused permission to appear before this committee on this legislation or any other legislation.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I am sure Mr. Lindgren did not so understand it, and if in my questions I seemed to make such an insinuation I certainly want to withdraw it, because that was not my intention.

Chairman BLOOM. I would not want the thought to go out that I was refusing anyone an opportunity to appear.

Mr. VORYS. Oh, no, that was not my intention. Mr. Lindgren, you have given portions of your Army record. Do you know whether those documents, or your record is in the UNRRA file, whether they had that information.

Mr. LINDGREN. No; I am not quite sure, but I think they did not.

Chairman BLOOM. They are in there now.

Mr. VORYS. One more question. From your observation, and with your experience in administration, do you think UNRRA can be bettered administratively and fixed so it can do a better job?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir; I am afraid I must say I don't think so. I don't think there is a chanee, for two reasons. One is that I don't believe there ean ever be teamwork between all those different nationals beeause I believe there is so mueh inefficient personnel in UNRRA that they will just praetically clean out the whole organization.

Mr. VORYS. Do you think a new organization could get relief faster than a revamped UNRRA organization?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes; I do.

Mr. VORYS. That's all.

Mr. LEHMAN. Could I ask a question here, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman BLOOM. Will Mr. Vorys permit the Governor to ask some questions?

Mr. VORYS. I yield.

Chairman BLOOM. Without objection, permission is granted. I think we all want to get the faets, and I hope no one will object to the Governor asking any questions. Proceed, Governor.

Mr. LEHMAN. How many operations camps did you visit, Mr. Lindgren?

Mr. LINDGREN. Just one.

Mr. LEHMAN. Out of 400.

Mr. LINDGREN. I never was in the German operations camp. I have passed there, I think.

Mr. LEHMAN. You visited one eamp?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is right—not an UNRRA camp.

Mr. LEHMAN. You didn't visit any of the UNRRA camps?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is eorrect.

Mr. LEHMAN. Do you know General Morgan?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. Do you know Colonel Garland?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. Do you know Dr. Cilento?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. Do you know General Legros?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. Who are these gentlemen?

Mr. LEHMAN. Those are all the heads of the different parts of the UNRRA organization.

Mr. LINDGREN. May I enlarge on my answers, Governor, please? I have heard in London many favorable reports on the ability of General Morgan and also of Sir Humphrey Gale. There is little question in my mind that today you have in the top ranking positions some pretty good men. I am sure of that. When I refer to inefficient personnel I am referring to the body of the UNRRA organization, not to the top men.

Mr. LEHMAN. You have not visited any of the camps?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. That's all.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Lindgren, what is your job now?

Mr. LINDGREN. I am just attempting to get my publishing business going again.

Mr. RICHARDS. You have not accepted a position?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. You had nothing in view when you resigned?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. Before resigning did you register your protest with Governor Lehman on the way UNRRA was being run, or attempt to do so?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. You mentioned a while ago about this Appropriation Committee hearing and nobody in opposition to the appropriation for UNRRA being allowed to testify.

Mr. LINDGREN. Pardon me, I did not say "being allowed." I said they did not.

Mr. RICHARDS. You said they did not testify?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. Were not a couple of your letters put into the record by Mr. Jackson?

Mr. LINDGREN. One letter was, I believe, but I did not include that here.

Mr. RICHARDS. That hearing, I think, was on October 11. That was before you resigned from UNRRA?

Mr. LINDGREN. I had requested transfer for the purpose of resigning about September the 10th.

Mr. RICHARDS. But you were still with the UNRRA organization at that time?

Mr. LINDGREN. Technically; yes, sir. I was in London awaiting transportation back to the States.

Mr. RICHARDS. You did not request to be allowed to testify personally at this hearing, did you?

Mr. LINDGREN. You mean the House Appropriations Committee hearing?

Mr. RICHARDS. Yes.

Mr. LINDGREN. I did not get back till the 31st of October. The hearings were over at that time.

Mr. RICHARDS. You wrote these letters—I think they were addressed to Congressman Church—before you left over there?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is one letter that was written from London.

Mr. RICHARDS. These are two letters that Mr. Taber put into the record when the Appropriations Committee was holding these hearings. Look at those two letters and see if you wrote them [handing a document to the witness].

Mr. LINDGREN. This is not two letters. It is a continuation of one letter.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is all one letter?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir. Yes; that is my letter.

Mr. RICHARDS. In this letter you wrote, the salutation is "My dear Ralph." That was Congressman Church?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. And you said:

> Well, you were right about UNRRA. The administrative mess, incompetence, and waste are so bad that it borders on the fantastic.

That sustains what you said here today.

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. You don't think that UNRRA can be made to work?

Mr. LINDGREN. That is my personal opinion; that it cannot be.

Mr. RICHARDS. You believe in relief for these people over there, do you?

Mr. LINDGREN. Very much, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. Relief is needed, is it?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. Do you think the Red Cross could effectively administer this relief?

Mr. LINDGREN. Probably not on short notice, but it would have to be for this coming winter; but if they had time to set something up, I am very confident the American Red Cross could do a far better job.

Mr. RICHARDS. It would probably take a long time to set up an organization?

Mr. LINDGREN. I don't know, sir. They already have machinery set up. They would just have to enlarge it.

Mr. RICHARDS. I get from what you said about this proposed appropriation that in your opinion it is unwise for Congress to authorize any funds for participation in an international organization for relief?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes; I think so.

Mr. RICHARDS. You think there should be relief, but that relief should be carried out by the individual countries?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes; the administration of it.

Mr. RICHARDS. Do you think each one of these countries should employ its own nationals to do it?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. You don't think there is any danger of spheres overlapping that would interfere with the efficiency of the problem of relief?

Mr. LINDGREN. I would say there is probably a chance of overlapping; yes.

Mr. RICHARDS. You do not think there would be more international rivalry and misunderstanding in the field of relief carried out by that method?

Mr. LINDGREN. I don't see why there should be.

Mr. RICHARDS. You think that other nations who are participants in UNRRA would do their share of relief if the United States was not in an organization with them?

Mr. LINDGREN. I don't think any other nation could possibly exist without aid.

Mr. RICHARDS. Well, they are doing something in this organization.

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes; but I mean still, as has been brought out here, even with the additional 1,350,000,000, probably more than that would be used by UNRRA.

Mr. RICHARDS. Do you not agree that the result of following your suggestion would be that there would be no relief in the world, if UNRRA were scrapped?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. I mean organized relief.

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir; I don't believe that. I believe, as I suggested, that we form an American organization to take UNRRA's place and pay the whole bill; pay the other 28 percent.

Mr. RICHARDS. And you would support such an authorization?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir; I definitely would. Or, as I further brought out, even if it were an all-British organization it would be better than UNRRA, because there would not be the constant friction between different peoples. You would have teamwork. UNRRA does not have teamwork, in my opinion.

Mr. RICHARDS. It is a pretty hard thing to get teamwork in such an organization embracing a number of different nations speaking a number of different languages and having a number of different ideologies?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is one of the hardest jobs in the world?

Mr. LINDGREN. I would say so.

Mr. RICHARDS. You have no charges against the honesty of any officials in UNRRA? If you have, I think you would be rendering a useful service if you would give us that information.

Mr. LINDGREN. No; I do not have. And I might add that I was told by Mr. Lund about a month ago in London that—I don't know what the development is, being no longer connected with it—but he said as of the time he left it looked as though, because the records were in such terrible condition and so incomplete, that it was going to be most difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion. That was Mr. Lund's statement.

Mr. RICHARDS. I want it understood that I do not condemn you or any other American citizen for following his conscience in coming here to testify if you think it would be of service to this country, but this is such a serious question that I was just wondering whether you had any definite, concrete plan to offer that would solve this problem.

Mr. LINDGREN. None except what I have stated.

Mr. RICHARDS. You made some charges about the diversion of trucks over there, I believe?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes; I said I was told that by Mr. Joseph Lund, who was working with the C. I. B. all during the investigation. He was a man who was called in by the C. I. B.

Mr. RICHARDS. You have no knowledge of that?

Mr. LINDGREN. Not first-hand knowledge; no, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. If C. I. B. said there was no evidence of dishonesty, you would not question that?

Mr. LINDGREN. I would not.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LEHMAN. May I ask the witness a question or two?

Chairman BLOOM. Without objection, the Governor is permitted to ask a question.

Mr. LEHMAN. You have come here in your right to testify and to give your views as to the administrative organization of UNRRA, a very large organization. You have given us your business experience and your experience during the very brief period that you were abroad. You have been good enough to speak highly of the present chairman and General Gale and General Morgan, but you have given some very definite views as to what the future of UNRRA and the future

of relief should be. You have testified that you have not visited any of the camps in Germany. Obviously, your experience is largely limited to the operation at Granville and your 2 or 3 days' stay in Austria. I would like to ask, Have you ever visited or observed the UNRRA work in Greece?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. Have you ever visited or observed the UNRRA work in Czechoslovakia?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. Or in Poland?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. Or Albania?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. Or in China?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. Or Italy?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. That's all.

Chairman BLOOM. Are there any further questions?

Mr. Mundt?

Mr. MUNDT. Thank you for remembering me, Mr. Chairman. I regret that I was unavoidably detained by my appearance before the Rules Committee this morning, so I did not have an opportunity to hear the bulk of the testimony that Mr. Lindgren gave. I do want to commend him, though, as a private citizen for taking the time and spending the money to come before a congressional committee to give us what he has learned about UNRRA and to make his recommendations from the best of his background and judgment, and I hope that your experience before this committee will not be such that it will discourage other people who have been with UNRRA from coming forward and making the same request. I assure you that the gentlemen sitting on the same side of the table with you are fine fellows, and they are good, conscientious Congressmen, and the questions they ask you are in fulfillment of their duty. I don't want you to go away feeling that you have been pilloried or that you are going to be put in jail. Some of the questions just sound that way, but there is no danger that that is going to happen.

I might point out that you are a novelty before this committee, because you are the only witness who has appeared in opposition to UNRRA at any of the times we have had testimony before the committee on that subject, and as a result we have been listening exclusively so far to the testimony of people who are employed by UNRRA or connected with UNRRA or in some Government agency working with UNRRA, with the exception of some well-meaning people who have appeared and talked about the desperate need of relief and felt that something should be done to alleviate the situation and have suggested that UNRRA be continued. As a result, our good friends on the other side of the table have not had an opportunity to ask very many questions, and the burden has fallen largely on this side of the table, and I am glad to see it sort of equalize itself during the course of the afternoon.

You mentioned a Mr. Morek, and you said he is employed by UNRRA here in the city?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. And he interviews all of the people who are being terminated by UNRRA, or resigning from UNRRA?

Mr. LINDGREN. All Americans. So Mr. Morck told me.

Mr. MUNDT. And you said he takes notes on what they say?

Mr. LINDGREN. So he told me.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you know what happens to the notes after they have been transcribed?

Mr. LINDGREN. No; I do not. I would guess that they probably go to Mr. Howe, director of personnel as Mr. Morck is in the personnel department.

Mr. MUNDT. I wonder, Mr. Chairman, whether the Governor would permit the members of the committee to read the notes that Mr. Morck has received from these other people who have returned?

Mr. LEHMAN. Have no objection.

Chairman BLOOM. The Governor stated several times that you are welcome to read and see anything that he has in his office up there, any member of the committee.

Mr. MUNDT. I would enjoy very much reading them. I think they would be informative, and I would request, therefore, that the Governor either tell me where I can see them, or have Mr. Al Davidson or somebody else bring them to the office where I can see them.

Mr. LEHMAN. I will be glad to do that.

Mr. MUNDT. The only other question I have is concerning Mr. Lund, whose testimony has been referred to so many times, and who, Mr. Richards said, should be able to substiantiate or deny the accuracy of that matter of 127 trucks. I understood you to say he is now back in this country?

Mr. LINDGREN. I last saw Mr. Lund—we left London about the same day. He left on a slow boat, the *Lovena*, and I was lucky enough to get on the *Queen Elizabeth*. I understand the *Lovena* docked November 6 at Montreal. Over in London Mr. Lund told me he was very anxious to testify before a committee, and that he—at least he told me he had his own report on the work that he did with the C. I. B., on things that they found, and he wanted to testify before a committee and bring that report with him. What has happened to Mr. Lund since he returned here I don't know.

Mr. MUNDT. Is he an employee of UNRRA or the Army?

Mr. LINDGREN. He just came back to rejoin UNRRA.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that Mr. Lund has been brought into the testimony so frequently, and in view of what Mr. Richards suggested, I would like to request that before the hearings are terminated we ask Mr. Lund to appear before the committee.

Mr. LINDGREN. I believe he lives in Boston.

Chairman BLOOM. Without objection. Is that all?

Mr. MUNDT. Is that request granted?

Chairman BLOOM. I said, without objection.

Mr. MUNDT. That is all the questions I have. I am sorry I was not here this morning, I would have had more questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jarman?

Mr. JARMAN. In view of your reservation, I am not going to ask you all the questions I have jotted down here, but I do want to ask just a few.

The straw that broke the camel's back with you, as I recall, was when you saw on the bulletin board there—and I can understand your feelings when you look at the bulletin board, because I belonged to the Army once myself—you saw where there was a group of Americans being assigned to the British zone of operation, and vice versa?

Mr. LINDGREN. I did not say Americans were being assigned to the British zone and vice versa, but I know that Americans were going there.

Mr. JARMAN. I believe you indicated that your main objection to that was your belief that Americans would get along better in the American zone and the British would get along better in the British zone?

Mr. LINDGREN. There is no question about that.

Mr. JARMAN. And that was what caused you to resign?

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. JARMAN. Now, you spoke of the lady that was with UNRRA a year, and I believe you mentioned her name, and you said that she had not done a thing while there?

Mr. LINDGREN. That's right.

Mr. JARMAN. I don't remember her name, but what was she doing during this entire year?

Mr. LINDGREN. She was one of the group of clerks that was sent from here last fall, November or October, I think—I don't remember exactly when, to north Africa, to work as clerks for UNRRA. There was no work for them in Africa, and they were sent to Italy. There was no work for them there, and after 3 or 4 months in Italy some resigned and came back home and some went to Granville. She resigned at Granville, and she finally resigned after 1 year, without doing an hour's work. That was Miss Gray.

Mr. JARMAN. She was not one of the 30 you spoke of, I believe, as "lying around for a long time"?

Mr. LINDGREN. What she told me was that they did lie around for quite a time in north Africa.

Mr. JARMAN. Do you know from your personal observation or hearsay anything about the operations providing for supplies to bleeding Poland and other countries, that is, as distinguished from D. P. camps?

Mr. LINDGREN. Only from hearsay.

Mr. JARMAN. Nor from observation?

Mr. LINDGREN. No, sir.

Mr. JARMAN. You don't know, I imagine, what proportion of the funds authorized in this bill would go—what part would be for D. P. camps?

Mr. LINDGREN. I haven't any idea. I read that report, and I know that Greece was getting most of it, Jugoslavia next, and Poland next.

Mr. JARMAN. Would the recommendation that you have just made, in reply to Mr. Richards' question, that UNRRA be dispensed with, does that apply to that relief as well as to D. P. camps, or would you say D. P. camps only?

Mr. LINDGREN. The only way I can form an opinion on that is to judge the people in those operations whom I have not seen by the people whom I have seen. I would like to say along that line that I read a long letter written by a United States naval officer in which he

said about the twenty-odd observation officers, that only six were competent; that they didn't care about making their reports; that all they cared about was drawing their pay.

Mr. JARMAN. Like the other gentlemen who have referred to it, I am glad you came. You are certainly welcome here, and I commend you for coming here to give us your opinion about these things. Your testimony is most discouraging to me, not entirely from an UNRRA standpoint. I know that some of your observations or criticisms are correct; I am sure they are, and I don't know but what some of them are quite incorrect, but regardless of that, the discouraging phase of it to me is your positive opinion that international cooperation will not work.

Mr. LINDGREN. I would say so, from personal observation.

Mr. JARMAN. And I have been so hopeful, and still am, that international cooperation will work and greatly contribute toward permanent peace, that that is the most discouraging fact, its failure, from your viewpoint, is the most discouraging part of your testimony.

Mr. LINDGREN. I would say this, sir, that if international cooperation could be made successful it would be a wonderful thing. I was in hopes it could be made successful. Now I don't believe it can. Perhaps I am wrong.

Mr. JARMAN. Well, I thoroughly share your previous hope, and I sincerely hope you are wrong now.

Mr. LINDGREN. I hope so, too, because I am very much in favor of the international idea. I was when I went over there. In principle, I still am, but realistically I don't think it can work.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, since Mr. Lindgren must catch a train, I think I had better not ask him any more questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Bolton?

Mrs. BOLTON. Before the witness leaves, I too want to express appreciation for his coming. We all have one goal, we want to relieve conditions in Europe. I am sure if there are mistakes in UNRRA, there is no one more anxious to remedy them that the Director, as he has shown in every way. He has assured us he will put everything he has at our disposal. We want to find out everything we can about the situation, and it will probably be of value to the Director himself, because the more we can bring out, the more he can go to the root of these things and see to it that they are remedied.

The suggestion was made by the witness that there be a questionnaire sent out to those who have terminated their service, either by request of themselves or by request of UNRRA; that the questionnaire have certain definite questions in it. It would seem to me that we might get some very useful and constructive information from such a questionnaire. My purpose is not a destructive one at any point, and it seems to me that we might do well to ask if the witness has anything to add to the suggestion of his questionnaire.

Mr. LINDGREN. Only that I believe you should get a rounded picture, that we should get as many opinions as possible. I don't want to say I am the only one that has an opinion like this, and I believe it would be more valuable if you had scores of opinions and see what they all add up to.

Mrs. BOLTON. You have not actually been in D. P. camps, so it would be perfectly natural that you would be unable to evaluate the possible benefits of an international team—not exactly an inter-

national team either, but European team going in among the European nationals, because of the greater understanding they would have of the psychology of the individual. I think that has definite value. You might have found it so if you had been there. We Americans are a little hurried. We have got to get through in an efficient way. They are perhaps not ready to think yet, some of them. They are too confused in their psychology. Would you grant that there might be that possibility of benefit to an international group working with the situation?

Mr. LINDGREN. You mean that the nationals work with their own people?

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes.

Mr. LINDGREN. Yes; there is no question about that.

Mrs. BOLTON. The same question as to British-American?

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to state that the request of Mr. Mundt with reference to the material that Mr. Morek has in the Department is practically an answer to your question in regard to the questionnaire sent out. When a questionnaire is sent out, the committee has no opportunity to cross-examine the replies, to see what they do know.

Now, if anyone wants to see the statement that Mr. Morek has made, which is practically all the complaints, it might be well to have that.

Mrs. BOLTON. May I just say, Mr. Chairman, I was anxious to explore the possibility of the witness having more to say on the subject, and the committee could then decide whether it would like to hear those opinions.

Mr. LINDGREN. I would like to say something here, if I may. I think you will get more information and better information by the use of such a form letter than you can get over here, because I know more than one returning American who has decided—he is more or less incensed, and he has decided he isn't going to talk. A perfect example is Miss Marie Wallace, whom I mentioned so many times in my testimony, because she told me she was not going to say anything, although she has lots to say.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Is it not true that the military had ordered a certain number of teams to go to Cairo before hostilities has ceased. Unfortunately they had not scheduled the Battle of the Bulge which brought a great loss in American lives and which also meant that UNRRA teams at Cairo and Granville had nothing to do for many weeks.

Mr. LINDGREN. Of course, it was many months—not many months but several months—after the Battle of the Bulge before there was any UNRRA organization in Granville.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I believe that the Army had ordered UNRRA teams to Cairo and then the Battle of the Bulge held up UNRRA activities.

Mr. LINDGREN. That may be, but not from Granville. Granville was not activated until March, and the Battle of the Bulge was in December.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I believe you said that the women you had mentioned were sent to Cairo.

Mr. LINDGREN. That may be.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. In regard to the alleged excessive staff of UNRRA, while 5 million or so have been repatriated, there still remain more than 300 D. P. camps. Certainly there was a great shortage of teams at first and many of the camps, like the one you visited, had no UNRRA team. Large numbers of the D. P.'s were rapidaly repatriated at first, but the hard core of cases remain, and I see no proof that UNRRA is overstaffed.

Mr. LINDGREN. I disagree with that on this basis: That there are 327 UNRRA teams now in German operations, while you have less than a million people—I believe the figure is 900,000——

Mr. LEHMAN (interposing). One million three hundred and forty-three thousand.

Mr. LINDGREN. I thought that the table I saw in the report as of October 1 was 996,000—something like that.

Mr. LEHMAN. That was submitted by the Army some time ago, but actually our latest figures show over a million.

Mr. LINDGREN. Anyway it is my absolute belief that it doesn't take anything like 327 teams to handle 1,300,000 people.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I have perhaps one advantage over you, in that I have visited a good many of the D. P. camps, and on account of the bombed out conditions it is very difficult to get adequate housing for them and get great installations for these D. P.'s. It is not quite as easy, perhaps, as you suggest, to have tremendous concentrations in bombed out regions, so that sometimes they had to be scattered around.

I have two more questions. Since the displaced persons are made up of many nationalities, is it not essential to have teams of people working with them who speak several languages?

Finally, since you are hopeless about teamwork among the nationals of various countries on even a humanitarian project, to you recommend that the United States should get out of or scrap Bretton Woods and the United Nations Organization? After all, those projects envisage cooperation on far more complicated and controversial matters.

Mr. LINDGREN. I believe we should stay in the Bretton Woods and United Nations Organization, with the recognition, which I think we all recognize, that they can be valuable to a limited degree, but still, as we all know, we fully intend to keep ourselves armed.

Mr. LEHMAN. May I say one word in answer to what I understand was the testimony this morning, that as long as the number of displaced persons remains 1,342,000, it is a relatively easy job. I take this position due to the fact that—and I think I know as much about the situation generally as the other members of the organization—Mr. Lindgren has testified, or said, that he had very high regard for General Morgan, and General Morgan, I need not point out, was one of General Eisenhower's chief deputies, a man in whom General Eisenhower has the fullest confidence. I have here an article which was carried in the New York Herald Tribune, written by Carl Levin—I will put the whole thing in the record, but will not take up the time to read more than the first paragraph, to show that General Morgan considers the displaced persons operations today, even though 5,000,000 persons have been repatriated, one of the most difficult and complex problems there is, and does not at all feel that we are overstaffed, overmanned.

(The article from the Herald Tribune follows:)

ALL UNRRA IN GERMANY BEING RESHAPED—GENERAL MORGAN ASKS TRUMAN FOR BIG MEN WITH GUTS FOR COMPLEX PROBLEMS

By Carl Levin

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FRANKFURT AM MAIN, November 20.—Lt. Gen. Sir Frederick E. Morgan, after less than 2 months as chief of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration operations in Germany, said today that the current displaced-persons problems in Germany are the most complex he has ever encountered, and that he is reorganizing the entire set-up of UNRRA here as his first step in tackling them.

The British general, who was Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's deputy chief of staff until July, said that while the interim duties of UNRRA are principally concerned with welfare, even well-schooled welfare workers are not strong enough to cope with the problems they now meet daily in their joint relations with Army officers and displaced persons in from 400 to 500 camps.

Morgan disclosed that he asked President Truman, in a message sent yesterday, for big men with guts for the job, and that UNRRA recruiting will have to be reopened to get them.

Close examination of the handling of displaced persons has convinced him, Morgan said, that under the exigencies of war UNRRA attacked the problem here backward from an organization standpoint. Instead of moving the central organization to direct and coordinate the work, UNRRA sent "spearhead teams" forward with the Army. Morgan was not prone to blame UNRRA for this, since it was the way the Army wanted it. But he said it did not make for a smoothly operating coordinating agency.

As a result, he continued, UNRRA personnel were tossed out the washroom window when they went to the Army for help. This is one thing, he said, which he is correcting.

Morgan agreed that conditions in the British zone are much worse than in the American zone. Reports that the situation in Belsen, where 16,000 displaced persons, including 11,000 Jews, are said to be without fuel, adequate clothing, or blankets, are scandalous, he asserted. He pointed out, however, that this is one of the camps in the British area in which UNRRA has no jurisdiction. Morgan explained that he was not personally familiar with the Belsen situation, but he promised to look into it next week end.

While visiting the British zone he hopes to sign an agreement with British occupation officials under which UNRRA will gradually take over the rest of the camps in the British zone, and which will define finally in firm terms the areas of responsibility to be borne by UNRRA and by the British.

Mr. LEHMAN. There is a man who has handled some of the biggest problems of the administration of logistics that existed in any of the armies, yet he feels that he has never known a situation that involved as many complex problems as this one, and when I heard you had made the statement that UNRRA was grossly overmanned and overstaffed in Germany because we only have a million people left out of 6,000,000 people, it surprised me very much.

Mrs. BOLTON. Will the gentleman yield? I don't know whether I understood what you said there in regard to what General Morgan said, that there would have to be a complete reorganization of the situation.

Mr. LEHMAN. That General Morgan has been working on the problem for the last 2 months.

Mrs. BOLTON. Then I would say it was probably in recognition of the very things that Mr. Lindgren has been telling us that he is reorganizing the entire set-up of UNRRA, very definitely.

Mr. LEHMAN. He is reorganizing largely now because of the changed conditions, changed relationship between the military and UNRRA.

Mrs. BOLTON. But when it is all tied together, certainly General Morgan has not indicated that the operation is by any means hopeless.

Mr. VORYS. May I just say this? Page 43 of these reports put before us says 1,011,000 is the estimate of displaced persons in Germany for November 1. Does that mean that there are 300,000 elsewhere, or does it mean that we have disposed of none of them since the 4th of October? I don't want to take Mr. Lindgren's time, but I think that the discrepancy there should be explained to the committee, as to whether it is 1,300,000 or 1,011,000. That is table 5, page 43. I don't want to take Mr. Lindgren's time now to answer that.

Mr. LINDGREN. I would like to answer that last statement of Mr. Lehman's before I leave, if I may. I think I said in my testimony—and if I did not say it, I meant that the running of a permanent or semipermanent camp is far easier than a transient camp. They do not have nearly as many problems. When you have a permanent camp, it is going to be in that one spot all winter, which is much easier than running thousands of people through every day.

In the second place, I have heard many queer things about General Morgan. I have heard no bad things, and when he said this is a complex job, I never said it was not, but I think that probably the job might be a little more complex than it should be, because of the inefficiency of UNRRA personnel in the lower echelon.

May I leave now?

Chairman BLOOM. Does anyone wish to ask Mr. Lindgren any further questions?

Mr. SMITH. I would just like to commend the witness for being here this afternoon and giving us much to think about. I would like in conclusion, however, to ask Governor Lehman a question.

Mr. LINDGREN. I would like to thank the committee for the treatment accorded me, even by this side of the table.

Mr. SMITH. Governor, I wonder if the Appropriations Committee had the use of this so-called C. I. B. report at the time your group appeared before it?

Mr. LEHMAN. The House Appropriations Committee?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. LEHMAN. They did not.

Chairman BLOOM. There is a lady waiting to testify. Mrs. Backus wishes to say a word.

STATEMENT OF MRS. DANA CONVERSE BACKUS, REPRESENTING WOMEN'S ACTION COMMITTEE FOR VICTORY AND LASTING PEACE, 1 EAST 57TH ST., NEW YORK CITY

Mrs. BACKUS. I hesitate to keep all of you at this time, and if it will be more convenient for the committee I could come at some other time. I live in Washington.

Chairman BLOOM. I think you had better make your statement now.

Mrs. BACKUS. I have already handed my statement to the clerk of the committee. I represent the Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace, which is an organization composed of a little over 20,000 individual women members, and also is made up of 12 national women's organizations with a total membership of about 10,000,000.

As you will see in this statement that is being passed around, our approach has been not so much from the humanitarian point of view,

even though we are women, because we feel that you on the committee, and all of us, agree that there is a tremendous job to be done. Our approach has been one of very great concern, chiefly from the point of view of our international relations in Germany, and shall I say our public relations in the world, and I think the testimony this afternoon has emphasized that concern, at least in my mind, and I think in the minds of many other people.

I would say that anything we do in the way of joining an international organization is a very splendid thing. Of course, we all agree with that, but the joining is a minor detail as far as our national relations are concerned, and if we are determined to have world peace, we will have to think through very carefully what our public relations with the world are to be, and I think we all know it is very difficult for human beings to get along together sometimes, and that however, in spite of friction, either in a family of individuals or a family of nations, if we are determined to make good, we can make good. I think the women of America are determined that the United States shall make good in its relations with the rest of the world, and we are very much concerned with some of the amendments that have come up, both as suggested, possibly in this committee and other committees of Congress, on unilateral decisions, on commitments that have been made by the United States as a member of the world organization, unilateral legislation on the part of 1 nation which is a member of an organization of 47 nations, and we feel that if we are going to cooperate with the world we have got to go the whole hog, and we have got to be willing to give and take, and that is why we are extremely concerned about some of the amendments that are in Congress now with the UNRRA legislation, and I know, quite aside from what has happened today, we are all of us extremely concerned about whether we can make good on UNRRA and whether we can find a basis of cooperation through UNRRA, because that is the first test of whether we can find a basis of cooperation in these many other vital problems from the atom bomb down.

Mr. KEE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this statement does not show by whom it was presented.

Chairman BLOOM. No, it does not.

Mr. KEE. What is your name and official position with the organization?

Mrs. BACKUS. I am one of the vice chairmen of the organization, and also editor of the bulletin of the organization, Backlog for Action.

(The paper referred to follows:)

STATEMENT ON THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Presented before the Foreign Affairs Committee by the Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace

The Women's Action Committee urges the prompt passage of H. R. 4649 authorizing the appropriation of a second $1,350,000,000 for UNRRA. We understand that present funds have already been spent or fully committed. UNRRA cannot make further plans for relieving the desperate conditions in Europe and Asia during the coming year, until it is known what funds will be available for the task. This vast project for relief and rehabilitation cannot be planned on a shoestring basis.

Moreover, it is unlikely that the other supplying nations will grant UNRRA further assistance until they see what the United States is prepared to do. Fortunately the United States can take the lead. We are in a far better position finan-

cially and economically than most of the other supplying nations. The Women's Action Committee, therefore, urges passage of this bill with the greatest possible speed, both for the sake of those who are destitute and for the sake of efficiency and good business. We understand that there are surplus supplies now available at low prices, many of which our armed forces cannot hold much longer. UNRRA cannot make a bid for these supplies unless it has funds on hand. We understand that the new grants requested at the August meeting of the UNRRA council are not for an ideal maximum budget; they are rock-bottom figures for the aid during 1946.

The Women's Action Committee is concerned not only from the humanitarian point of view, but from the point of view of our international relations. We feel that the good-neighbor policy which we have practiced with our friends in Latin America should be extended to cover our friends in all parts of the world. Good will is the key to peace. We cannot hope to build a peaceful world community out of starvation, disease, bitterness, and disorder. That is why UNRRA was the first United Nations Organization to be set up.

There are many advantages to this United Nations effort, among the more important are:

1. That while the United States gives the largest amount of money; each of the uninvaded countries shares the expenses of supplying aid in proportion to its wealth.

2. The field expenses are cut to a minimum through the cooperation of the invaded nations in supplying facilities and personnel.

3. Rehabilitation, the process of helping the liberated nations to help themselves, can best be undertaken by a joint cooperative effort, rather than by the endless doling out of relief by the haves to the have nots.

4. The UNRRA method will help to put nations on their feet both physically and psychologically, so that these nations may the sooner pull their weight as self-respecting, useful members of the community of nations.

The action taken by Congress on the present bill will have a very serious bearing on our international relations in general. It is vital that our country follow through on this first United Nations project which this country was chiefly instrumental in establishing. After the First World War this country gained a reputation for starting things and then not following through. It would be a tragedy if, after the great sacrifice and effort we put into this war, we gained a peacetime reputation for not following through on the organizations we join.

The art of international cooperation is a delicate one. We must be constantly on the alert, not only to watch the actions of other nations, but to evaluate our own actions, and see how they affect the general atmosphere of international cooperation. Withholding or curtailing our assistance to UNRRA now would be a very grave reversal of what the world has been led to believe is our policy of building toward a long and fruitful peace.

Finally, as a member of the United Nations Organization and its various functional agencies, our country must take care not to set the dangerous precedent of passing unilateral legislation on policies which should be acted on by the United Nations as a whole. The Women's Action Committee trusts that in authorizing this new appropriation for UNRRA it will not add restrictive amendments which will retard the distribution of aid or reverse policies and programs already accepted in the UNRRA council by 47 nations, including our own.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very much. I am sorry to have kept you waiting. The committee will recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5 p. m., the committee adjourned until 10:30 a. m., Thursday, November 22, 1945.)

FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN WORK OF UNRRA

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1945

House of Representatives,
Committee on Foreign Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Sol Bloom (chairman) presiding, for further consideration of H. R. 4649.

Chairman Bloom. The committee will kindly come to order for further consideration of House Resolution 4649.

We have the great honor and distinction of having as our witness this morning General Eisenhower.

I want to say that the general is not very well, and his physicians have instructed him to be very careful and not to come out this morning, but he realizes the importance of his testimony and that he promised, so he is here. I would kindly request the committee to ask their questions as briefly as they possibly can, because the general would like to get away and go back to bed.

General, I believe you have a statement that you would like to read.

STATEMENT OF GENERAL OF THE ARMY DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, ACTING CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES ARMY

General Eisenhower. Gentlemen, when I heard that I was to come here on this hearing some assistants joined my on my recent trip, and we prepared a brief statement which gives my convictions on the case, after which, in spite of the fact that I am not completely up to par, I will attempt to answer any questions that are within my power to answer.

It is a privilege for a soldier to have the opportunity of pleading for assistance in repairing the ravages of war. The Congress has appropriated many billions of dollars during the past few years to enable us to forge the weapons of destruction. Now that the fighting has ceased and the danger is less obvious, it is perhaps difficult for people in this country to visualize the desperate needs of the people of Europe and the necessity, if our military victory is to have lasting significance, of our successfully completing the job of making possible a peaceful world.

In discharging the responsibility this Government placed upon me during the past few years, I have had the opportunity of seeing conditions in Europe at first hand.

World War II has left most of Europe prostrate. Many cities have been devastated beyond imagination and are a shambles of roofless walls and rubble. Transportation systems have been disrupted. Destroyed bridges still block the waterways of Europe. Railroad

travel is a rare and cumbersome operation. Highway travel is hampered not only by poor conditions of the roads but also by shortage of gasoline, trucks, and other vehicles. Even the earth has not escaped the effects of 6 years of war. Such things as the absence of farm labor, the ruinous effects of actual fighting, and shortages of the necessary fertilizers have prevented Europe from reaping anything like a normal harvest. There are few places in Europe today where people are not cold, hungry, and apprehensive of the future.

I might add, as an aside, that even great areas are still covered with mine fields which are still quite a considerable problem to remove.

In order to eliminate the stagnation and despair in Europe today, it is necessary as a first step to understand their causes. Even in peacetime Germany's key geographical and industrial position in Europe made the rest of Europe dependent upon it to a large extent. After Germany launched her aggressive war and swallowed up one by one the countries of Europe, the Nazis sought to integrate the economies of the conquered countries with that of Germany in order to strengthen the Greater Reich as an arsenal of tyranny.

The Nazis not only physically moved factories and imported millions of forced laborers into Germany but took control of those facilities which were left in their normal locations. Germany controlled raw materials, exhausted foreign credits, and tied the currencies of Europe to the mark. Moreover, Europe's transportation was looted and exhausted to support the German war effort. As a result of this natural and forced dependence of Europe upon Germany, the crushing defeat of Germany has had fearful repercussions.

Allied countries were laid waste by the retreating German armies, by patriotic scorched-earth policy, by allied bombings and combat operations in the area. Moreover, the shattering of Germany automatically eliminated the controls which the Germans had imposed. The liberated areas of Europe were left without the ability to produce adequate coal, without transportation, without their own skilled labor, with their currencies unsettled, without foreign exchange and without the raw materials to revive industry in the facilities which were left to them.

Since the defeat of Germany, every effort is being made to revive liberated Europe. A large proportion of German industrial facilities, eventually, will be distributed to European countries as reparation. Millions of displaced persons have been returned to help rebuild their homelands. Production of coal in Germany is being maximized for distribution to neighboring countries. Intensive efforts are being made to restore vital transportation systems. The European countries themselves are exerting every effort to rebuild their own economies. However, no matter how vigorously these efforts are pursued, as a result of the destruction and dislocation caused by the war and the dissipation of their resources in the fight against the Nazis there will inevitably be a grave transition period through which these countries will have to pass, when they will have to receive outside assistance.

I am fully confident that the people of Europe can recover from the grievous blows they have suffered if they can be helped through this period. However, if this bitter situation is not to become so disastrous as to make men wonder if it was worth while to have taken up

arms against the Nazis, we in the United States—which is truly the land of plenty as compared to Europe—must be prepared to discharge a very heavy responsibility. We must, now, make our proportionate contribution to the relief of Europe in order to insure the permanence of our military victory.

I have noted suggestions that the United States should discharge this responsibility single-handed. While such a method might prove to be efficient, time will not wait while we organize, as a new venture, the gigantic relief system which is required. The need for the services of an experienced and effective relief organization is immediate. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was established to do this specific job and it would be wasteful to dissipate its experience, trained personnel, and operating momentum. In its relief activities, UNRRA now has behind it that experimental period through which any relief organization must pass. It is already operating throughout much of Europe and I know from my own observation in Germany that it is operating with steadily increasing effectiveness.

There are in the western area of Germany over 5,000 trained UNRRA personnel who are rendering valuable assistance to the military in the care and handling of United Nations and stateless displaced persons. UNRRA has its own central organization, and its individuals are operating most of the centers in which displaced persons are housed. This is a remarkable achievement in the face of the many difficulties which have confronted UNRRA.

During the war it was inevitable that our military forces and those of our allies should have had the first call on resources of personnel, shipping, equipment and supplies of all kinds. This situation seriously handicapped UNRRA in its earlier operation. Today the shipping and supply situation has eased.

Moreover, UNRRA has been infused with new and vigorous leadership in whom I have the fullest confidence. The British have made available to UNRRA my former Deputy Chief of Staff, General Morgan, and my former Chief Administrative Officer, General Gale, who are now in active charge of UNRRA operations in the field. These men, typical of the new leadership, are experienced administrators of unquestionable competence and, I should like to add, of unquestionable integrity. They are two of the finest officers and soldiers it was within my privilege to serve with during this war.

I think there is an even more important reason why UNRRA and not a purely United States relief organization should do this job. In the war against the Axis Powers we recognized that all the world was a battleground. It was impossible to consider one theater of operations separately from the others. There was but one war even though fought around the globe. Every battle, wherever fought, affected the outcome of the war. In this situation we achieved military success only by the splendid cooperation and mutual tolerance and respect of the Allied Powers and associated United Nations.

I am one of those who believes firmly that any permanent maintenance of the peace is dependent on the continuance of that cooperation and the broadening of those activities in which the nations of the world can join hands and with mutual understanding solve their common problems.

The relief of Europe and those areas of Asia which have similarly suffered is not the responsibility of one nation or of a single group

of nations. It is a world problem and no nation desirous of a peaceful world can ignore it.

UNRRA represents one major effort of the United Nations to act constructively in meeting the challenge of the peace. The United States assumed leadership in organizing UNRRA. The United States has also assumed leadership in urging upon the other nations of the world the thought that by united action and consultation through such a medium as the United Nations Organization resort to war shall not again be necessary.

The ravished nations of the world are looking to UNRRA for their relief in this period of their necessity.

If UNRRA were to fail them, they could not help but feel that not only had the United States failed them but that the hope of solution of world problems through United Nations action was an illusory one.

I am convinced that the best way of developing the habit of cooperation is by building and supporting effective operating international organizations such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Even more immediately important is the fact that this civil organization, representing the United Nations, is already in position to meet the currently critical problem—the prevention of widespread suffering and starvation, during the coming winter, of liberated peoples in Europe.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very much, General. Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. General Eisenhower, I think the committee and the Nation is very much indebted to you for this splendid statement because we realize that no one is better qualified to speak upon conditions in Europe than yourself. As I understand your statement, the need cannot be exaggerated with reference to relief at this time in Europe, is that right, General?

General EISENHOWER. That is correct, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON. And it is a need that must be met immediately. Otherwise, even when aid is granted, can you tell us what might be the results in Europe from suffering this winter?

General EISENHOWER. I think only with ample financial support and with vigorous action on the part of all can we prevent a situation in Europe this year that would be such that, really, you could class it as a blight on our record, a serious one.

Mr. JOHNSON. What would be the effect among the other nations of the world, especially our allies, if the United States, a member of this United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization should fail to go along with the other nations with whom we have made this compact? Do you think it might have any effect upon our influence with other countries, General?

General EISENHOWER. Well, sir, of course, I can speak only from my own experience, and certainly I hope I am not invading the functions of the State Department, but I know this, the United States is the only nation in the world that is trusted universally in Europe, and that the world is looking to us. Possibly it means our shouldering more of a burden than we normally would think was wise, but the hope of the world is the United States today, sir; certainly, that is true of Western Europe where I am familiar with conditions.

Mr. JOHNSON. It has been suggested, General, by some, that possibly the Army might be in a position to take over this relief rather than UNRRA. What would be your opinion with reference to that?

General EISENHOWER. I would object most seriously. First of all, the only place we could possibly do it would be in the American occupied zone of Germany where we have these displaced persons.

The Army is not a relief organization, except in those instances where chaotic emergency conditions make us the only people that can do it for the moment. It is a civil function to be carried out under the civil agencies.

The tables that I am making up to indicate the size of the forces needed in Germany, make no provision for us remaining as a permanent relief agency, and, above all things, I do not see how military organizations could move all over Europe and do this job. It would create all sorts of friction and difficulty, and I think misunderstanding. It is a civil job to be done by civil personnel and a civil organization, certainly.

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you, General. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

General EISENHOWER. I might add one thing so you can see how this task requires trained social workers. I have visited one camp where they proudly showed me five infants born the day before, and I am quite sure that the Army's experience is not quite up to taking care of babies.

Chairman BLOOM. You admit that, General?

General EISENHOWER. Yes, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. I have had my doubts before. Is that all, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is all, Mr. Chairman; thank you.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Chiperfield.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. General, I deeply appreciate your coming before this committee, especially under the circumstances. I do not have any questions. Thank you.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Kee.

Mr. KEE. General Eisenhower, your statement was so complete, and covered the subject so thoroughly and effectively that I have but one question I would like to ask. You have had under your command a force consisting of nationals of various countries, speaking different languages and possibly having different viewpoints. I would like to ask you if, on the basis of your experience with the combined forces under your command, it is practical and realistic for peoples of different nations to work together in a joint relief operation such as UNRRA?

General EISENHOWER. In my opinion it is not only practical and realistic, but it is absolutely necessary, sir. I do not believe that any one nation can shoulder these things unilaterally, no matter how opulent that nation might be, to further the thing in which I take it we all believe and hope and propose to achieve, peace through international cooperation.

Mr. KEE. Thank you; that is all, General.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. General, I believe that the Army as part of its mission, and possibly through necessity, has already done a great deal of relief work. Do you have in mind the amount of relief that the Army has already dispensed in Europe?

General EISENHOWER. I can tell you measured in functions, but I cannot tell you in tonnages, or in money.

Mr. VORYS. You know there were appropriations that ran over a billion dollars for that purpose.

General EISENHOWER. I do not know.

Mr. VORYS. I wondered whether you had those figures in mind, General.

General EISENHOWER. No, sir; I do not have the figures in mind, sir; but the first task of dealing with these displaced persons and the stateless persons was an appalling one, and there was, of course, with us even inefficiency and some wastefulness, because at the very moment when that hit us with its fullest impact we were trying to establish police controls, and starting redeployment to the Pacific on a scale that was almost terrifying in its speed, and we were undertaking to take over that job with a conquering Army in a completely destroyed country, particularly destroyed in its government and all its controls. There was no one to whom to look.

So, we did establish these centers in which to place these displaced persons. We then made arrangements with all of the other countries to return the displaced persons to their own countries and, while I have forgotten for the moment the exact figures, we have sent, I think, something like 3,000,000 from the United States zone to their former places of living. The rest of them are those that are stateless, and I class anyone as stateless who does not want to go back to his former area through certainty of persecution. Unless that man can be shown to be a real criminal, where he is arrested and turned over to the authorities, he is a stateless person. We have thousands of those men, and we have to feed them all. They have no possibility of getting their food from anyone except from our stocks of food, and such indigenous stocks of food as we have been able to sequester for them.

Our great relief job to date has been, on the whole, satisfactorily done, but there is more needed than the Army can give those people. Future education certainly is needed. They must go somewhere sometime. They should have education now and proper nutrition rather than just shot-gun types of nutrition of, say, so many calories a day. There are children, there are old people, and there are women. There is a very vast job to be done.

Right now the only place we have given the Germans any food is in Berlin, where we have established a level of 1,500 calories a day.

To help in maximizing coal production, because experience besides doctors' advice shows that you cannot keep a man working physically in a productive capacity unless you give him somewhere over 3,000 calories a day, in the Saar and the Ruhr in order to get 25,000,000 tons of coal we want to send to France, Belgium, Holland, and those devastated countries, we have to give them food. In Berlin we are just trying to keep them alive.

Now, there is where the amounts that we have spent as the Army have gone.

Mr. VORYS. You had quite a large program both in Italy and France also.

General EISENHOWER. I dropped those, because they are no longer a responsibility of mine. As we could clear a country and place that country on direct communication with our own Government, then it became a governmental direct contact, but yet until the Army passed out of the picture, why, yes, that is true, and in France, Belgium, Italy, Sicily, and Africa, originally we spent substantial amounts.

Mr. VORYS. General, without delaying the committee, or attempting to burden you, I wonder if some of your staff have the figures in amounts and tons?

General EISENHOWER. General Hilldring tells me some $900,000,000 was spent, and 7,000,000 tons of supplies were shipped to all parts of the world.

Mr. VORYS. Seven million tons of supplies, and $900,000,000?

General HILLDRING. Yes, sir; $900,000,000.

Mr. VORYS. Does that include the work now going on in Germany, and does that include the past?

General HILLDRING. That includes all money appropriated for that purpose, including our present appropriation, which has not been entirely spent.

General EISENHOWER. And it includes such stocks as we have been able to accumulate, such as wheat.

General HILLDRING. Yes, sir.

That $900,000,000 is not all free relief. A great amount of this was sold by General Eisenhower on purchase agreement with countries that were able to pay. For instance, the relief supplies that were introduced into France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Norway, countries that had the foreign exchange to pay for it, was not direct relief. We merely, as the Army, financed the procurement of these supplies and shipped them and turned them over to those Governments as agent, and the United States Treasury has been or will be reimbursed for a large part of those supplies.

Mr. VORYS. When you speak of the 3,000,000 displaced persons who have been repatriated, that was done by the Army; was it not?

General EISENHOWER. Yes, sir; all of it.

Mr. VORYS. I happened to see the Army doing some of this work in Europe.

General EISENHOWER. Yes; even in some instances to the extent of going completely across somebody else's zone who was not in a position to provide the trucks and the fuel to carry them all the way home.

Mr. VORYS. Of course, you are entirely too modest. Your relief job up to date is almost double that of UNRRA, and I feel that you have done it quite efficiently.

General EISENHOWER. But we should be out of it, sir. It is no place for the Army.

Mr. VORYS. I am very glad to have your opinion. I assume that the Army would undertake any duties that the Congress desired?

General EISENHOWER. Of course, I do not mean that. I just mean that I am one of those who believes that the Army has a very limited role in the United States, and it should be used for that, and if we get into other business, we are not being true to our purpose.

Chairman BLOOM. And you believe Congress has some kind of a role, I suppose?

General EISENHOWER. I believe, sir, that Congress bosses all of us.

Mr. VORYS. Thank you very much, General.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Richards.

Mr. RICHARDS. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. General, I certainly agree with your position that the distribution of relief is a civil function, and not a military function.

You have stated that the Army is getting out of the relief job as fast as it can, and, of course, you are also turning over the administration of Germany to civil authorities as fast as you can?

General EISENHOWER. My own recommendation on it, Mr. Mundt, was that we get out of it at the latest date by June 1, not because I do not think our people are doing a pretty good job in that very chaotic mess, but I just think it is not the right place for the Army. The Army ought to be kept there as a reserve force of the United States to see that the policies of the United States are carried out.

Mr. MUNDT. Furthermore, if we are going to teach those people democracy we have to put some of this responsibility in their hands.

General EISENHOWER. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. General, I have two questions to ask you. One of them grows out of something that I read in the morning newspaper. Senator Eastland, before the Senate Appropriations Committee yesterday, said something in line with what you have said, that the Army is getting out of this relief as fast as it can, and perhaps that Germany should be included in the field in which UNRRA should operate so that the Army will not have any function in relief there in the near future. What, if any, comment have you on that suggestion?

General EISENHOWER. My opinion would be rather a shotgun opinion, but I would say for the moment it would be a bad practice, because the Army is still used in controlling Germany, if you had another agency stepping in and feeding them. For example, one way to make a German work for you is to give him just enough food so that he can work, and if they have the things they want coming from one side and the orders on what they are to do coming from another side, you might have some trouble.

Just as a quick opinion, I would say when the time comes when you can turn the whole thing over to civilian control, that then the Army ought to step out of all of it, every bit of it, but I would hesitate to give a studied opinion on that now. For the moment I do not think it is possible.

Mr. MUNDT. Certainly everybody on this committee agrees with you, and at least half of the committee was over in Europe at one time or another in the last couple of years, and they saw what you have seen with your own eyes of the tremendous needs over there. I wonder if you, or any members of your staff, have any statistics showing the relief need in these countries in which UNRRA functions?

General EISENHOWER. We have produced quite a few, of course, on what has happened in western Europe, but UNRRA is no longer working in certain of those countries, such as France, Belgium, and Holland.

Chairman BLOOM. Except in the case of displaced persons.

General EISENHOWER. Yes.

I had a conference with Marshal Zhukov on this just recently, and he was telling me that one of the policies of the Potsdam Conference is that the economy of Germany will never be built up to exceed that of the surrounding countries, and he laid before me certain statistics on the economic plight of western Russia running on a line west of Moscow and Stalingrad, and he said when you consider what has happened in that territory it is going to be a very low economic standard indeed for Germany, and in connection with that I believe that the Potsdam Conference said the surrounding countries, exclud-

ing Russia and the United Kingdom. So, what we have to do is try to build up an economy in Germany that is no higher than that of Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, and Italy, and I suppose of all those countries, Denmark's status is best of all. We have had to give them very little help there.

Mr. MUNDT. Thank you, General, and if you are unfortunate enough not to have South Dakota pheasant for dinner, I hope you enjoy your turkey.

General EISENHOWER. Thank you.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jarman.

Mr. JARMAN. General, as you concluded your excellent statement it occurred to me that the chairman's admonition to us not to ask many questions was entirely unnecessary, because of my belief that no questions any of us could possibly ask could add anything or detract anything from that excellent statement. Not having changed that opinion, I have no questions to ask, but I do wish to indulge the sincere hope that not only your health, but particularly that of your charming wife may immediately improve until you will both be entirely well within a few days.

General EISENHOWER. I thank you very much, indeed, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. Senator Wadsworth.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have no questions.

General EISENHOWER. Thank you.

Chairman BLOOM. The general said thank you, did you hear him?

Mr. Burgin.

Mr. BURGIN. General, I have just one question. In your opinion will the relief that is now proposed tide over this winter the countries that have been overrun?

General EISENHOWER. There, Mr. Congressman, all I can do is take the estimates that have been prepared by the people who have been studying this all over Europe very seriously. My own experience and knowledge is limited to my own area, and so I should just have to take their recommendations. I am quite sure that it is certain that it would still be on a minimum basis. There is no thought and no effort anywhere I have seen to give anybody a living that is above mere subsistence levels. It is really pretty grim.

Mr. BURGIN. Thank you; that is all.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Gordon.

Mr. GORDON. General, I am very grateful for your taking the time out to give us that wonderful review that you gave us today, and I appreciate that very much. I have no questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Although I would surely prize a thank you also from you, General Eisenhower, I should like to ask one question. When our subcommittee met you in Germany, I believe you said that you thought that UNRRA had been to a large extent criticized for conditions over which it had no control, and that while the war was on, all UNRRA could hope to receive was the bottom of the barrel, the scrapings in shipping and the materials and, perhaps, even in personnel.

General EISENHOWER. That is right, Mrs. Douglas. I should say this, if anyone had given me the job of organizing UNRRA under the

conditions that existed all during that campaign, I think I would have thrown up my hands in helplessness, because at that time we demanded everything and we got everything. We had to get that job done, and it was a discouraging thing. That they made any progress at all I consider remarkable, and I guarantee that they are improving steadily.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Thank you.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Trimble.

Mr. TRIMBLE. General, I am for the program, I am convinced, and will vote for it. I appreciate your coming.

General EISENHOWER. Thank you very much.

Chairman BLOOM. Are there any further questions that anyone would like to ask of the general?

The Chair wishes to state before the general leaves that Monsignor Boland of the National Catholic Welfare Council will be the next witness, so please remain seated until the general and his staff get out.

General, I want to thank you on behalf of the committee for appearing here today. It is a holiday and I know what it meant, not only to you, but to the committee and to these good people who are here on this, the only day that you could have appeared. We feel very grateful to you, especially for the statement you have made, and we know that you have done a great service not only for your country, but for the people of the world.

Gemeral EISENHOWER. As a matter of fact, now it is entirely possible that I could not have come later because I am afraid the doctor will forbid my going to Europe.

Mr. JOHNSON (presiding). We are privileged to have as our next witness, Monsignor Boland, of the National Catholic Welfare Council.

STATEMENT OF MONSIGNOR JOHN BOLAND, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE COUNCIL

Monsignor BOLAND. Mrs. Douglas and gentlemen, after hearing General Eisenhower, I am compelled to pay him the tribute of my highest respect. He has demonstrated this morning that he is also a sound leader in world economics.

You might be interested, further, in my own background. For something like 5 years, I directed the affairs of the Buffalo regional office of the National Labor Board, believe it or not; I was also chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board for a period of 5½ years. My successor in that office is in this room, Mr. Herzog, who is now Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board.

My interests have been largely in the field of social work, the distribution of relief on an organized, scientific basis in the general field of human relations.

I am pastor of the church of St. Thomas Aquinas in Buffalo.

On this solemn Thanksgiving Day, when our larders are full and the hearts of most of us throb with the joys of peace, while our prayers are for the absent ones and for those who mourn them, today it should be easier to share with the folks who have had no harvests.

The people whom I saw all last fall and winter and spring, Italians, Greeks, and Hollanders, had nothing or almost nothing until we came. I am using that word "we" in a general sense; in the sense in which it is used in the picture on the rear wall. We the People—

our servicemen and our officers, speeding north from Africa and the Sicilian beaches, as they routed the enemy and then shared their food and even their clothing with those whom the war had humiliated and made abjectly poor. I have seen in the rural areas of Italy, I have seen in the agricultural centers of Greece, I have seen also in the villages of southern Holland evidences, unmistakable evidences, of the fact that some American soldier, occasionally a British soldier, had left without his socks, or sweater, or shoes, these being worn by men and sometimes women of those lands. Our British and Polish allies followed the same sequence of events.

The story has been told before and it bears retelling. Those hardy, unselfish, battle-weary boys are our best remembered bearers of cheerful informality as an aid to the first country in Europe liberated by our arms, liberated by the Allies. As they marched on and away, the Allied Control Commission and the Red Cross took over the task of welfare, following a comparatively brief emergency period of controls, and then UNRRA came in for that entire pool in Italy, in the field of maternal and infant care. These things I saw in rural and city areas, in mountain-top villages, and in communes on the plain.

Invariably the net effect on the popular mind was admiration, sometimes startling admiration, most of which was showered upon America. Many in Europe had perhaps an exaggerated idea of our resources and power and success as they saw our war equipment, complete right down to chocolate bars and cigarettes, convoyed through their streets day and night without end, through the final year of the struggle.

Italians are impressed by our might and they are impressed, perhaps more, by our charity. They have an irrepressible fondness for Americans; an unbounded trust in our willingness to lift them out of their economic paralysis.

I am told that the proposed 1946 UNRRA program includes a portion for Italy that will require the spending of $450,000,000. I am ready to say, from what I observed in that country, that such a program is justified from the standpoint of international policy—sound international policy. The President has given the reason. He said:

> If we let Europe go cold and hungry, we may lose some of the foundation of order on which the hoped for world-wide peace must rest.

I am also ready to say that the Italians themselves have earned the assistance which the United Nations can give. They have earned it by their impressive contribution to the final victory. General Alexander and General Clark have stated, speaking of the Italian resistance movement, that it was most effective in wearing down the Nazis. Do you know that more than 250,000 Italians died for the cause? Taken even from the side of any matériel and services, Italy contributed more to the cause than the Allies have to date made available to Italy in the form of supplies for the civilian population. We have not yet equaled their contribution.

I need not mention that the Italians have a real genius for work and self-help. UNRRA's aid should start the flow of raw materials to rebuild the factories and the quick distribution of the resulting products into the hands that are clamoring for it.

One of the mysteries of the postwar period in Italy is how the ordinary worker or low-salaried employee there keeps himself and his family alive on wages that cannot keep pace with the rise in prices. They have been calm despite existing causes for unrest.

In October and November, the daily wage paid by the Allied Control Commission, which later became the Allied Commission—the daily wage paid to Italian help, clerical and maintenance, was 80 lira, or 80 cents. The market basket costs of food, available food—vegetables and bread—the market basket costs of food in Italy during October and November of last year were 20 percent higher than in America.

Typhus and malaria have laid many low. You read the Italian signs on the road, like the ones I saw from Anzio to Rome, and other signs in English "Beware; this is a malaria infested spot." Then there is a hunger edema with its increased percentage of infant deaths, its increased percentage of deaths from tuberculosis. In fact, the death rate in Rome is now 60 percent above normal. Health conditions keep declining. The average worker's family in cities is getting about half enough income to cover the cost of minimum health diets.

I can explain that further. The Italian, on an average, is receiving no more than 1,300 calories each day from all sources—rations; ration-free foodstuffs, and the black market; 1,300 calories. This is 700 calories short of the minimum for bare subsistence. It is only half of the 2,600 calories needed for the preservation of health.

Now, contrast this with the average consumption each day of 3,600 calories in our own country, and how many calories we will consume a day nobody knows. Italy needs greater food imports than those presently supplied under the formula of the Army, and the controlling phase of that formula is "disease and unrest."

The population is still seriously short of clothes and shoes. Despite the efforts of my own organization, the War Relief Services, and other private agencies, there is a shortage of housing, especially in central and southern Italy, where the war destroyed or damaged one-quarter of all living accommodations. General Eisenhower was so clear on this point. Cosenza, Terracina, Lomacchio(?), the shore of north Pisa and Rimini, beautiful Rimini, do not exist any more, although the Pisa cathedral, the Baptistry, and the Leaning Tower fortunately were not touched. That town was free from shelling on the German and American side. Cosenza today is something like ancient Pompeii, if you saw Pompeii, but you would have to lift it from its present flat, even level and incline it on a hillside. Buildings without roofs, without windows, graying in the rains of almost every day; the streets mined and avoided by the former inhabitants.

In Naples, 2 miles of tenament houses along the commercial waterfront are wrecked beyond repair.

Hospital space and medicines are lacking, although UNRRA has made important gains, very important, worth-while gains in this field.

Added to the urban destruction on a wide scale is the forced abandonment of much of the soil rendered untouchable, as the General said, by German land mines. Frequently, if you are eating in the tavern along the Via Casalina and a great explosion is heard, the young lady in back of the food counter will probably shrug her shoulders in answer to your jesturing question and say "Possibly another little

boy in the orange grove up the hill ventured too far into his father's orange grove for ripe oranges, stepped on a mine" and the rest you understand.

Generally, this portion of UNRRA's program is intended, that having to do with Italy, to stabilize a country which has always played an important role in the development of the western civilization, if you leave out the black years of fascism. It should assist in laying the foundation for real democracy. It should enable Italy to play an adequate part in reconstructing the rest of Europe. There are in Italy now brighter hopes of a general revival of freedom and progress than anywhere else in Europe. The type of cooperation which UNRRA and the United Nations can create may well have its salutary effects not only in the rest of Europe, but throughout the Latin world.

Let me read a sentence or two from a statement made by Pope Pius XII on this subject:

> It is a beautiful thing—

he said—and he said it to a group of UNRRA workers—

> It is a beautiful thing to contemplate nations which differ from each other in many respects uniting in a work of brotherly love, pooling resources so as to bring relief to the victims of heartless war.

What matters it, I ask you—what matters it if some of those nations do not see eye to eye with us in the matter of a free press, in our very just insistence on a free press? A greater obligation than that, namely that of charity, impels us to feed and clothe and house all who need these corporal gifts of ours—even those who, in our view, are victims of political violence, we have to feed and clothe and house them while they are victims, lest they die through our fault, indirectly.

We attached no rider to our lend-lease shipments of war weapons to such nations. I am thinking now, in closing, of the parable of the good Samaritan, that Christ Jesus made your good-Samaritan living a symbol of unquestioning neighborliness. The good Samaritan is part of our Christian code of charity. He cared for the man who was waylaid by robbers, the wayfarer from Jerusalem to Jericho—remember? He shared right up to the moment when the unfortunate victim of the robbers was able to return to health. Sometimes I think that UNRRA, any organization of this type of unrelated group, is the modern corporate good Samaritan. Now, if UNRRA fails to aid the men who fell among the robbers, if UNRRA fails for lack of funds, you may say that for the first time in history the good Samaritan himself had been waylaid.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. JOHNSON. I just want to thank the Monsignor for this eloquent and heart-burning statement he has made. I appreciate especially the fact he dealt with the conditions in Italy; because that is one of the countries included in the enlarged program, and your knowledge and description of the conditions there conform to some of the observations which I made as a member of a subcommittee visiting there this summer.

Your statement is very helpful and I appreciate it. I have no questions.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I want to make a confession and to pay a tribute. When I first heard the meeting for Thanksgiving

morning announced, an unprecedented action by a House committee, I thought it was a very foolish thing to do. But the more I think of it, the more I feel the members of this committee who have, for the time being, the primary responsibility in this matter, cannot spend a Thanksgiving morning any more worth while than by considering the needs of the world and how best to relieve them, and I pay that tribute to our chairman for arranging the meeting today.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you.

Mr. VORYS. Monsignor Boland, your statement was very interesting and most moving. I wondered if you would tall us a word about your War Relief Services and the other private organizations and whether they can now function freely. What is the situation?

Monsignor BOLAND. War Relief Services, Inc., and American Relief for Italy, the two private agencies working in Italy with which I am best acquainted, because we pooled our activities, our relief and our operations, have been working freely, unhampered, since September of 1944.

Our only obstacle in the war of an earlier termination of the job assigned to us was a lack of shipping; but we have succeeded in sending into Italy some 15,000,000 pounds of clothing, the most of it used and reconditioned clothing; thousands of pairs of shoes which victims by the millions got. We have gone all through the peninsula of Italy with our aid, giving what we had to only war-damaged persons; not just to the poor, which is the aim of UNRRA. Our lists were made up by a tri-partite committee in each commune or village, and there are 7,000 in Italy. The tri-partite committee was composed of the parish priest, the mayor, and the local doctor. They prepared the lists. Off of those lists we got the names of the individuals who were eligible for the kind of relief which we had. I confess we never had enough to give.

Mr. VORYS. Does the agency operate only in Italy?

Monsignor BOLAND. Oh, no.

Mr. VORYS. Or in other countries, too?

Monsignor BOLAND. The War Relief Service operates in the use of a license from the National War Fund in 22 countries, including the Philippines and, soon, China.

Mr. VORYS. Is that predominantly a Catholic organization?

Monsignor BOLAND. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. My questions are because I feel there is a place for volunteer relief from groups in this country who have particular interests, because of their faith or nationality, in other countries; that is, volunteer relief and real charity on our part. I am hopeful that that work will go on and that this compulsory charity which Congress carries on by requiring about a $10 contribution from every man, woman, and child, enforced contribution for UNRRA when we make a 1 percent levy—I am hopeful that will not displace or replace the activities of voluntary private charities. That is why I am so interested in the activities of your war-relief agency and your private voluntary agencies.

Monsignor BOLAND. Congressman Vorys, all of the private agencies in the field, and there are many, collaborate very closely with the existing nonprivate agencies—the Red Cross, or UNRRA. We cooperate so closely that we are practically one family and an agency like UNRRA very often will use the services of an agency like my own.

Mr. VORYS. I am delighted to hear that. Thank you very much.

Mr. KEE. Monsignor, your statement was so full and splendid, I do not believe any questions upon my part would serve any good purpose. I certainly appreciate your presence here and the information you have given us. I have no questions.

Mr. RICHARDS. Monsignor, you feel it would be disastrous if UNRRA was discontinued at this time, do you not? I judge you do.

Monsignor BOLAND. I think it would be as catastrophic as another war. It might be the beginning of the unrest that could cause civil war and our later participation in that civil war in Europe.

Mr. RICHARDS. Do you feel that existing volunteer organizations could handle the situation?

Monsignor BOLAND. No; the highest amount which volunteer agencies acting together under the egis of the National War Fund—the highest amount they collected was $126,000,000. Last October the amount was $115,000,000 to $120,000,000—hardly more than 50 cents per person of those who are eligible for relief in Europe alone.

Mr. RICHARDS. It was suggested here yesterday by a witness that it would be better for the United States to finance and carry out its own relief organization, rather than to continue to contribute to UNRRA. What do you think about that?

Monsignor BOLAND. That would be a great blow to the kind of world cooperation and belief we have fostered extensively for the past 5 years—extensively. I mean we fought a war practically for that purpose.

Mr. RICHARDS. Besides, the rest of the world should be impressed with their responsibility in the premises, also, should they not?

Monsignor BOLAND. Yes; paying the freight is an obvious privilege.

Mr. RICHARDS. What has been your observation as to the efficiency with which UNRRA has operated? There has been a good deal of criticism along that line.

Monsignor BOLAND. I have read about the criticism; I have heard about the criticism. I can only talk from what I have seen, and I have seen UNRRA in operation in Greece, which would be in Athens and Peiraeus and in Italy, which would mean all of the cities of Italy from Pisa south. UNRRA has done a bang-up, splendid, grand job. I have never heard anything but praise over there.

Mr. RICHARDS. Particularly taking into consideration the obstacles they had to hurdle; is that correct?

Monsignor BOLAND. Well, the Europeans who talk about UNRRA so favorably are grateful for this united aid. They are the recipients and you would expect them to be grateful, but they are also happy over the fact, as I stated in my talk, that the nations of the world can work together—this, I think, being the very first attempt to work together to put over a charity project, a relief project. The Europeans speak favorably of UNRRA because they know its purpose, and in Greece and in Italy they have seen it in practical operation.

I confess it was only in America, when I arrived back in America a few months ago, that I have heard anything like criticism of UNRRA.

Mr. RICHARDS. You do feel definitely that it would be very unfortunate to insert into this legislation a provision that none of these funds could be expended for relief in any country that did not observe the principle of freedom of the press? You mentioned that just now.

Monsignor BOLAND. I, too, insist on a free press; but not at the cost of the death of another few million Europeans. Let us work out our demand for a free press on another basis—in another field.

Mr. VORYS. You know, Monsignor, that there has been no serious proposal made to require a free press in another country; the only proposal made was to insure a free press in this country through preventing a gagging of our own press?

Mr. RICHARDS. And it naturally follows, of course, that our free press must operate freely in any country where our share of UNRRA is used.

Monsignor BOLAND. Well, I am the editor of a little newspaper myself, and I like to be free. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to mention the name of it?

Monsignor BOLAND. The Catholic Labor Observer.

Mr. RICHARDS. There are a good many other restrictions some people would like to include as to the beliefs of people in those countries where relief is going, but you are not going to make that a basis or whether or not you are going to relieve general suffering, are you?

Monsignor BOLAND. That comes first; relief comes first.

Mr. JARMAN. Monsignor, as I was walking to the elevator from my apartment today I said to the maid on my floor, "Happy Thanksgiving." She asked me what I said. She seemed surprised. I repeated it and indicated to her why I said it by stating "We all have so much to be thankful for today." In view of that sentiment—it is not at all surprising that your testimony impressed me just as it did my friend Vorys across the table. I thought, while I did not go quite as far as John [Mr. Vorys] did, by considering the chairman foolish in calling this meeting, that it was very unusual. I thought so at the time and I thought so this morning; but, while you were testifying, it occurred to me, just as it did to him [Mr. Vorys], that, unusual though it was, we have so much to be thankful for, not only the members of this committee, but the people of America, that we could hardly occupy ourselves more appropriately on this day than as we have been doing. So I want to join John [Mr. Vorys] in congratulating the chairman on having this meeting at this time.

Mr. JOHNSON. Also, would you not agree that this statement of the witness is one of the best Thanksgiving sermons we have heard?

Mr. JARMAN. Indeed, I do, and I am sure the most of us thoroughly agree with that sentiment.

Mr. VORYS. As we Methodists say, amen to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Monsignor, I think this is a good time for the chairman to go.

Mr. JARMAN. I was particularly impressed with your very accurate description of Cassino, Pisa, and Naples, and several other towns I vividly recall, the names of which I cannot remember at the moment. The gentleman from Texas, Mr. Johnson, and the gentlewoman from Illinois, Mrs. Douglas, and several others of us were over there from this country—I mean we were one group; many other groups were over there—and we visited those places.

You are very familiar, I believe, with Naples and Rome, I think you said?

Monsignor BOLAND. Yes.

Mr. JARMAN. I am curious to know whether, in your opinion, there is any difference between the tragic conditions of those two cities. Is one worse than the other, in your opinion?

Monsignor BOLAND. Naples is far worse physically than Rome. The only portion of Rome that was destroyed is that portion near San Lorenzo and the marshalling or switching yards nearby; whereas, at Naples, along its entire waterfront, on the commercial side and the recreational side where the hotels of Naples are, all of that section has been bombed into rubble.

Mr. JARMAN. Terribly.

Monsignor BOLAND. Nobody lives in the apartments or tenement houses that once strung along from the Corso Vittorio up to the railroad station at Casa Beldera.

Mr. JARMAN. That is quite true, and that probably answers the question I really had in mind. What I really had in mind to ask was, in your opinion, whether the morale, the condition of the people of Naples, was worse than that of the people of Rome. Is the need any worse? Of course, the need is great enough everywhere.

Monsignor BOLAND. The moral defeat of the entire Italian people is far greater, harder to contemplate, than the physical defeat—than the physical destruction.

However, there has been a substantial improvement in the psychology and outlook of the Italian people since liberation by the Allied forces, and I am convinced with their quick, mercurial mind, their depression will not last long, particularly if America does continue to assist; if the American taxpayers imitate the American GI, who gave everything; who could not possibly resist the staring of little children right into his eyes and into his mouth as he munched a sandwich while his convoy waited along the highway at lunchtime.

This is repetitious, but moral defeat in Italy was pronounced a year ago and even 8 months ago. But there is very real hope today, these days, that with aid from the outside world, from us particularly, Italy will return to its traditional hardworking status and be self-supporting.

Mr. JARMAN. We certainly share your hope that that hope will be realized. I am afraid the morale in France is about as low as it is in Italy, too. You were not in France?

Monsignor BOLAND. Yes; I have an office in Paris; I did not spend much time there. Unemployment and overindulgence in politics have hurt in France.

Mr. JARMAN. Monsignor, John spoke of Methodism. I am a Methodist. Not only that, but I have very few Catholics who are constituents. But one of the high spots in my life will always be the occasion when it was my unusual privilege to be received by the Pope, on July 2 and again on September 13, having between those dates returned to the States and then gone back. As everyone does who meets him I was most favorably impressed with him and I just want to say that as a Methodist who has very few Catholic constituents.

Chairman BLOOM. In other words, what you want to say is that you got religion.

Senator Wadsworth, you left the room for a few minutes and while you were away Mr. Vorys and Mr. Jarman complimented the Chair upon calling this meeting today. I thought you ought to be acquainted with that fact; so you have the floor.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I shall not take advantage of the opportunity. I have no questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Burgin——

Mr. BURGIN. Just one question. I understood you to say that there is no conflict between your organization and UNRRA. What effect has UNRRA had on contributions to your organization. Have they decreased or increased? In other words, are they relying on UNRRA and decreasing their contributions to your organization?

Monsignor BOLAND. We have not even given the subject which you bring up any thought. We have not even dreamed that our contributions would be less because tax demands for UNRRA might be greater; it never entered our minds. I could express the opinion that there has been absolutely no effect whatsoever. War Relief Services goes into something like 30,000 parishes of the United States and asks for used clothing and for shoes. Within a few weeks we are going to ask for 20,000,000 pounds of canned food. We do this not on a basis of rivalry, of course; nor does it enter our minds at all that we may be unsuccessful because UNRRA is in the field.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Gordon——

Mr. GORDON. I have one question. Does your organization go into the picture in such countries as Czechoslovakia, Poland, and those eastern countries in any way?

Monsignor BOLAND. You would take the countries into which it is difficult for my organization to find its way; but we are ready to go in. We have offices in London; we have a relief set-up in the Netherlands; in Belgium. In France we use the services of the Sisters of Charity. They are our distributors and they, over a period of 300 years, have had charge of something like 800 separate institutions or foundations. We are in Egypt and Palestine; Iran and Iraq also; Mombasa in east Africa; the State of Leon in Mexico; the Philippines; wherever we can ship goods, the things we collect and the things we purchase with the moneys we secure from the National War Fund, we are ready to go and we go.

Mr. GORDON. Thank you very much.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I have no questions; but thank you for the impressive first-hand and moving picture of Europe's needs and UNRRA's functioning.

Mr. TRIMBLE. I appreciate your statement very much, but I have no questions.

Chairman BLOOM. If there are no further questions?

Thank you very much, Monsignor. The committee appreciates very much your appearance here today. I know that the testimony you have given will be given serious consideration by the entire committee at the proper time.

The committee will adjourn and meet again tomorrow at 10:15.

(Whereupon at 12 noon, the committee adjourned to meet on Friday, November 23, 1945, at 10:15 a. m.)

FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN WORK OF UNRRA

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1495

House of Representatives,
Committee of Foreign Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:15 a. m., Hon. Sol Bloom (chairman) presiding.

The Chairman. The committee will please come to order for further consideration of H. R. 4649.

We have with us this morning several witnesses, and are very pleased to note we have a great many women here this morning who are going to testify—I hope in our favor.

Our first witness is Dr. Helen Dwight Reid, for the woman's group.

First give to the reporter your full name and the organization you represent, and your position with the organization.

STATEMENT OF DR. HELEN DWIGHT REID, DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM, AMERICAN SOCIETY OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

Dr. Reid. I am Dr. Helen Dwight Reid, of the American Society of University Women, and director of their international-relations program. I am here not as their official representative but as the organizer of the group of other women's organizations who are here to make their own individual testimony, and I shall be glad to act as spokesman for the group as a whole, so far as questioning is concerned, if the committee wishes to do that, in order to speed up the procedure so as to avoid too much delay; because we feel time is of the essence in this matter.

The association I represent, the Association of University Women, has a long history of study and deep concern in the field of international relations, leading them to a very firm conviction of the importance of international cooperation in the solving of the problems of the world in every field of human activity. We had an item on our legislative program, adopted at the last convention at which travel permitted people actually to meet, which was a few months before Pearl Harbor, at which the association adopted this general plan: Continued support of a long-range foreign policy for the United States based on international cooperation and directed toward, among other things, the development of closer international collaboration to be begun under—remember this was early in 1941—to be begun under the many peoples resisting the Axis Powers and expanded as rapidly as possible into a suitable international institution.

Under that program we, among the leading organizations, were among the pioneers in supporting the development of UNRRA and in

backing them and urging that they be given not only paper establishment but full and effective endorsement and maintenance, because we believe the whole program of international cooperation means much more than merely creating documents and charters; it amounts to making those organizations living realities, and giving them both the financial support and leadership which will make our participation as a nation a real thing in world affairs. Therefore, we have followed with great interest and with all the influence we could exert the work of study groups, and have actually interested women in communities throughout the length and breadth of the land. We have 929 branches in this country, in little cities and villages all over the land, and the university women in those communities are in many instances potential and actual leaders in civic interest in many ways.

In this last year, in view of the transportation difficulties, we were again unable to hold our regular biennial convention, as a meeting of persons, but we held a convention as a meeting of minds. We went through a very elaborate procedure—and our legislative procedures are very carefully democratic in this organization—and at that meeting-of-minds convention we adopted one resolution which clearly covers and was intended to cover exactly this situation:

Our basic legislative program in the international field is: Constructive American foreign policy and full United States participation in world organizations with the following objectives, the first of which is the maintenance of an office, and so on, and the fourth of which is "specific social and humanitarian rehabilitation and advance." And, in connection with that same convention, a resolution was unanimously adopted by the representatives of branches throughout the country to foster a world society in which individuals and nations may live in security, dignity, and peace, with the main emphasis on international cooperation as the practical test of the domestic and foreign policy and the most effective means to work out a continuing basis to aid and maintain an international organization.

That is our basic approach to this problem. We feel there are two phases in this particular question which interest us deeply. We are concerned, of course, first and foremost, with the fact that starvation exists throughout the world and with the fact, from a purely humanitarian point of view and, if you like, from a selfish, long-range point of view, of the repercussions for world peace and our own interests, that we cannot permit starvation to go on in the world if there is anything we can do to stop it. And there is something we can do to stop it.

I heard on Monday night a very powerful testimony from a newspaperman who had just traveled thousands of miles throughout central Europe and the Balkans with first-hand impressions of the conditions in those areas. He said that the problem is not one of people going around with little labels saying, "I am starving," but that they are dying by the thousands because of malnutrition and inability to resist the slightest cold; even a cut on the finger will kill them because they have not the resistance to meet it.

That is the thing the world faces from a humanitarian point of view and from the point of view of the long-range policy.

The Association of University Women believes very strongly that the way toward effective action in meeting any such problem is the international way, through joint cooperative efforts, and that the

stronger we can make our habit of cooperation, as we have in the Western Hemisphere in meeting common problems, the stronger we can make our habit of cooperation on a world-wide scale, the better it will be for our whole long-range policy of solution of international problems.

We would like, I think to underline the statement General Eisenhower made to this very committee yesterday, a very powerful statement, in which he emphasized that the best way of developing the habit of cooperation is by building and supporting an effective international organization such as UNRRA. And I think, on the whole principle of the international approach, that is the point we would like to emphasize more than any other.

I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Dr. Reid. I just want to compliment you on your statement. Did you say you had other women in your organization here to help you?

Dr. REID. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to say you do not need any help, after making a statement of that kind.

Dr. REID. I have a representative of my organization and there are also here representatives of a number of other organizations who wish to make their statements.

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be very pleased to hear them, but I intended that as a compliment.

Dr. REID. Thank you.

Mr. JOHNSON. Your organization is a national organization with membership in practically all of the States?

Dr. REID. In every State of the Union; yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. And where do you maintain the headquarters of the organization?

Dr. REID. The national headquarters is here in Washington. The branches are scattered, as I said, throughout the country. We have over 80,000 members and the legislative programs to which I referred are adopted only after very careful study in the branches and a process of cross reference back and forth and final adoption in convention.

Mr. JOHNSON. Your organization is practically unanimous, is it, in support of continuing UNRRA and this bill which would authorize an additional amount?

Dr. REID. Definitely.

Mr. JOHNSON. You think that is necessary and should be done at once?

Dr. REID. We think it is essential and we think that every day's delay is criminal, almost.

Mr. JOHNSON. And may cost lives and many of them?

Dr. REID. And may cost lives.

Mr. JOHNSON. You mentioned the international aspect of cooperation of our country with other countries. What effect, if any, do you think it would have upon the continuance of international relief if the United States, after having first initiated the organization of UNRRA, should fail to continue in the organization? In other words, if we should defeat this legislation and not follow the recommendations made at London, do you think it might have any effect upon our relations not only with reference to UNRRA, but other international relations on other subjects?

Dr. REID. I think, sir, the very form in which you stated the question indicated the answer. It would be not only disastrous from the point of view of the problem itself, but the effect on the standing of the United States, on our integrity, on our usefulness in world affairs, would be something we could never live down. I think it would be just unthinkable for us to do such a thing.

Mr. VORYS. Dr. Reid did you know that no one on behalf of the United States has made any commitment to UNRRA beyond the one percent which is already in the process of being furnished? You knew that; did you not?

Dr. REID. I think I could not completely agree, Congressman, because, while it is true there is no binding commitment in the sense of a legal obligation, if you like, yet it was the spokesman of the United States, the official delegate of the United States at the UNRRA Council, who proposed the additional 1 percent. And if that does not constitute a moral commitment, I do not know of any international action that would. We certainly did pledge in the name of the United States this additional authorization, and after all, even if you accepted the position it was not a commitment, I still would not feel that we should fail to make this contribution in view of the desperate needs. But I really challenge you on the basis of the question of a commitment.

Mr. VORYS. The reason I ask is this: I think we all feel as you and your organization do that we must cooperate in international affairs and must assume the leadership which our position forces upon us. The problem is whether any statement or suggestions made by a United States official immediately becomes a commitment which we can no longer review, or not. If, in order to cooperate, we must carry through every suggestion made by a United States official as if it were a moral commitment, we have then lost all control over our affairs.

Dr. REID. Exactly.

Mr. VORYS. On the other hand, if an official makes a suggestion and we do not carry it out, that official's face becomes very red and the next time he makes a suggestion, or some other official makes a suggestion, the question may be asked, "Have you authority to do this?" Now, that is a dilemma that a free country faces and one which we must solve as we go forward in international cooperation.

Dr. REID. Yes. I think——

Mr. VORYS. In this instance, the UNRRA organization understood very clearly that the basic authorization of our representative to participate at all contained a reservation that there was to be no commitment made of United States funds; so that it was a little different from the ordinary case where an Ambassador or the Secretary of State makes some commitment which is political, in the sense that it is not strictly a legal commitment, but is a commitment of those in power in the Government.

I wondered whether your organization had given thought to that real problem which we face as we go forward, as I hope we will, in the field of international cooperation.

Dr. REID. It is a very real problem and it is one which will arise, as you suggest, from now on more and more frequently. There will be questions and the line will be a delicate one to draw between a commitment which really does involve the international policy of the

Government, and the mere suggestion of an individual which would not carry the weight of the United States.

But now I think on this particular issue where you have a motion made in a Council on behalf of one of the nations on the basis of which there is a vote taken at that Council meeting by the representatives of other nations and they, therefore, take an international action at that Council with the understanding that the principle adopted is one that applies to all of the nations concerned that they are each going to contribute 1 percent of their national income in order to carry through the work of UNRRA for the rest of this emergency—this is not an annual appropriation; this is to carry through an emergency of postwar reconstruction—that that kind of an obligation, it seems to me, is clearly differentiable from the mere suggestion by any official of the United States that such and such action would be a desirable thing to do in the international field. I think the line is clear there.

I would agree with you there are many instances that might arise, for example, in sessions of the assembly of United Nations, where a spokesman of the United States might express personal opinions, might express his desire that something or other be done internationally, which would not commit the United States.

Mr. VORYS. All that was done at London was that a motion was made that UNRRA ask each country to contribute 1 percent.

Dr. REID. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. So I think it is clear by the motion and all the rest of it that it is merely an asking budget like the Community Fund makes up its budget.

Dr. REID. Yes; I think that is a good analogy, probably. But I still think the obligation remains that we should carry it through; because, if you like, if we failed to do so, whether you might or might not be able to sustain our approach from a purely legalistic point of view, the effect on the psychology of the world, the effect on the attitude of the rest of the world toward the United States and its participation in the future in all sorts of international affairs, would, I think, be the same.

Mr. VORYS. So you feel, even though the Congreses would rview the request and feel that it was excessive, or wholly unneeded, that the Congress should approve the request and appropriate that money because of the commitment already made?

Dr. REID. No; I do not think I should say that. If I really felt Congress could review the situation and say the money was not needed, honestly say so, then I would say "All right; if they can defend that point of view before world opinion, they are free to do it." But I do not think they can.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have a good answer there. [Laughter.]

Mr. VORYS. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. I am glad you both agree.

Mr. KEE. I take it, Dr. Reid, from your replies to the questions of Mr. Vorys, it is your view that when we have an international organization composed, say, of 45 countries, instituted for the relief of human suffering all over the world, and to which organization we, as a nation, adhere, that because we contribute a larger sum toward that organization than all of the other nations put together, that would hardly give us the right to dictate to the entire organization its method of procedure or its policies.

Dr. REID. I would agree definitely with that. In the first place, while the sum, the actual amount, that we contribute is greater than that of other nations, the proportion is not. It is 1 percent of the national income in each case and, in many cases, that 1 percent of the national income is a rather heavier burden on them than it is on us. After all, the smaller that income, the heavier the burden a 1 percent contribution is. And some of those countries have made a far greater sacrifice in giving a smaller amount than we.

Mr. KEE. As an actual fact, each nation is contributing its equal share?

Dr. REID. Yes.

Mr. KEE. The suggestion has been made, not only before this committee, but on the floor of the House, that the International Red Cross, an organization with whose operations in the field of human need you are no doubt familiar, would be able more efficiently to carry on the work undertaken by UNRRA than would that organization, which has been set up internationally. What is your view on that suggestion—that this work of UNRRA should be turned over to the Red Cross?

Dr. REID. My view is, while the International Red Cross is a wonderful institution and has its own functions to perform and is performing them valiantly in all crises in world affairs, that this institution, UNRRA, was specifically created, to meet the postwar emergency. It has the mechanism established and operating now; it has gone through a long period of adjustment, readjustment, and rather stulifying restrictions which grew out of a situation which the war imposed for a period of time within the war zones, and things of that sort, and it is now able and ready to function. Therefore, from the testimony of a witness far better than myself yesterday, on the effectiveness of this operation now within the crucial areas, I would feel very strongly that the work should be maintained by an carried on by the organization specifically created for this purpose, trained for it, prepared for it, ready for it, with its pipe lines established, with its supplies already available if they can get the money to get them. It seems to me that to change now either to the Red Cross, or to follow the other suggestion that has been made, to some newly created American relief organization, is futile and would entail inevitably greater delays which, again, on this question of the cost in lives, would be a very serious catastrophe.

Mr. KEE. I thank you for also including in your answer the other suggestion. You do think, I take it, then, that an international organization among the nations of the world for humanitarian purposes, such as UNRRA is, can effectually and efficiently operate?

Dr. REID. I think it can; yes. I think it has already proven it can, where it has had a chance to operate, in the brief time it has been able to operate without wartime restrictions.

Mr. KEE. Thank you; that is all.

Mr. SMITH. Do you feel, Dr. Reid, that this country has failed in its attempt to cooperate in the international field thus far?

Dr. REID. Oh, no. I am very proud of the way in which we have cooperated thus far.

Mr. SMITH. That is all.

Mr. JARMAN. Doctor, let us for the moment indulge in several assumptions with which neither of us would agree. [Laughter.]

Let us forget for the moment that this is an international organization in which we have been participating, in which the United States has been participating; let us forget that it originated with us as a suggestion of ours; let us forget any obligation that may have been incurred at the London Council meeting by our representative at the Council, and let us forget for the moment the entirely human phase of the matter, and then do you think, from the selfish standpoint alone, that the United States could afford to fail to participate in the continuation of the UNRRA function?

Dr. REID. Under all of your assumptions which you said we would not, either of us, agree to, I would feel, as you suggest, it would be actually quite serious for the United States not to participate, if for nothing more than from the point of view of the health of our own people; because, after all, germs do not know any frontiers. And the problem in Europe today is, as I suggested earlier, the fact that it is not just a matter of adequate food, but inadequate food is leading to a terriffic incidence of tuberculosis, for example, typhoid, and all sorts of things. The epidemic situation, the aspects of the tremendous spread of plague through Europe and the Far East, as a result of malnutrition, is one of the immediate and big dangers to the United States. We cannot set up any barriers which would really protect us if we do not meet the fundamental need of the peoples of the world.

Mr. JARMAN. I agree with you on that. I am sure you agree, too, there is the other reason for future world functioning—for that reason and for the psychological reason?

Dr. REID. That is definitely true; there is the psychological point of view, also.

Mr. JARMAN. In other words, we could not afford to do it from a selfish point of view?

Dr. REID. From the selfish point of view. I thought I made that point in my original statement, that from the purely selfish point of view we cannot afford to do anything that would at this stage weaken the effective cooperation of these world-operating agencies. They are even more important at this stage than the more dramatic United Nations Organization itself, which does not by any means touch as directly the immediate needs of the people of the world, as does UNRRA.

Mr. JARMAN. Thank you very much. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Will you now remember all the points Mr. Jarman asked you to forget, and grant that we have no legal commitment to participate further with UNRRA? Nevertheless, do I understand that you feel that since we are leaders in trying to start the permanent organizations of the United Nations and Bretton Woods, which have not yet become effective, we do have a moral obligation to show that teamwork in the humanitarian field on this temporary project, can be effective?

Dr. REID. I would feel so very strongly.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Gordon.

Mr. GORDON. I have no questions.

However, I would like to find out one thing. Do you feel that UNRRA has improved very decisively in the handling of its whole set-up?

Dr. REID. Yes; I think there is no question about that. There have been grave problems of administration, and they will show up

in the setting up of any organization. There are the wartime restrictions on personnel and so on. That has made very difficult to get the ablest kind of people that they wanted for administration. However, the recent developments have been very favorable and in the present picture I think we can count on great improvement and a very active and well-operated organization.

Mr. GORDON. As General Eisenhower stated yesterday, there was new talent being brought into the set-up.

Chairman BLOOM. Dr. Reid, let us forget everything. I hope that you will not forget us. I know the committee will be pleased to hear you at any time that you want to come down and appear before the committee on any subject at all. I want to compliment you on the fine statement you have made and upon the answers that you have given. It has been a great pleasure to have you with us.

Our next witness will be Miss Dorothy Detzer, national secretary of the Women's International League.

STATEMENT OF MISS DOROTHY DETZER, NATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

Miss DETZER. My name is Miss Dorothy Detzer, and I am national secretary of the Women's International League, 1734 F Street, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit a resolution passed last month by our national board on this question of UNRRA.

Chairman BLOOM. Do you wish to have that resolution read?

Miss DETZER. I will just put it in the record.

(The resolution referred to is as follows:)

The Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, subject UNRRA appropriation.

Recognizing the desperate need in the world, the national board of the Women's International League, meeting in Richmond, Ind., October 12, 14, would urge the Congress to appropriate without further delay the $550,000,000 already approved and the $1,350,000,000 as the necessary allocation of moneys for America's share in the support of UNRRA.

Miss DETZER. The substance of it is that the Congress take affirmative action on this measure.

I must say that though my organization has taken this position, we do not in any way feel that this particular measure is adequate. Far from being concerned about so much money being spent by UNRRA, our concern is that this is such a small program compared to the tremendous need, and so our chief criticism would be that the $1,300,000,000 added to the $500,000,000 is totally inadequate to meet the terrible situation in Europe. The United States has spent millions and millions for war and this is just a pittance for constructive and creative purposes.

Someone said not long ago that no one could speak for more than 60 seconds without mentioning the atomic bomb. Having spoken for 60 seconds, I shall mention it.

Here was a government, or various governments, which pooled the skill and knowledge of the physical scientists for the purpose of, we might say, a more abundant death. We were quite ready to spend any amount of money for that. It seems to us that what is wanted and required now is a program as audacious creatively as the making of the atomic bomb was audacious destructively.

I would like to speak for just one moment out of my own personal experience. I did relief work following the last war for about 5 years with the Quakers in Europe. Those of us who were feeding small children, and feeding them very little, kept them alive just as the program now is going to keep people alive.

Those of us who did this relief work, after a year or two kept saying to each other, "If you starve bodies, if you keep them down to a low level, the thing that is really going to happen is that it is going to effect their sense of security, their minds, and their emotions." All of us felt that after a time. Then it was confirmed for me in 1937. I went back to Vienna, and though I had been in charge of Vienna of feeding about 186,000 babies in 1920 and 1921, one could not get to know all the families, but one came to know some of them. Some of the mothers of those youngsters came to me in 1937 and said, "We wish that you would talk to our sons. They have joined a secret Hitler youth movement and we would like to see what you can do to persuade them to get out of it."

I talked to these youngsters—lovely kids, really, but neurotic—and they turned on me fiercely, taking the position that a person such as I should know that the only memory they had in the world was a memory of starvation when they were children.

Now, I am convinced—but there is no way to prove it—that Hitler's armies were created or recruited really from these youngsters who, because of that terrible insecurity they experienced as children—and of course there is no insecurity like starvation—were ready for a Hitler army. That, I think, may also be quite possible in the future.

For last week I heard a man at a conference who was with the psychological warfare department and whose job has been to interview thousands and thousands of Germans. He came back and said that he could be dogmatic about one thing, and that was, with practically every German that he talked to, almost without exception, connected the concept of democracy and the republic with starvation. They linked it in their own minds.

If that is true of Germans now because of their experience in the last war, I am very concerned lest the peoples of Europe will in the future probably connect liberation and starvation, and be ready for a new Hitler.

Therefore, my organization feels that this amount we are asking of the American people is so little and so inadequate that what is really wanted after this is passed—and we hope it will be done very promptly—is a program which would envisage perhaps not an amount of money that is, I believe, less than we spent for 1 week of the war, but an amount of money that might equal what we spent for 6 months of destruction. Such a program could lift not only the sights of the people, but lift Europe and Asia to a new level where creative and constructive work could be done—not only from a humanitarian point of view, but from a very realistic point of view, because in the long run the thing, I take it, that we are most interested in is maintaining peace, not having wars coming on over and over again.

We are convinced that only by putting as much creative energy, as much brains, as much money—or at least an adequate proportion of the money—into the business of peace, that we are prepared to do for war will we get the kind of world in whch we can have a permanent peace.

Thank you very much.

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you for that statement.

Mr. KEE. Miss Detzer, I believe every member of this committee, regardless of the side of the table upon which he sits, regardless of political affiliations, recognizes perfectly the desperate need for relief in Europe and recognizes the necessity of carrying that relief to them, and favors the principles of this legislation.

I believe the only difference that will be found in this committee will be the difference in our views as to the method that should be employed, and the policy, and whether or not there should be any restrictions placed on the legislation.

I would like to ask you what is your view with reference to the restrictive clauses some people want written into the authorization of this appropriation?

Miss DETZER. Well, I hoped that there would not be any restrictive clauses, Mr. Congressman. I recognize the problem Mr. Vorys raised a little while ago, and I think it is a serious problem, as Dr. Reid said.

I was very much interested in reading the other day a book by Jane Addams, called Peace and Bread, which she wote in 1924, and in that book she pointed out that she felt the League of Nations was probably going to fail eventually because it had not tackled, as a primary responsibility, the fundamental problem of feeding.

I now come back to the war problem. We should have no more restrictions for constructive things than we did for the war. After all, I take it, when there was cooperation between the generals on strategy and that sort of thing they did not have to come back to the Congress all the time. Now, I know it is different; that that is not exactly an analogy, but, nevertheless, this is a terrible problem. Unless there is some freedom of action on the part of those who are running this great humanitarian effort, it would seem to me that we might be defeated in the very purpose of UNRRA. I would hope restrictions would at least be limited.

Mr. VORYS. Miss Detzer, I know of your magnificent work after the last war and realize that you speak as a real expert from your experience in the matter of the relief of human suffering.

I believe your service was with the Quakers, was it not?

Miss DETZER. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. Did you ever have any Government funds to use, or was it all private contributions?

Miss DETZER. All private contributions I believe. The A. R. A., the Hoover organization was also working in the field. They did get a congressional appropriation to be spent in this country for the purchase of relief supplies here, if I remember correctly.

Mr. VORYS. About how much did the Quakers get and about how many people did they take care of? Do you remember?

Miss DETZER. I am afraid that I cannot remember. That was quite a long time ago, you realize. In the city of Vienna, as I said, we fed about 186,000 babies. That did not touch all the rest of the things that were being done. Later in Russia it was about 500,000 in my particular area.

The work was divided at that time. I mean that the Red Cross did a certain amount, the YMCA did a certain amount, the Quakers did a certain amount, and what we did was to divide the work and the

A. R. A. did the greatest amount; that is, as I remember, the YMCA took over the older students and fed them, the Red Cross handled the medicine, and we did child feeding, fed the old people, and the Hoover organization took care of the children in schools, so it was a divided task at that time.

As far as the money is concerned, I do not remember. We had a very different set-up than this because we practically lived, those of us who were relief workers, with the Friends unit as near the level of the people as possible. It was part of the Quaker feeling that that would identify us more with them, and in that way we did not have such a heavy overhead and there could be more relief workers.

Mr. VORYS. Did you have any $10,000 people on your staff?

Miss DETZER. No; we did not, but it was not done by the Government. Mr. Vorys, I hope very much that private organizations will have a chance to go in to relief feeding because I think that the private organizations can function in certain ways that the Government organization cannot. On the other hand, it seems to me that even if you have $10,000-a-year people on the staff of UNRRA, the thing that is important in UNRRA is that you have a pooled effort throughout the world for constructive things the same as you had a pooled effort for war. As Dr. Reid said, you can get the habit.

Mr. KEE. You understand, do you not, Miss Detzer, that many private organizations are already engaged along with UNRRA?

Miss DETZER. But it is limited, I believe.

Mr. VORYS. That is what I was going to ask you—are not the private organizations going ahead this time with their own separate activities?

Miss DETZER. Well, Mr. Raymond Wilson, of the Quakers, is in the room. He will probably talk about that. I do not know how much money has been put in by private organizations. I know that it is limited, and it is bound to be limited because after the last war, feeding was done chiefly in Germany and Austria, and then when the famine came in Russia, and that involved about 19,000,000 people. Now we have all of Europe, particularly the Balkans, so it seems to me that the problem is so much greater, so much bigger. It has just been multiplied.

Mr. VORYS. As you know, and as General Eisenhower pointed out yesterday, the problem is that the productive economy of Europe has been destroyed outside the Axis countries by the Germans and within Germany itself by us, in our effort to defeat Germany. So the problem goes far beyond the amount that we are speaking about here.

The question now is how to do our share in meeting that total problem. For instance, we have had a good bit of discussion about industrial rehabilitation under UNRRA. So long as the funds of UNRRA are limited, money spent for industrial rehabilitation, which is a necessary thing in Europe, will mean that that much money cannot be spent for direct relief in keeping the people alive. Now, when UNRRA was proposed, we then thought by this time there would be international financial organizations in existence so that loans for industrial and economic rehabilitation would be available to take care of the lack of foreign exchange and to take care of the fact that the reason there was not any foreign exchange was that these countries were in a state of collapse. We faced an immediate period through

this winter where there is apparently not going to be that sort of set-up.

Would you have in mind that UNRRA should undertake the total job of economic rehabilitation of Europe, or should that be done by other organizations, other international organizations?

Miss DETZER. Well, it seems to me UNRRA is set up and functioning. As I say, one of the important things is a pooling of the efforts of the different countries. That, it seems to me, is of utmost importance. I do not know whether what you suggest would be best or not. I think that that would have to be studied and thought through very carefully. The thing that I am most concerned about is that this appropriation is so little compared with the need. Whether UNRRA would take over a bigger problem, or whether there should be a reorganization, I am not prepared to discuss. The whole point is, here you are as members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, and there is this delay of getting through this pittance, this amount that does not amount to anything in terms of what we have spent for destruction and in terms of what is needed.

Now, what I hope is that this will go through and then there will be a real program which is adequate. I should hope that somebody here will have the vision to write out the kind of a program that can be sold to the American people so that they will see what can be done and how in the long run any real moral action comes back effectively for the people who take moral action. I think that it would help us. I think that it would help our employment. I would think that it would not only help Europe but us as well in every way possible. That is what I would like to see done.

Now, to be arguing about this little thing and holding it up seems to us just criminal. This legislation certainly ought to go through and then a real program put before you.

Mr. VORYS. UNRRA has, so far as this committee and the House are concerned, funds to run it into the spring.

Miss DETZER. Yes; funds to run it on the basis they are going to have to run it on. If you had done relief work such as I have and know what those caloric values mean, I think that you would understand.

Here is Europe wrecked. Houses are gone. There is no furniture or farm implements. The land is destroyed; plows are gone; horses and everything of that kind. People are cold, starved, and they are supposed to rebuild. They just cannot do it under a regime of starvation. They cannot do it when they are kept on a caloric value such as they are going to get in these different countries.

Take, for example, the Greek, the Italian, the French subsistence levels. They will not rebuild Europe on that. What I am pleading for is not for relief just beyond starvation levels, but I am asking for something that can put Europe and Asia back on their feet, because the quicker they are back on their feet the quicker the United States and the whole world will go forward. I think it is so short-sighted of us to keep them at that particular level.

As Dr. Reid said, diseases do not know any borders. From our own experience, I know the terrific psychological effect, the deep insecurity, that comes, the subconscious fears, and that is going to come back on us.

Therefore, what it seems to us is needed now is something, as I said, which is audacious and with as much vision as we had for war. Why

cannot we do that? Why do we always bleed ourselves for war and then never do an adequate job when it comes to creative purposes?

Take, for example, the time between the last war and this one. The entire world spent 135 million in 25 years for international purposes. It is ridiculous. I think that is about what we spent for a minute during this war. Unless we are prepared to do something adequate, my opinion is that we shall probably be blown up by the atomic bomb. This effort takes something much bigger than has been envisioned. Our sights are too low.

Mr. VORYS. Have you had any opportunity during this war to observe relief work in Europe?

Miss DETZER. I have not been abroad this time. The Taft-Gillette bill, which called for the feeding of Europe on the Greek plan during the war, never was carried out. I think that was a very, very grave mistake. I think that we are paying for it now, because it was not carried out.

Mr. VORYS. We have spent about $900,000,000 in relief already.

Miss DETZER. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. Through the Army.

Miss DETZER. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. And about two-thirds of that amount through UNRRA. Then I assume there has been considerable done by private organizations.

Miss DETZER. Not very much.

Mr. VORYS. Do you think that there is any danger that the private organizations will feel that their activities have been replaced by UNRRA?

Miss DETZER. No, I do not. I think that they would do an entirely different kind of job, perhaps a more fundamental one than UNRRA would be prepared to do.

You have these youngsters who have not only been starved during the war but have been under bombing conditions, and you will have almost a psycopathic Europe unless something is done about changing that terrible sense of insecurity to a sense of security.

So I believe that private organizations are equipped to do that sort of thing, whereas a great over-all organization like UNRRA could not tackle those specific questions. However, I cannot speak for all of them, but I doubt very much whether any of the private organizations would feel that there would be any rivalry. There is so much work to be done, there would be plenty for all.

Mr. VORYS. As to the machinery that UNRRA has, you have not observed that machinery functioning. You have no intelligent judgment as to whether that is the proper mechanism?

Miss DETZER. I have read the criticisms. I have read a great deal about them. I have no doubt some of them are valid. However, not all of them are. But I do not believe that you can have a great over-all organization like UNRRA without mistakes being made in personnel and that sort of thing. That, however, is not of first importance.

I know that the Congress is the watchdog as far as the expenditure of money is concerned, but I think you are bound to have mistakes made. Heaven knows, there must have been terrible mistakes made by the Army because they got the wrong people in wrong spots, and things were not adequately planned. There must have been terrible

mistakes. You accepted them. You said that the job had to be done quickly.

I remember hearing over in the Senate General Somervell when he appeared, and he was questioned about this oil field in Canada. His reply was that we had to do it quickly; of course, we made mistakes, but that was accepted by the Senate. So I think the Congress should accept the fact that there will be mistakes but that is not of first importance. Things are bound to happen in any human organization.

Mr. VORYS. There is one other question. You mentioned that we should get, as soon as we can, a program that is going to take care of the whole job and that we should sell it to the people of the United States.

Miss DETZER. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. Well, we shall also have to sell that program to Europe.

Miss DETZER. I think that we could.

Mr. VORYS. You do not have in mind a program whereby Europe should from now on exist on American charity, do you?

Miss DETZER. I certainly do not.

Mr. VORYS. You want to have them learn to help themselves?

Miss DETZER. Absolutely; but they have to be helped to help themselves. I believe in the long run, as I have said, it would come back to us in tremendous gains.

I would like to come and talk to you, Mr. Vorys, about such a program. I believe that somebody ought to do it.

Chairman BLOOM. Why Mr. Vorys?

Miss DETZER. Because he has been questioning me more about it, Mr. Bloom. I would be more than thrilled if you would do it.

Mr. VORYS. Perhaps that program goes beyond this bill.

Miss DETZER. Oh, certainly. I am making this point only because it seems to me that people are in a sense sometimes apologizing for this amount of money. I just want to say that at least there is one organization in this country that thinks it is completely inadequate and we hope that it gets through as quickly as possible.

Mr. RICHARDS. Do you feel that no private organization such as the Quakers or the Salvation Army or the Red Cross can adequately do this terrific job?

Miss DETZER. No.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is all.

Mr. SMITH. I think that I would agree with my colleague, Judge Kee, in his statement with reference to all of us being agreed on the objectives of this program, and I agree with you that the time has come when we must spend as much for peace as we spent for war.

I made that statement last week with reference to the bill that Randolph Jennings has introduced for a peace officer in the Cabinet. I am sometimes alarmed about the problem of where the money is coming from. I am wondering if your organization has given any thought as to where the money is coming from.

Miss DETZER. Yes, Mr. Congressman. It seems to me it is always very interesting that that question never arises when it is for war. You always find the money, but the point is that you begin to question it when it comes to peace. I am not suggesting that you spend as much for peace as for war. You would not have to. It is much cheaper. We should just spend a proportion, that is all, and if we

spend an adequate proportion compared to what we spend for war, we can do it, and the money would be found and we would not go on the rocks.

Mr. SMITH. I cannot agree with you that there is no objection made as to what we spend for war. If you had sat in on some of the Appropriations Committee hearings, you would have found that there is always hauling and pulling as to how much we should spend.

Miss DETZER. When you look at the record——

Mr. SMITH. Oh, yes; we have spent a lot of money.

Mr. JARMAN. I regret very much the necessity of assuring you from my personal knowledge that you are correct in the fear that many people in Europe are probably going to connect liberation and starvation.

Miss DETZER. Yes.

Mr. JARMAN. I heard it over there so many times this past summer—the inference, if not the positive statement—"We were better off under German occupation than we are now."

Miss DETZER. Yes.

Mr. JARMAN. We can understand that. It behooved the German, it was to their selfish interest, to keep the people sufficiently nourished so that they could work harder for them, be better slave labor, and so forth, so we can see many reasons for that. Yet the fact remains that it is dangerous, and I agree with you that it is very dangerous.

Miss DETZER. I think that we ought to be as smart as the Nazis on that.

Mr. JARMAN. Indeed, I am strongly in agreement with your idea about pooled effort. In fact, we had a witness here several days ago, the only witness, I believe, that we have had in opposition to the bill, and commenting on his testimony I told him that my greatest discouragement from what he said, which was most critical of UNRRA all the way through, was not so much his criticism of UNRRA, even if much of it was true, but his belief that international cooperation was an absolute failure and could not work. That, to me, was very discouraging. You and I do not agree with that.

Miss DETZER. No.

Mr. JARMAN. Some question was asked you a while ago and you replied that in your opinion there would be enough work and enough glory for everybody—the Government, the Quakers, the Red Cross—as well as plenty of work for all of them.

Miss DETZER. Yes; there would not be enough organizations to tackle the job.

Mr. JARMAN. I am afraid that is true.

Now, as to the mistakes that you have referred to. The Army having made mistakes, as our Army and all armies are likely to do, the difference there, as far as the United States is concerned, is that the mistakes of our Army cost American lives whereas the mistakes of UNRRA, if they cost any lives at all, they will not be American lives.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. They would not be American lives immediately but ultimately it will be reckoned in American lives.

Mr. JARMAN. Undoubtedly.

Chairman BLOOM. The women certainly do help each other out. Mr. Gordon——

Mr. GORDON. I have no questions, sir.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. I was struck by your quotation from the founder of your organization, Jane Addams, whom I was brought up to think of as the first lady and saint of our Chicago. I remember when she came back from Europe after the last war telling not only of the hunger but of the emerging violent nationalisms which would one day turn into fascism in Italy and nazism in Germany. She pleaded, as you said, at that time that the new world organization, which was developing, should not, as she put it, quibble over the dry bones of international law, but instead should show that it met first needs first. She said in that way we would not only save millions of lives and perhaps the warping of a generation, which you mentioned, but we could also channelize the loyalties of those people to the new world organization and away from their violent nationalism. Her voice was not listened to then. At this time we are more foresighted and have a mechanism. Would you say that we have the same opportunity to channelize loyalties toward the United Nations?

Miss DETZER. Yes; I remember one of the other things she said when she came back, the trouble with the world was the old men.

Chairman BLOOM. The chairman will entertain a motion to have that stricken.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. I am in complete agreement with the statement that has been made by Miss Detzer, and I am coming to the conclusion that men will go on playing cops and robbers, atomic bomb or no atomic bomb. I detect a kind of exaltation as they describe the next war—we are going to have a platform built up some place beyond the stratosphere and from there we will bomb. There is a sort of anticipation in the discussion of these possibilities. I believe the women at long last are going to have to band together if we are to have peace and come out and tell some facts in the world. It is a fact, and I agree with you, as I have been in Europe and seen the same things you have seen—that starving people do not make good world citizens.

Miss DETZER. That is right.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. I do not care what it costs us. All of our plans are too small for peace. As Mr. Cousins said the other day, we are living in a nylon ice box period.

Miss DETZER. The awful thing about that is the nylon and the ice box belong to the women much more than to the men. I do not know whether we can do it alone. I think we have to have our dear brothers' help.

Chairman BLOOM. Is that all?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. That is all, except Alfred Nobel, when he invented or discovered dynamite, thought that would bring peace to the world. Today we think that the atomic bomb must necessarily bring peace to the world. He thought that his discovery of dynamite would bring peace more quickly than all the peace societies at that time. Neither the peace societies nor dynamite brought peace, and I think that finally only men can bring peace to the world, men and women.

Mr. KEE. Mrs. Douglas, you suggested that all the women should band together. Do you not think that that would be more dangerous than the atomic bomb?

Miss DETZER. I would like to say something to Mrs. Gahagan Douglas. I think one of the difficulties concerning the atomic bomb

is that you can never scare people into sustained moral behavior. This atomic bomb may shock us into doing something, but shock is psychologically a different thing, and I do not believe you can scare people into peace. That is the reason I believe it has to be approached from an entirely different angle.

Chairman BLOOM. It has been a great pleasure to have you here, and the chairman, after listening to you and Dr. Reid, would like to have you come before the committee again.

Miss DETZER. I would like to see half the people around this table women. It is still a man's world, and until we have half of them in the United Nations as well as in this Congress, we are just going to have the masculine element—cops and robbers—dominating everything.

Chairman BLOOM. Will you promise to come back again?

Miss DETZER. I would love to come back again.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very much. We appreciate your appearance before the committee.

Our next witness will be Mr. James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer, CIO.

STATEMENT OF JAMES B. CAREY, SECRETARY-TREASURER, CIO

Mr. CAREY. The question at issue before your committee and the people of the United States is the additional appropriation of $1,350,000,000 for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Ladies and gentlemen, we cannot stress to your committee too emphatically that the need for this appropriation is immediate and pressing. I recently returned from a 4 weeks' stay in Europe in the course of which I had a first-hand opportunity to see the conditions that prevail among the common people of some of the countries occupied and devastated by the evil forces that dragged the whole world into war. I visited France and Russia in my official capacity as secretary-treasurer of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and what I saw were not isolated incidents. They were part of the whole fascist pattern that fills the record of what happened in Europe, in Africa, and in Asia. We could and should be eternally thankful that the Americas were saved from the hurricane of death and destruction that has taken its toll of human life, homes, farms, factories, transportation, fuel supplies, and all the other things that make life livable.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations can state modestly that it is somewhat expert in the field of poverty. We know poverty, gentlemen, and Almighty God knows it is bad enough in this country. But the poverty that prevails in the countries that were overrun, pillaged and devastated by the forces of facism is beyond the power of words to describe.

Alleviation, even in part, of that poverty should be direct and immediate, to the exclusion of all other considerations. It is the common man, woman, and child, not their form of government or the political philosophy of their rulers, that commands your consideration and prompt action on H. R. 4649.

We must bring to this question the degree of consideration that we brought to our own problems of relief and rehabilitation back in the dark days of the depression. It is wholly inconceivable that relief

in those days should have been withheld from certain cities, congressional districts or even States, because those dispensing the relief were not in accord with the political views of elected or appointed local officials.

We must apply American reasoning to the work that is to be done by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

A number of good reasons present themselves for prompt and favorable action in appropriating the added $1,350,000,000, in H. R. 4649. These reasons lie in our national concept of decency, of gratitude, of the need for world peace, and of our own self-interest.

The exactions of decency are based in the absolute destitution of the common peoples in the devastated countries. The facts have been presented over and over again by persons and organizations who are expert in the field. It is not a question of giving the victims of war even the bare minimum standard that is necessary to sustain life on something like a normal basis. The question that confronts us is the stark one of keeping the bodies and souls of human beings together. It is not a question of supporting them or of setting them up immediately in a profitable business. It is a question of barely keeping alive the faint spark of life that must be kept aglow to save these people for the future. Their immediate needs are fuel, transportation, and food. It is in this necessity that an appeal to decency lies.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations has heard no objections to the work of UNRRA based on the facts. There has, of course, been whispering in corners. Attacks on UNRRA have been oblique, and no man has offered proof that other men, women, and children of the devastated countries are not starving and freezing. On the contrary, there has been an overwhelming mountain of testimony. To it you can add if you choose the testimony of any American officer or enlisted man who has served in those countries.

Next we must consider the factor of gratitude. Need we be reminded that it was the unceasing efforts of these peoples, human beings like ourselves, whose struggles played a great part in holding back the gangsters whose aim was to make shambles and slave marts of our own proud cities. If there is objection to being decent, we can at least be grateful.

Next comes the factor of lasting world peace. The American people are intent on a course of conduct that will establish such a peace. They indicated that by their overwhelming support of the United Nations Charter which was drafted at San Francisco and subsequently ratified by the Senate of the United States. That Charter, in the opinion of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, was drafted to keep the peace, not by overwhelming with force the makers of war, but to stamp out the breeding places in which the virus of war is incubated. Those breeding places, gentlemen, are the huts and hovels in which men, women and children huddle without food and fuel. The occupied countries abound with such places this very day as we sit here, well-fed, well-clothed, and well-sheltered.

We believe that when they voiced their support of the United Nations Charter, there was still ringing in the hearts of the American people the defiance hurled to the would-be world conquerors by President Roosevelt in the dark hours that immediately followed the attacks made upon us by Japan, Germany, and the Italian militarists in December 1941. The President said:

> We will win the war and we will win the peace that is to follow after.

Keeping of the peaec is in its very essenee good moral conduet. You ean expeet peace only from people that have morality. But you eannot expect morality in any of its phases from people who laek the bare necessities of life. Furthermore, you eannot isolate hunger and miscry.

If we are not interested in the aspeets of this problem that are based in deeeney and gratitude, we ean and should base our aetion on H. R. 4649 in our very real desire for world peaec.

Lastly, there is the faetor of self-interest. We own a tremendous eeonomie maehine, and we possess the skill with whieh to operate it. It is a maehine that more than fills our needs, as we demonstrated in our produetion of the materials and implements of war. It is a maehine that must be operated at top speed if it is to haul even its own weight. We are now turning to the production of peaeetime goods, and for our own welfare and eeonomie well-being we must dispose of all the food, raw materials, and manufaetured goods that we produce. We must sell the surplus.

Gentlemen, money doesn't grow on trees, and the day of the poor man's finding a gold mine is forever gone. Man's gold today lies only in his labor. To be able to labor, he must be fit to labor. A starving or freezing man is a worthless workingman. And a workless man is a penniless man who laeks today in all the oecupied and devastated eountries the wherewithall to buy the exeess of goods that we are going to produee. If he does not buy them, our machine will not run at its necessary top speed. Cut that down and you eut down with it at once the profits, interest, rent, and wages with whieh we are all eoneerned for our own well-being.

Therefore, if we do not eboose to base our support of UNRRA on deeency, gratitude, or a desire for lasting peaee, we ean base it frankly on selfishness.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations believes that the Ameriean people are deeent and grateful, that the overwhelming majority of them desire world peace, that only a small minority are aetuated entirely by selfishness; but that all of them are willing to eontribute to attain their various ends.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations is opposed to hampering the operations of UNRRA with restrictive measures such as an amendment requiring that liberated countries must admit representatives of the press and radio as a condition preeedent to UNRRA assistance. In this conneetion I point out that the international exeeutive board of the Ameriean Newspaper Guild, which represents working newspaper men and women throughout the United States, reeently went on reeord denouneing such provisions as pernicious.

Efforts of that sort to coerce persons who do not agree with us are founded in the old concept of force which has brought the world to its present sorry state. We do not believe we should use the destitution of hungry and freezing men, women, and children as pawns to, aehieve our ends with political organizations. It is, in a measure trafficking in human flesh and blood. Cooperation sought patiently—not eoereion hastily eonceived—should be our policy.

The UNRRA is the first tangible expression of world eooperation in history. It is an offieial agency established under the Charter of the United Nations organizations. Its very existence and its present task is a challenge to us and to all the people of the world to demonstrate that we ean and will get along together. The raee at the

moment is between the agencies of cooperation and the agencies of force set up under the United Nations Charter. The American people want the forces of cooperation to win.

Much depends on the success of UNRRA, and its success is dependent at the moment on the authorization of $1,350,000,000 proposed in H. R. 4649. The Congress of Industrial Organizations urges the adoption of that resolution as quickly as possible so that the famine and frost that now stalk the peoples of the occupied countries can be partly stayed. This appropriation will not defeat the famine and the frost entirely; no amount of money could do that because of the element of time. It will save some precious lives.

We draw no distinctions between and among the various peoples. We believe the work of UNRRA should be directed to the benefit of all, regardless of race, color, creed, or political conviction. We urge the prompt adoption of H. R. 4649.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very much, Mr. Carey. Do you have any questions, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman. I would like to express my appreciation of the fine statement made by Mr. Carey.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Carey, you spent 4 weeks in Europe?

Mr. CAREY. On the last trip; yes. I have made two trips to Europe so far this year.

Mr. VORYS. You say you were in France and Russia. Were you in any of the countries where UNRRA is operating a relief program?

Mr. CAREY. In Germany.

Mr. VORYS. What did you observe as to UNRRA's operation there?

Mr. CAREY. I did not make a close investigation of UNRRA's operation; the chief purpose of the investigation was to look into their production technique, their equipment, to determine their present power to meet problems confronting the nations at the present time; to meet with the leaders of government, and especially the leaders in labor organizations. I traveled to Moscow and the surrounding territory; to Leningrad and surrounding territory. My time was taken up primarily in their mass-production plants, in meeting with workers and seeing the way they undertake to carry out their plans and their methods of work.

Mr. VORYS. Were you in White Russia or the Ukraine?

Mr. CAREY. Just by flying over it.

Mr. VORYS. You did not get the opportunity, then, to see what they were doing there?

Mr. CAREY. No; but by mixing and conferring with the people in Europe, those that we met—we met in France and spent the first week with representatives of labor organizations from all parts of the world. We had representatives from Italy, representatives from the Scandanavian countries. and from practically every country where they have a labor movement.

Mr. VORYS. You mentioned in your statement that the only attacks on UNRRA were indirect attacks. I wonder whether you knew that about a dozen Members of Congress, who have had opportunity to observe UNRRA's procedure and problems in Europe, have attacked and criticized various phases of its activities, many of them on the floor of Congress. I wonder if you knew that?

Mr. CAREY. I do, and my purpose in saying that the attacks have been oblique is that I do not know of a single Congressman who could stand before his constituency and oppose the continued operation of UNRRA. There has been criticism, but there has been no opposition or request that UNRRA cease its operation, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. VORYS. You mentioned the so-called free-press amendment, which has nothing to do with the free press of the world but merely with the maintenance of the free press here. And you felt that that amendment should not be adopted.

I wonder if you would have any objection to an amendment which would require countries that would receive UNRRA's support to disclose any and all trade agreements and barter agreements—or any agreements, whether secret or not—but an amendment which would require these countries to disclose all of this information before they receive UNRRA's support.

Mr. CAREY. We would object to any amendment that would have for its purpose the use of UNRRA for any other than relief and rehabilitation. We believe that other levels of pressure should be used to bring about free speech or freedom of the press or the other freedoms that we enjoy in this country, but we do not think UNRRA should be used for that purpose.

Mr. VORYS. The House has adopted a series of amendments limiting UNRRA's activity; one that I have just described, which I understand had been approved by the Secretary of State; and I was wondering if you would object to having a limitation in this legislation which would authorize further contributions from this country.

Mr. CAREY. In spite of the many criticisms, which we think are understandable, as experts in the field of organization—and we claim, perhaps, to have the most efficient organization in the Nation; in fact, in the world——

Chairman BLOOM. The American Federation of Labor will be on later.

Mr. CAREY. It would not take second place.

In spite of these criticisms, Mr. Chairman, we have confidence in the integrity of the director and the staff of UNRRA. We believe that there is no need for any such provisions governing the administration of a relief and rehabilitation program. We believe that the task is difficult enough and that it will be carried out as well as any program instituted by a government of people can be carried out. We do not favor any such amendments. We think it would do injury to the purpose of the program.

We certainly think that we have resources in abundance in this country; we have ample enough to carry out this program and can go far beyond it. We are opposed to any amendments whatsoever designed for the purpose of making the administration of the program any more difficult than it is today.

I think the Secretary of State has an important task to perform. I think the Secretary of State can exert an effort for the freedom of the press and the other freedoms, but I think it should not be exerted through this area.

Mr. VORYS. You made some investigation into the technique and the industrial conditions and economic conditions in Europe and, of course, in Russia, did you not, on your trips?

Mr. CAREY. Yes. I was frankly shocked at what I saw.

Mr. VORYS. Do you think that UNRRA should be the international institution that should attempt to rehabilitate the industrial and economic life of Europe?

Mr. CAREY. It may be, at some future date, but the immediate job is for fuel and food; that is the immediate problem; transportation and other things tie into the other question, but I think that the main task now is one of fuel and food; that is the main job of UNRRA.

Eventually I would hope that our country will contribute to the rehabilitation, industrywise, of the other nations of the world, if they can do it, but the problem today is to help them by sending fuel and food. I believe that this Nation has a lot to offer to the other nations of the world with respect to the technique of production. I believe it will be in the interest of this Nation to help industrial backward countries. I think it will be a big step in the prevention of wars in the future. It is surprising to find that in the Soviet Union there is a great deal of machinery that was not being properly used because of a lack of trained workmen; they do not have sufficient skilled labor or enough semiskilled employees. Their nation is not a threat to this Nation in international trade and will not be in my lifetime or for many years to follow. They are 25 years or more back of us in their best plants. And we had an unusual opportunity to observe, because it was my task, as chairman of the delegation, to meet with the heads of the labor movement in the Soviet Union upon our arrival at Moscow and to name the plants that we wanted to visit. We named the plant; we named the departments, and we told them what we wanted to see, and they made available to us all of the information that we requested.

Mr. RICHARDS. Will the gentleman from Ohio yield.

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Mr. RICHARDS. The gentleman mentioned the fact that certain provisions, limitations, have been placed in this bill with the approval of the State Department. The gentleman does not mean that the Secretary of State or the State Department in any way approved this so-called free-press amendment?

Mr. VORYS. Oh, no. I simply mean that the amendment to which I referred, and which I now have before me, which places this limitation on the funds—and I am reading from page 2 of H. J. Res. 266, which provides:

> That all trade agreements and all barter agreements of such country with other nations, together with satisfactory information on all exports from, and imports into, such country, whether for governmental or private account, will be made available to United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

That is one of the amendments which we were informed Mr. Byrnes said was acceptable.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Byrnes or the State Department did not propose that provision?

Mr. VORYS. No; I do not think they proposed it.

Mr. RICHARDS. I think they acceded to the wishes of this committee—the requests or wishes of some of the members of this committee, did they not?

Mr. VORYS. I think it was in the Appropriation Committee, and this was a limitation put upon the $550,000,000. There was a series of them.

Mr. RICHARDS. And when the matter was brought to the attention of the State Department they did not object to that, did not oppose it.

Mr. VORYS. There was a letter from the Secretary of State that listed that amendment among the others I have mentioned—not the amendment dealing with the press—but the amendments I mentioned would be acceptable, or was approved, I do not remember the exact language.

Mr. RICHARDS. The provision you mentioned was not originally authorized by this committee.

Mr. VORYS. No, no. I imagine, however, that all of the members of this committee on the floor voted for UNRRA with the amendment in there to which I have just referred.

There is another amendment that states:

> That such country shall supply accredited United Nation Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel with all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement, including all necessary inspections and investigations.

And both of the amendments were, of course, limitations upon UNRRA and were an attempt to dictate to the governments conditions under which they would receive UNRRA's support.

Mr. RICHARDS. I disagree with the gentleman's statement in that respect, that the amendments require certain things of other governments, in the same sense that the so-called free-press amendment requires them. I just wanted that put in the record.

Mr. VORYS. It certainly differs in that this has to do with accredited representatives of the American press. The other has to do with accredited representatives of UNRRA; and the other has to do with all kinds of trade and barter agreements.

Mr. RICHARDS. I do not want to take up further time of the committee. We can argue that out in executive session.

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Chairman BLOOM. Judge Kee.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Carey, you made a splendid statement. Any interrogatories with reference to the great need of these devastated country for relief would probably bring out only cumulative evidence. We have had a mass of testimony before this committee with reference to that need which I think we all recognize and, in my opinion, Congress is going to deal liberally with the question. That is my personal opinion. But personally, and I feel that my uneasiness is shared by many others, our only fear is that in recognizing and trying to meet that need by authorizing this appropriation, the authority given in this resolution might be limited by certain amendments which we think ill-considered and which would likely restrict very much the operations of UNRRA and might serve to prevent UNRRA from even entering many and perhaps all of the countries having the greatest need, if these amendments, which we fear, are attached to this resolution.

I am very glad Mr. Vorys brought out the fact that you are opposed to the restricted amendments. Is that correct?

Mr. CAREY. That is our position; yes.

Mr. KEE. And you feel that the question of relief, the issue of relief, should not be used as a club to change the policy or views of any other nation.

Mr. CAREY. That is correct; by this or any other nation, I might add.

Mr. KEE. I thank you.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Richards.

Mr. RICHARDS. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jarman.

Mr. JARMAN. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I think it might be well to read into the record this State Department letter, regarding the amendments, because apparently they do not recommend amendments. They say:

> Aside from the appropriateness of the legislation as a vehicle for the amendments suggested, we believe it is unwise for the United States to begin a process which may lead to the imposition of restrictive and undesirable conditions on UNRRA's operations by other countries.
>
> It is my hope that the appropriation can be made subject to no conditions other than those already included by the Congress in the authorization act.

I think something of that kind should be included if there is a misapprehension that they recommended the amendment.

Mr. VORYS. Will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. Is that the letter where the amendments were acceded to or approved or commented upon by the Secretary of State?

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. That is the letter which went into the record (p. 269, hearings, Appropriation Committee).

Chairman BLOOM. The Chair would like to state, that I do not want to take the time of the committee unduly, those amendments were by the Appropriations Committee and the Chair objected to the whole procedure of the Appropriations Committee and so stated at that time that the Appropriations Committee was usurping the powers of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The Foreign Affairs Committee had nothing before it at the time and did not vote out or report out the resolution or the authorizing of an appropriation with any of those amendments. The Secretary of State at that time said he preferred no amendments. They had a lot of other amendments at that time. The Secretary of State said that he preferred to have it without any amendments, and these amendments were suggested to the Appropriations Committee, which is a rather unusual thing, and reported that the resolution so as to get around points of order that could be made to include legislation of an appropriation bill, and it was not until the morning of the day that the rule was asked that they reported it out, that anyone knew what was in this resolution. But the Secretary of State as well as the State Department, stated they were opposed to the amendment; but at that time the changes were made, and that is how they were included in the resolution.

Mr. JOHNSON. And in order to secure hasty action on the resolution, the Secretary and the Department finally consented that some of these restrictions might be adopted, in order to expedite the passage of the bill, but really he never did agree with them.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very much, Mr. Carey.

Mr. CAREY. Thank you.

STATEMENTS OF EDWARD A. O'NEAL, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, AND W. R. OGG, WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE

Chairman BLOOM. We have with us this morning Mr. Ogg of the Farm Bureau Federation, who wishes to file a statement.

Mr. OGG. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I have been requested by Mr. O'Neal, president of the Farm Bureau Federation, to present this statement to the committee for inclusion in the record in support of continuing the appropriation for UNRRA to relieve distress in these war-torn countries. This statement states that we favor the objectives of this bill.

I would like, Mr. Chairman, to call attention to the amendment which we recommend be included, which is the same amendment that was included in the bill covering the $550,000,000 appropriation, as a guiding policy, or declaration, that insofar as possible and practicable, use should be made of surplus agricultural commodities in filling the UNRRA requisitions for food and agricultural commodities. Of course due consideration would have to be given to a balanced diet and all of that, but we think it is just common sense to use for relief purposes as far as we can the surplus foods, the foods which we do not need.

Mr. RICHARDS. That would not necessarily be a mandatory provision.

Mr. OGG. It is mandatory as far as practicable. And I do not believe the State Department would object. It was included in the appropriation bill, and certainly we would not want, by the amendment, to force the use of products for which there is no need, but quite the contrary to make use of those things, as far as practicable, which are surplus.

Mr. RICHARDS. Your amendment is in the nature of a suggestion to UNRRA.

Mr. OGG. Well it is mandatory; but it has to be administered in a sensible and practical manner.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Richards.

Mr. RICHARDS. I have no questions.

Chairman BLOOM. The amendment that was suggested here is already in the law, the present law governing surplus property, is it not?

Mr. OGG. I am not sure about that.

Chairman BLOOM. I think you will find it is.

Mr. OGG. This language was included as an amendment to the recent appropriation covering the $550,000,000:

> *Provided further,* That, insofar as possible and practicable, agricultural commodities determined by the Secretary of Agriculture to be in surplus supply shall be utilized in filling United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration requisitions for food and agricultural commodities.

Chairman BLOOM. Then your organization is opposed to all other amendments except this one; is that right?

Mr. OGG. I do not wish to comment on that, Mr. Chairman, any further than the comment of President O'Neal. If I might, I will simply read his statement on that point.

Chairman BLOOM. If you will.

Mr. OGG. Mr. O'Neal states:

While UNRRA has made many mistakes and there has been much dissatisfaction with its administration, it would appear too late now to attempt to establish a new agency in its place. The present organization was created as a result of the cooperative action of the United Nations, and a total of 47 nations are actively participating in this set-up, and 31 which were invaded are providing supplies and funds for the relief operations. In other words, it is a going concern and is already at work on the job. If this set-up were to be scrapped and a new international agreement had to be negotiated and a new organization had to be set up, much time would be lost and perhaps many thousands of lives of distressed people would be lost in the process, as the winter season is already at hand.

We urge, however, that our Government use its influence in every appropriate manner to bring about improvements in the administration of UNRRA to see to it that relief extended through UNRRA is not used by any government for political purposes; that such relief be extended on a basis of justifiable need without discrimination; that in extending such relief, emphasis be placed upon helping people to help themsleves as far as possible; and that each country should assume responsibility for taking care of its own people as soon as possible.

The full statement of Mr. O'Neal follows:

AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION,
Washington, D. C., November 21, 1945.

Hon. SOL BLOOM,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN BLOOM: At the last annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation, held in Chicago last December, the voting delegates, elected by the Farm Bureau members, adopted a series of recommendations calling for the United States to play its part in world affairs, and to use its position of world leadership to assist not only in the maintenance of international peace and security, but also in the solution of international economic problems, in order to lay a sound economic foundation for an enduring peace.

In its resolution on international cooperation, the federation stated: "Due to a combination of many factors, this Nation is in a position of world leadership. We cannot shirk our responsibility to future generations."

Among the various measures for postwar reconstruction, the federation recognized the necessity for temporary relief assistance to peoples in war-torn areas, and urged that the United States lend a helping hand to weaker nations to meet these needs, but stressed that such assistance should be directed in such a manner as to "effect real rehabilitation and to assist nations to help themselves and lay a sound foundation on which to build world trade"; and that the United States should set an "example for them to follow in the organization of their domestic economy, by sharing our technical skills, and helping them to help themselves create a fuller and more abundant life." We believe that merely "furnishing of vast amounts of relief in the form of goods or money over an extended period of time will aggravate, rather than solve, international problems."

Pursuant to these recommendations, we have supported the appropriation of necessary funds to enable the United States to complete its initial commitment of $1,350,000,000 to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to provide needed relief for the peoples of war-torn nations.

We are informed that the $800,000,000 already appropriated by the United States to UNRRA has been completely exhausted, and that the additional contribution by the United States of $550,000,000, recently approved by the House, which is the final installment on our initial pledge to UNRRA will probably all be used before the end of 1945 because of the extreme distress now prevailing in many of the war-torn nations.

It seems unthinkable that our Nation would be willing to withdraw any further assistance and leave millions of men, women, and children destitute in the middle of winter. I believe the American people want to see our Nation do its part in relieving the suffering and distress in war-ravaged countries and to assist them to get on their own feet as soon as possible.

We therefore favor the objective of H. R. 4649, authorizing an additional appropriation of $1,350,000,000 to UNRRA as our contribution to enable this international organization to complete this relief program.

This would be in the nature of an authorization or pledge of funds. The appropriations actually made by our Government would be determined later by the

Appropriations Committee and Congress in the light of subsequent needs as they develop. Thus Congress will have the opportunity to determine the actual contributions which may be required from time to time until this program is completed. If conditions should improve unexpectedly and the needs for additional funds should prove less than anticipated at this time, Congress can revise its actual appropriations accordingly.

It is our understanding that the nations participating in the UNRRA organization have agreed that its activities will terminate in Europe not later than December 31, 1946, and in China not later than 1947.

While UNRRA has made many mistakes and there has been much dissatisfaction with its administration, it would appear too late now to attempt to establish a new agency in its place. The present organization was created as a result of the cooperative action of the United Nations, and a total of 47 nations are actively participating in this set-up, and 31 which were invaded are providing supplies and funds for the relief operations. In other words, it is a going concern and is already at work on the job. If this set-up were to be scrapped and a new international agreement had to be negotiated and a new organization had to be set up, much time would be lost and perhaps many thousands of lives of distressed people would be lost in the process, as the winter season is already at hand.

We urge, however, that our Government use its influence in every appropriate manner to bring about improvements in the administration of UNRRA to see to it that relief extended through UNRRA is not used by any government for political purposes; that such relief be extended on a basis of justifiable need without discrimination; that in extending such relief, emphasis be placed upon helping people to help themselves as far as possible; and that each country should assume responsibility for taking care of its own people as soon as possible.

With respect to the contribution of the United States, we believe use should be made, as far as possible, of agricultural commodities which are in surplus supply. Due consideration, of course, must be given to the requirements of a properly balanced diet. We are likely to have surpluses of a number of important food commodities in the United States next year, and it is just common sense to make the maximum use of these surpluses to relieve distress and destitution. We, therefore, recommend the inclusion in H. R. 4649 of the same requirement which was included in the UNRRA appropriation in House Joint Resolution 266, which reads as follows:

"*Provided further*, That, insofar as possible and practicable, agricultural commodities determined by the Secretary of Agriculture to be in surplus supply shall be utilized in filling United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration requisitions for food and agricultural commodities."

Hoping that these recommendations will meet with the approval of your committee, I am

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. O'NEAL, *President.*

STATEMENT OF MRS. JOSEPH LOW, APPEARING ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

Chairman BLOOM. Our next witness is Mrs. Joseph Low, representing the National Council of Jewish Women.

Mrs. LOW. That is right.

Chairman BLOOM. What is your position with the National Council?

Mrs. LOW. I am the Washington legislative representative.

Chairman BLOOM. And the address?

Mrs. LOW. Do you want my address, or the office address?

Chairman BLOOM. The office.

Mrs. LOW. Seventeen hundred Massachusetts Avenue.

Chairman BLOOM. You can give your personal address to me afterward.

You may proceed.

Mrs. LOW. The National Council of Jewish Women would like to express its support for immediate congressional authorization of the full appropriation of $1,350,000,000 for UNRRA. We respectfully

urge that the House Foreign Affairs Committee give unqualified approval to this measure, as recommended by President Truman. No time must be lost.

The National Council of Jewish Women represents 65,000 members in 196 cities throughout the United States. We help to organize local community projects in social welfare and take action on local, national, and international legislation issues. In addition, we have a program of aid to the people overseas.

Our members have responded with the keenest possible eagerness in this overseas program. They financed the sending abroad of a unit of trained and experienced social workers to serve thousands of child victims of Nazi brutality. They are supplying boxes of American playthings and work material to children's groups in Europe. They have sent clothing and will contribute other material comforts for overseas. But they realize that all of this is only a "drop in the bucket" in relation to the overwhelming needs.

They, like all Americans, are acquainted with the need in Europe today. They know that one would have to be less than human to fail to do all in one's power to save these men, women and children from death by hunger.

And that is why, when the members of our organization hear of attempts to weaken or limit UNRRA's operation, they are horrified.

Our members are opposed to reducing the amount of the UNRRA appropriation. They are opposed to attempts to limit UNRRA's operation, such as the proposal that all UNRRA operations be discontinued in China and the Far East. They are opposed to attaching any weakening or limiting political qualifications, such as the "free-press" amendment to this desperately needed humanitarian program. It is impossible to mix politics with relief. Nothing—absolutely nothing—must be permitted to stand in the way of this one goal.

The National Council of Jewish Women has given its full support to the United Nations Organization. Now that our sons and husbands are returning home from the front, we fervently desire that "it must never happen again." And yet, can we expect that a starving Europe can be a peaceful Europe? UNRRA is one of the first tests of the new United Nations Organization in preserving the peace. But, if a relatively simple humanitarian effort like UNRRA should fail to be made fully effective—what chance is there of solving peacefully the many more complicated issues of this period?

The National Council of Jewish Women, therefore, most earnestly urges that the House Foreign Affairs Committee immediately approve authorization of the full appropriation of $1,350,000,000 for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and that there be no weakening amendments.

Chairman BLOOM. Would you mind telling the committee what the National Council of Jewish Women is; how many organizations are in it?

Mrs. LOW. It is an independent organization; it represents no other organization. It is an organization that was founded over 50 years ago, with a program of social and relief work.

Chairman BLOOM. You have branches in how many States?

Mrs. LOW. I think 39 States and 196 cities.

Chairman BLOOM. Is that in this country?

Mrs. LOW. Yes.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman, but I would like to say it is a fine statement.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. Jarman.

Mr. JARMAN. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. No questions.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very much, Mrs. Low.

Is Mr. Russel Smith, of the Farmers Union, present? Not here. Is there anyone here representing the Farmers Union?

Is Dr. Joseph Chamberlain in the room?

Is Mrs. Alice C. Weitz present? Will you kindly give your name for the record?

STATEMENTS OF MRS. LaFELL DICKINSON, PRESIDENT, GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS, AND MRS. ALICE C. WEITZ

Mrs. WEITZ. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Mrs. Alice C. Weitz, and I am here to present the statement of Mrs. LaFell Dickinson, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

The statement which I bring is similar to that of the other organization. I have always been warned against speaking to hungry men; but perhaps you may all the more appreciate the condition of the people in these European countries; and I shall not take much of your time.

This is a statement endorsing an appropriation for UNRRA, in the name of the General Federation of Women's Clubs which is an organization of 16,500 clubs; many are affiliated members of other women's organizations, with a membership of something over 2,000,000. It is not possible to estimate the exact number. It favors H. R. 4649, a bill to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Both humanitarianism and our own self-interest demand the continuance of this international relief effort.

Official and unofficial reports alike reveal conditions of human misery throughout Europe and Asia beyond the comprehension of the average well-fed and well-clothed American. Millions of persons in Europe alone are depending on UNRRA for enough food to prevent starvation, enough clothing and coal to prevent freezing, and medical aid to combat the diseases against which their debilitated bodies have little resistance. The total population of the six countries in which UNRRA program is operating on a full scale—Poland, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Greece—numbers 105,000,000. All these people are dependent on UNRRA for relief supplies, regardless of their ability to pay, because such supplies are nonexistent in these countries. Add to this number the millions in the Far East who are destitute and we have a picture of human wreckage which no nation calling itself civilized can morally ignore.

But over and beyond this purely humanitarian aspect, UNRRA is a test of the efficacy of international cooperation to which this

Nation is solemnly committed. If UNRRA whose objectives are endorsed by all countries, fails, faith in the United Nations Organization and its ability to solve controversial issues will be undermined throughout the world.

Moreover, the United Nations Organization cannot hope to function successfully unless some degree of political and economic stability exists in Europe and Asia. If present conditions are not alleviated, revolution, anarchy, and chaos will be the legacy of the infant peace organization.

UNRRA is the only agency now operating for purposes of relief and rehabilitation. At this late date, no other agency can be equipped to provide the immediate relief so desperately required. During the war its effectiveness was hampered by lack of supplies, shipping, and personnel. Only since VJ-day has it been given the opportunity to function as it should. Today UNRRA is pouring supplies into Europe. Given the necessary funds it can do a good job. It must do a good job, for the future peace depends in large measure on its success. It can only do so if the United States Congress acts favorably, and without crippling amendments, on the bill now before this committee for consideration.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very much. Are there any questions? Mr. Vorys?

Mr. VORYS. No questions.

Mrs. WEITZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BLOOM. Our next witness is Mrs. Allan C. G. Mitchell. Please give for the record your name and the organization you represent.

STATEMENT OF MRS. ALLAN C. G. MITCHELL, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mrs. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee. My name is Mrs. Allan C. G. Mitchell. I am a director of the National League of Women Voters, the national office of which is located at 726 Jackson Place.

The National League of Women Voters, a nonpartisan organization made up of almost 600 local leagues, is appearing in support of the request of the UNRRA Council for a second contribution, equal to the first, of $1,350,000,000.

To the members of this committee, a majority of whom have had an opportunity to see with their own eyes the devastation which has resulted from the war, I know it is not necessary to stress the need of the cold and hungry people of the liberated areas. I would like to quote briefly from the report of the congressional committee of which Congressman Wickersham was chairman:

> It will be necessary for us to exert every effort to prevent delay in fulfilling at least a portion of their needs; otherwise, a revolution may ride in the wake of want. Even then, we were told that countless thousands upon thousands would die of hunger, exposure, and lack of proper aid. Peace cannot be built on misery or despair. We fought a terrible war. But it will not have been fully won until the people can secure bread, work, food, shelter, medical aid, clothing, and stability.

Members of the League of Women Voters, acutely aware of this need, began as early as last spring to make known their willingness to share our food with those who bore the brunt of aggression. We were

unable to rejoice over the return of whipping cream and steaks to our tables while in Europe alone 180,000,000 men, women, and children are on the border line of starvation. We have never felt that a majority of the American people agreed with a vocal few who called upon Congress and the administration for "more for ourselves." On the contrary, we believe that there is a very real demand on the part of the people of the United States that we help to the limits of our strength to reduce the suffering in the liberated countries. On September 17 the league, together with representatives of other organizations, presented to President Truman an appeal signed by 48 national organizations, with a total membership of over 50,000,000 people, urging generous shipments of food and other essentials to the devastated countries.

While we recognize that $1,350,000,000 is by no means a small sum, it is only the cost of 5 days of the war. It will be an investment in good will, and insurance against economic, social, and political chaos in the recipient countries. The financial contribution of the United States is larger than that of all other countries combined, but it is based on our proportionately greater wealth, and is not too large compared with the sacrifices that these war-torn countries have made.

We in the League of Women Voters are well aware of the criticism of UNRRA. We are concerned, as you are, over the charges of inefficiency and political manipulation. We favor frank airing of these charges and speedy measures to correct those that are substantiated. It is our opinion, however, that for the sake of those whom we are seeking to help as well as for our relations with the other United Nations, we should not attempt to scrap UNRRA and substitute another agency. There is not time for such a drastic step, even if it were desirable from a foreign relations point of view. Mr. Clayton has stated it is expected that the $550,000,000 which Cognress was recently requested to appropriate to complete our first contribution will all be committed by December 31 of this year. A break in the continuity of organization would mean a break in the supply line at the very time when help is most needed.

We have been gratified by recent reports to the effect that UNRRA is correcting mistakes and improving in efficiency. Congressman Herter, who personally observed the operations of UNRRA in Europe during August and September, stated on October 10, in a speech to Congress:

> Its pipe lines for the supplying of food and other necessary materials are in order and are becoming steadily more efficient. * * * UNRRA has been improving its personnel steadily * * * many administrative changes have been made—all of them for the better. * * * These and other changes have made of UNRRA a greatly improved operating organization.

Since then, UNRRA's flow of supplies has increased materially.

We do not doubt that imperfections remain. It would seem proper that any such matters, involving UNRRA operation, be referred for correction to the Director General if they fall within the scope of the executive function, or to our delegate to the UNRRA international Council if they are matters of policy beyond the authority of the Director General.

In our opinion, political objectives which UNRRA was not set up to achieve, such as freedom of the press in other countries, should not be made a condition of our granting relief to the people of those countries. The State Department tells us that it has succeeded in getting repre-

sentatives of our press into all of the countries served by UNRRA, and that its efforts along this line are continuing. We are wholly in accord with those who seek to extend freedom of the press, but we think that an amendment to that effect is improper as a part of a grant of relief.

The League of Women Voters was one of the most active groups in support of international organization to solve international problems. We urged endorsement of the Bretton Woods agreement and the United Nations Charter. Here again we appeal for an international program of international relief. We are confident that UNRRA can be an effective instrument to provide world relief.

The United States took the leadership in establishing UNRRA. Let us not fail to support this major effort at international cooperation.

Chairman BLOOM. Did you say your organization is nonpartisan?

Mrs. MITCHELL. Yes, sir.

Chairman BLOOM. I am glad to hear such matter presented on the Democratic side.

Mrs. MITCHELL. Our membership is composed of Republicans, Democrats, and other party beliefs.

Chairman BLOOM. But you are seated on the Democratic side. Any questions, Mr. Vorys?

Mr. VORYS. Mrs. Mitchell, you mentioned the figure of 180,000 that were in need.

Mrs. MITCHELL. Within the boundary line of starvation in Europe; yes.

Mr. VORYS. Yes. I wonder where you got that figure.

Mrs. MITCHELL. I have seen the number someplace, I think among the reports of the committee—I believe in a report published by UNRRA.

Mr. VORYS. I know the Director General of UNRRA refused to give me any estimate of the number involved; and Mr. Clayton said he could not even make a guess; and like the National League of Women Voters I have been interested to know, since we are making the total appropriation, what the total human problem was, and I have been unable to get any official figures, and I was wondering where you got the figure.

Mrs. MITCHELL. Evidently I am mistaken that it came from those records. I am sorry I cannot tell you exactly where I saw it.

Mr. VORYS. You also mentioned the fact that the State Department had said that all countries being helped by UNRRA were now admitting press representatives. Would that include the two Russian republics, do you know?

Mrs. MITCHELL. Yes, I think it would; although, as far as the technicalities of the situation are concerned, I am not sure that the Russian republics are now receiving aid.

Mr. VORYS. As I understand, they were programed to receive aid during November and I wondered whether the representations of the State Department to the League of Women Voters about press representatives included the Russian republics.

Chairman BLOOM. I just asked Governor Lehman and he said they will be receiving aid shortly, but they are not now.

Governor LEHMAN. They can be included in those that will receive aid. It is on the way. Some of it is on the way over.

Chairman BLOOM. That is for the future; the statement in question was in the past.

Mr. VORYS. I wondered—and perhaps the Governor can tell us, or some representative of the State Department—whether the State Department is now saying that all of the countries, including the Russian republics, are admitting representatives accredited by the American press. That is what the witness was told, as I understood her statement.

Mrs. MITCHELL. I think our statement is that all of the countries now receiving aid have admitted the press. I do not know about the ones that are to receive aid in the future.

Chairman BLOOM. Was not that the same statement that was made by the editor of the Washington Post the other day? He said he had no difficulty in getting news.

Mr. VORYS. I did not know whether that covered the Russian republics or not; that is, the two nations that I mentioned previously.

Chairman BLOOM. I could not answer that.

Mr. VORYS. I just did not know, and I thought perhaps the League of Women Voters had some information on that.

Governor LEHMAN. May I correct one statement that Congressman Vorys made about the number of people involved?

Chairman BLOOM. Please proceed.

Governor LEHMAN. This appears on page 104 of the hearings before the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, where testimony was given on population estimates of the countries approved for UNRRA's assistance. That number is 629,000,000 people, of which 451,000,000 live in China, leaving approximately 180,000,000 people in Europe. I may add that it is our belief that the greater proportion of these people are either on the border line of starvation or have had great suffering.

Mr. JARMAN. In other words, that is the same figure mentioned by the witness, is it not?

Governor LEHMAN. That is right; 180,000,000 people in Europe.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very, very much, Mrs. Mitchell.

The next witness is Mr. Wilson.

STATEMENT OF E. RAYMOND WILSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, my name is E. Raymond Wilson. I am executive secretary of the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

I would like to file a brief statement also in behalf of the American Friends Service Committee.

The Friends Committee on National Legislation strongly supports the appropriation for UNRRA for next year without restrictive amendments. We believe that putting in restrictive amendments on the national level is very much similar to political restrictions for the distribution of food and relief on the local and personal level.

The American Friends Service Committee has already appeared before the Appropriations Committee supporting in principle the continuation of relief, and I would like to read a brief memorandum regarding UNRRA work in China. [Reading:]

Friends' representatives doing medical and transport work in China have made it clear in reports from China since the end of the war that the needs of China are immense and acute. Although voluntary agencies are doing everything

they can to deal with the postwar emergency needs of China, their total contribution can be but small. Therefore, the American Friends Service Committee, both in China and in the United States, has counted on UNRRA, and its Chinese operational counterpart, CNRRA, to do the real job in China. Our men in China report that UNRRA staff are working with vigor and devotion, and that they have developed ambitious yet practical plans for meeting China's needs, both for the immediate crucial emergency period and for reconstruction along more permanent lines. However, both UNRRA and CNRRA have been greatly hampered by a chronic lack of funds and personnel. If this lack should continue through failure to make adequate appropriations to UNRRA, it is clear that the effects in China would be disastrous. This we know from the reports from our 135 Quaker workers now in China.

ERIC W. JOHNSON,
Associate Secretary (China-India),
Foreign Service Section.

NOVEMBER 21, 1945.

May I say in closing, Mr. Chairman, that the Society of Friends is not only in favor of this appropriation for UNRRA, but a continued and much more adequate program of relief now and in the future, until those needs are fully met.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Wilson, referring to your last statement, would you recommend that UNRRA be a permanent international relief organization?

Mr. WILSON. Not necessarily permanent, but it seems to me that limiting its life to 2 years is much too restrictive in terms of the possibility of continued suffering beyond that time; and that we ought to have an open mind on continued operation until there is enough rehabilitation so that European countries can be assured of feeding themselves.

Mr. VORYS. You use the word "rehabilitation."

Mr. WILSON. In the sense of being able to feed themselves; yes, sir.

Mr. VORYS. In order for Europe or for China to feed itself adequately, there is a lot of industrial and general economic rehabilitation and reconstruction needed; is not that true?

Mr. WILSON. That is correct.

Mr. VORYS. Would you recommend that UNRRA should enter that field of industrial and economic general rehabilitation in order to put those countries in condition to carry on by themselves from there on?

Mr. WILSON. It seemed to many of us that the restrictions that were written in the UNRRA authorization originally against rehabilitation were unnecessarily restrictive, because the shipments of farm machinery, the development of electric-light plants, adequate restoration of transportation, are integral parts of seeing that people are fed in countries that have been devastated by the war, and especially who suffered for 10 or 15 years, as the Chinese have suffered, by occupation.

Mr. VORYS. There is one item that you mention, farm machinery for instance: it was very clear that that was considered really an intelligent relief measure. Other items that you mentioned get off into the field of supplies needed by a country, but which are quite expensive and which go into permanent reconstruction. UNRRA itself, at its original meeting, decided to limit its field. They knew that the need was not limited, but they cut out a portion of the problem that they would attempt to solve. I just wondered whether it was the view of the Friends Service Committee that UNRRA should be expanded in its scope, as well as extended in time, or

whether you think other appropriate international organizations should attempt to cope with the far larger problem which Miss Detzer described and which you have also mentioned?

Mr. WILSON. It would take a great many organizations to do the work adequately, and it would take a great many years. We all hope that the National Social Council will get working quickly, which will furnish another medium for the long-time programs that are necessary. But arbitrary restriction of the operations of UNRRA in the field of rehabilitation—take the majority of Germany today, and a good share of France, with transportation and electric utilities very seriously crippled, if not entirely demolished. It means that people will die not only from hunger but from cold and from disease.

Mr. VORYS. You know that UNRRA is not operating in either Germany or France on a relief basis, do you not?

Mr. WILSON. That is right. Of course, the Society of Friends is peculiarly interested in the needs of the women and children in countries like Italy and Germany and Japan. They believe that some program should be adequately carried on for the relief of the hungry people in those countries as well. That must be supplemental to the efforts of the present program of UNRRA or that means a change in our UNRRA operational policy.

Mr. VORYS. The proposal so far has been that relief in Germany and Japan be carried on by the Army. That is what is happening right now. Would you think that UNRRA should take that over or that the Army shound continue administering that?

Mr. WILSON. I do not think I am qualified to give an answer to that, because my experience has not been in the field of relief operations. It would seem to me at the moment, since the Army is in Germany and Japan, they have an inescapable opportunity to provide relief for hungry people now. The principle of operation of relief by civilian agencies is a sound one and we are committed on a national scale to doing that, insofar as it can be, by the international organization of UNRRA. That needs to be supplemented also by activity of private agencies, especially in the field of personal services, and it requires a realization that UNRRA is a temporary agency in terms of total need, and that other groups need to be beginning to lay out programs that can continue for the longer pull.

Mr. VORYS. Then I understand that you think that UNRRA should be a temporary agency, but should not be as temporary as it has announced itself to be; is that it?

Mr. WILSON. I asked one person who had been devoting his time to this, what we should say to the American people, if we are really going to be honest about the need and the length of time involved, and his comment was that we should think in terms of not less than 5 years—this statement was made a little over a year ago—and not less than $8,000,000,000 instead of $2,000,000,000. And that was before some of the heaviest bombing and the effects of the war in Europe and Asia had taken place.

Mr. VORYS. Do you agree with that statement?

Mr. WILSON. I do, sir, as far as I have information.

Mr. VORYS. Thank you very much.

Chairman BLOOM. Thank you very much, Mr. Wilson.

Governor LEHMAN. May I make one short observation?

Chairman BLOOM. Please do.

Governor LEHMAN. I may have misunderstood Congressman Vorys, but my recollection is that in the course of the examination of the witnesses he made the statement that the funds already made available to UNRRA would be sufficient to run UNRRA, to carry on its operations, until next spring. I wish to make it clear that if an when we get the $550,000,000 which we have asked for and which represents the balance of the first 1 percent authorization, that will be sufficient only for our operations in the way of procurement until the end of the year; that it will be necessary to have the authorization and appropriation covered by the authorization of the second 1 percent by the end of the year in order to avoid a break in the pipe line during the winter and spring months.

I may have misunderstood you, Mr. Vorys, but that was my recollection of it.

Mr. VORYS. You did not misunderstand me. I based my statement on the President's message, which I do not have before me, but in which he mentioned that UNRRA supplies under the present 1-percent authorization would run out in early spring, or some such phrase; I do not attempt to quote it verbatim.

Mr. JOHNSON. I thought it was December the 31st.

Governor LEHMAN. This is what he said:

> By the end of this year UNRRA anticipates that all the funds which will be made available to it from all sources in accordance with the original contributions will have been spent or encumbered. The flow of supplies purchased with these funds cannot last beyond the early spring.

That means that we will have to place additional orders by the end of this year or the early part of next year in order to keep unbroken the flow of supplies.

Mr. VORYS. Well, it was the reference to early spring that I had in mind.

Governor LEHMAN. Yes; that was delivery on the other side.

Chairman BLOOM. The committee wishes to thank all the witnesses who appeared this morning. We are very grateful for your taking the time to come here and give us the information that you had.

The committee will now go into executive session.

(Whereupon, at 12:50 p. m. the committee went into executive session, and adjourned at 12:57 p. m. until 10 a. m. November 26, 1945.)

(The following was submitted for the record:)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE,
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BRANCH,
November 24, 1945.

Hon. SOL BLOOM,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BLOOM: I am enclosing a statement adopted by the District of Columbia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

This statement urges approval of the authorization of $1,350,000,000 requested by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

We urge your favorable consideration of this statement and request that it be included as a part of the record of the hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Respectfully yours,

GERTRUDE B. STONE,
Secretary, District of Columbia Branch, N. A. A. C. P.

STATEMENT ON UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION TO THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

The District of Columbia Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is seriously concerned over the plight of the persons in liberated areas. We feel that the United States should assume its full share of responsibility in helping these nations to adjust themselves for the following reasons:

1. In the interest of economic stability we should help these nations back to their feet as quickly as possible so that world trade may resume its normal channels and expected growth.

2. In the interest of political stability and world peace these people should be quickly brought up to some minimum standard of living, for masses of starving people provide a fertile field for the seeds of political unrest and revolution.

3. In the interest of human kindness we cannot allow the peoples of China, Austria, the Philippines, and other liberated countries to face starvation and complete annihilation while we enjoy prosperity. The war through which we have just come has shown that the world must be considered in the light of all its peoples, and in the peace which we are attempting to cement, a similar conception is evidenced. It is our responsibility therefore, as a necessary step to maintain world peace to see that those less fortunate than we are supplied with at least the barest fundamentals for existence.

The job for which the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was set up is just half done. Unless it is completed almost all that was previously given will, in effect, be thrown away—people have been tided over half the winter, but they are just as liable to starvation in the second half; they will need supplies until they can build their own economy.

We respectfully urge therefore, that you do everything in your power to approve authorization of the $1,350,000,000 requested by UNRRA and that this authorization be made in a democratic manner with no strings attached —such as the "free press amendment" so that we may demonstrate to all the world our sincerity and good faith as a world citizen.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE,
GEORGE E. C. HAYES, *President.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *November 23, 1945.*

Representative SOL BLOOM,
Chairman, House Foreign Relations Committee,
Washington, D. C.:

Since hearings on the UNRRA authorization bill are virtually concluded, in lieu of the appearance we requested during the hearings, we should appreciate it greatly if you would let the record of the hearing show, by the insertion of this telegram, that the National Farmers Union earnestly hopes the bill will be reported in such form as to carry the full amount requested by President Truman and with no amendments that will interfere with the prime purpose of UNRRA, to get food and other aid to those abroad who need them.

RUSSELL SMITH, *National Farmers Union.*

AMERICANS UNITED FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION, INC.

465 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C., *November 22, 1945.*

The Honorable SOL BLOOM,
Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BLOOM: We enclose a statement by Americans United for World Organization, Inc., urging approval by Congress of the entire $1,350,000,000 authorization for UNRRA which is now before your committee (H. R. 4649). We request that this statement be included in the record of the hearings, if appropriate.

We are convinced that this measure is essential to the peace and will be vigorously supported by the American people. Americans are looking to Congress for leadership in meeting this war obligation and humanitarian task of providing relief for our allies and friends overseas so desperately needed now.

We sincerely hope that Congress will act generously and in time.

Sincerely,

FLORENCE J. HARRIMAN
Mrs. J. Borden Harriman,
Acting President.

STATEMENT BY AMERICANS UNITED FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION, INC., FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON SECOND UNITED STATES AUTHORIZATION FOR UNRRA IN AMOUNT OF $1,350,000,000 (H. R. 4649)

Americans United for World Organization was organized in June 1944 in response to a demand for activity on behalf of an effective world organization to maintain peace. With branches and cooperating groups in 31 States, it is active in interpreting public sentiment for all measures required of our Government and of Congress to make the United Nations Organization and the other agencies of the United Nations effective not only against war but also as instruments for democracy and freedom.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is one of these agencies which has a vital part in the establishment of peace. It is at once the first test of our ability to cooperate with other nations and the means for improving conditions so essential to peace.

All reports recognize the desperate need abroad for food, fuel, and rehabilitation supplies, so we have no hesitation in urging approval of the entire $1,350,000,000 authorization now being considered by your committee and which President Truman has recommended.

We are firmly convinced that the American people wish to assume this obligation as part of their war responsibility and in keeping with their traditional generosity. We believe they will vigorously support you in voting the full authorization. Our opinion is based in part on the statement filed with the President on September 17, 1945, by representatives of more than 50,000,000 Americans urging support for UNRRA. A copy of this statement is attached with a list of the 47 national organizations which signed the statement, paragraph 7 of which stated:

"We ask for your continued support for the UNRRA appropriations including our second installment of 1 percent of our 1943 national income which you (the President) said, 'is fully justified.' "

We are particularly anxious to record our objections to certain proposals made in relation to the UNRRA legislation.

To those who say that we cannot afford it, we point out that UNRRA is only meeting the minimum needs. The war has been so devastating that complete relief and rehabilitation would cost an estimated $200,000,000,000, while UNRRA has requested less than $4,000,000,000 for all years from all countries. Our total contribution would be 2 percent of our 1943 income, while after World War I we spent approximately 4 percent of our then national income on relief through unpaid loans used for relief. Other countries now provide over one-fourth of UNRRA's funds, while it has been estimated that other countries only contributed about one-eighth of relief funds after World War I.

The proposal to limit UNRRA aid only to countries providing free access to American press representatives to report on relief operations (Brown amendment to H. J. Res. 266) is open to the following objections: It seeks a political objective, which should be handled by the State Department. It mixes politics with relief—withholds foods from the hungry for a political objective. It is ineffective—the press will not send correspondents thousands of miles to report only on relief. If the condition is rejected by a country, thousands will starve who have no control over the decision. It sets a most unfortunate precedent not only in UNRRA but for other international agreements by imposing a unilateral condition and thereby opens the door to conditions by other countries in relation to UNRRA and other international agencies. It places responsibility on the press which properly belongs to the supervisory officers of UNRRA.

To those who advocate administration of relief abroad by the military, the obvious answer is that we have difficulty supplying sufficient servicemen even for the demilitarization and occupation of Germany and Japan. Others would turn over relief to the International Red Cross which has no staff for this purpose,

or would make it an entirely American activity in the Far East. This proposal does not take into consideration that UNRRA operations for China are well under way—shipments have been made and personnel laboriously trained. Any such shift would result in delay and confusion and would increase starvation and suffering abroad. Such a plan would also subject America to the criticism that it was playing politics with relief. Furthermore and most important, this would jeopardize the peace. For UNRRA is the first of the agencies of the United Nations. If we fail in this field of urgent relief, how can we expect success in the more controversial fields of politics and economics? We should also bear in mind that America took the lead in establishing UNRRA.

We consider it most unjust that there is an adequate program by the military to provide 2,000 calories a day to German civilians, while the liberated peoples have much less and will suffer even more unless UNRRA receives United States funds.

In conclusion we repeat that full support of UNRRA is the first step toward peace and international cooperation. It is self-evident that hungry people will jeopardize the future of democracy and of economic stability so essential for postwar export markets and in turn for full employment here.

The American people are looking to Congress for leadership in providing our full share in this humanitarian task generously and in time.

AMERICANS UNITED FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION, INC.,
By FLORENCE J. HARRIMAN
Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, *Acting President.*

FOOD FOR FREEDOM,
1707 H Street, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 17.—"Starvation still threatens in Europe this winter," the representatives of more than 50,000,000 Americans told President Truman today. "Only with help from this country can resulting anarchy be averted."

Spokesmen for 26 national organizations called on the President at the White House to urge speed in sending food to hungry people overseas.

A total of 47 national organizations signed an appeal to the President. Among them were the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the National Council of Catholic Men, the National League of Women Voters, and the National Farmers Union.

"Our conscience demands that we be swift in mercy to those who bore the brunt of the war when we were unprepared," Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow, president of Food for Freedom and head of the delegation said to President Truman. "It is late. But it is not too late. I am convinced that millions of Americans want to send the necessary food. Every poll of public opinion has shown that. We can do so and still remain the best fed nation on earth. Most Americans understand that only if people are freed from the fear of hunger will they reject the political extremes that lead to dictatorship and work together for a lasting peace."

The appeal submitted to the President follows:

"The people of the nations who fought side by side with us now face death from starvation and cold. The survival of thousands of men, women, and children depends upon the decision to relieve the suffering caused by the devastation of war. The American people have made that decision.

"You spoke the mind of America on August 9 when you said: 'We must help to the limit of our strength. And we will.' This decision America must carry out by swift and sure action. It is our moral obligation to those who bore the brunt of the war when we were unprepared. It is our promise, reaffirmed in your message to Congress, and we must make it good. So far it is evident from conditions in Europe that we have not done so. Only by keeping this promise can we build toward a future of peace and democracy.

"We ask that you direct the Secretary of Agriculture to set aside the maximum amount of food we can send to our friends overseas so they can sooner take care of themselves.

"We ask that when these allocations are made they be regarded as firm commitments and be given priority to insure delivery of the amounts promised.

"We ask for the continuation of food rationing as long as necessary to provide fair distribution at home and at the same time the largest possible shipments of food to reduce starvation abroad.

"We ask that the essential foods released by Army cut-backs be used to fulfill our promises of help before they are allowed to flow into the rapidly increasing domestic supply.

"We ask for your continued support for the UNRRA appropriations including our second installment of 1 percent of our 1943 national income which you said 'is fully justified.'

"We ask for the fullest public information on the need and on what the Government is doing to meet it so that we can do our part through support of our Government and through voluntary effort.

"We realize that in less than 80 days the hunger-stricken people of Europe will be winterbound and face imminent death. Therefore we ask, above all, for speed."

Those signing the statement were—

William Emerson, president, the American Association for the United Nations.
Dr. Helen C. White, president, the American Association of University Women.
Dr. Joseph P. Chamberlain, chairman, the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service.
William Green, president, the American Federation of Labor.
Joseph F. Landis, president, the American Federation of Teachers.
Rufus M. Jones, chairman, the American Friends Service Committee.
Dr. Dora S. Lewis, president, the American Home Economics Association.
Joseph M. Proskauer, president, the American Jewish Committee.
I. L. Kenen, executive secretary, the American Jewish Conference.
Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, president, the American Jewish Congress.
Charles W. Riley, executive director, American Relief for Czechoslovakia.
Leo Krzycki, president, the American Slav Congress.
Rev. Frederick May Eliot, president, the American Unitarian Association.
Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, president, Americans United for World Organization.
Charles G. Bolte, chairman, the American Veterans Committee.
Dr. W. O. Lewis, executive secretary, the Baptist World Alliance.
A. F. Whitney, president, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
Martha F. Allen, national executive, the Camp Fire Girls.
Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, general secretary, the Church Peace Union.
Ray Gibbons, executive secretary, Congregational Christian Churches (Council for Social Action).
Philip Murray, president, the Congress of Industrial Organizations.
Colston E. Warne, president, the Consumers Union.
Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, president, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.
Clarence Streit, president, the Federal Union.
Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow, president, Food for Freedom.
Dr. L. M. Birkhead, executive director, Friends of Democracy.
Mrs. LaFell Dickinson, president, the General Federation of Women's Clubs.
Oscar Broneer, executive vice president, Greek War Relief Association.
Dr. Stephen Duggan, director, the institute of International Education.
Thelma Stevens, executive secretary, the Methodist Church—Woman's Division of Christian Service.
Walter White, secretary, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
Mrs. William A. Hastings, president, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers.
Elizabeth Magee, director, the National Consumers League.
Edward J. Heffron, executive secretary, National Council of Catholic Men.
Ruth Craven, executive secretary, National Council of Catholic Women.
Mrs. Joseph M. Welt, president, the National Council of Jewish Women.
Mary McLeod Bethune, president, the National Council of Negro Women.
Willard E. Givens, executive secretary, National Education Association.
James G. Patton, president, the National Farmers Union.
Margaret A. Hickey, president, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.
Anna Lord Strauss, president, the National League of Women Voters.
Elisabeth Christman, executive secretary, the National Women's Trade Union League.
Mrs. Harper Sibley, president, the United Council of Church Women.

Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, president, Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace.
Paul Sifton, Union for Democratic Action.
Dr. Samuel Nirenstein, president, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.
Mrs. J. B. Calkins, president, Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS, INC.,
New York 9, November 21, 1945.

The Honorable SOL BLOOM,
Chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you the action of the board of directors of the National Federation of Settlements on the need for funds for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration passed at the meeting of the Board on November 10, 1945.

If it is possible, I should like this action in the record of the proceedings of your committee.

Very truly yours,

LILLIE M. PECK,
Executive Secretary.

A RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, NOVEMBER 10, 1945, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS, 147 AVENUE B, NEW YORK CITY 9

VII. UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

While this Nation plans reconversion to provide the highest standard of living ever known, millions of our former allies face famine, disease, and agonizing death, unless aided on a gigantic scale such as United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration only is equipped to carry out. But to accomplish this, UNRRA must have available speedily, adequate foods and other supplies as well as funds.

Therefore, (1) we plead with Congress to make available the $550,000,000 due on our 1945 quota without hampering restrictions and to appropriate as needed our 1946 share of UNRRA's budget ($1,350,000,000).

(2) We implore the Department of Agriculture and all other agencies involved to arrange top priority to UNRRA for essential but scarce foods, transportation facilities, and whatever else is needed to expedite their work, even though it means a temporary continuation of rationing and other wartime restrictions upon citizens.

The work done by UNRRA to save lives and develop good will will go far to restore the possibilities of self-maintenance and thus further the fundamental basis of enduring peace.

Our cooperation should involve not only economic support but also education about and concern for individuals living in other countries of the world. We must have awareness of and education for our role as world citizens if the documents of world organizations are to become a working reality. Therefore, we urge every settlement to incorporate into its day-by-day activities, projects which will provide opportunity for people of all ages to think and act in terms of intercultural, interracial, and international good will and cooperation.

NOVEMBER 13, 1945.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York 17, N. Y., November 23, 1945.

Hon. SOL BLOOM,
Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee,
United States Congress, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BLOOM. The National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States maintains contact with voluntary and nonofficial groups of Christian laymen in more than 60 countries. Dependable information from these sources brings overwhelming evidence of the desperate needs of vast populations in war-stricken countries of Europe and Asia.

The horrors of physical and spiritual exhaustion will be greatly accentuated as winter descends upon these stricken peoples in dire want of food, clothing, medicines, coal, and other supplies essential to survival.

As the United Nations pooled their resources to defeat Nazi fascism and the tyranny it sought to fasten upon mankind, these nations must now unite their strength if millions of men, women, and children are to be saved from utter destitution and starvation.

More than human suffering is at stake; the restoration of order where anarchy now threatens is largely dependent upon prompt and effective action in getting relief to otherwise hopeless peoples.

At stake also is America's moral leadership among the nations—large and small, east and west. I lived for 26 years in the Far East, and for 35 years my work has given me intimate personal relationships on a world-wide scale. I have personal knowledge therefore of the wistful yearning with which people across the world look to America for courageous leadership, based not on military might nor economic power but on moral principle and the fact of human brotherhood.

In its support of the program of UNRRA our Government has the opportunity of joining with its late comrade nations in arms in a common act of statesmanship and concern for the general welfare, and thereby forging one more link in the chain of partnership and unity contemplated in the United Nations Organization. Prompt and generous action on our part at this time will pay dividends for long years to come in healing the wounds of war and in furthering that society of nations which the atomic age now makes immediately essential to peace and progress, if not indeed to the survival of civilization.

History looks to Congress to furnish leadership to the American people in this matter. As a people we cannot be morally comfortable to enjoy our blood-bought plenty and at the same time turn our back on the one means at our disposal for extending the large-scale succor now so desperately needed. Indeed the future will find us tragically lacking in plain political prudence if as a nation we fail to play our full part in this crisis of dire human need.

For the sake of our own souls (to say nothing of our skins) we should divert from civilian consumption such amounts of foods, particularly meats, fats, milk products, and other protective foods as may be necessary and possible. This can be done, of course, only as congressional enactments impose such rationing as may be required and make supplies available through the proper channels of distribution.

I am writing this letter as an individual citizen of America. I am sure, however, that I speak for many of our people throughout this land when I express the earnest hope that Congress will immediately adopt a bill authorizing the appropriation of $1,350,000,000—the full sum requested by President Truman—as the American share in support of the UNRRA program for 1946.

Respectfully yours,

EUGENE E. BARNETT.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS,
Jacksonville 4, Fla., November 21, 1945.

Hon. SOL BLOOM,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS: The National Congress of Parents and Teachers, an organization of 3,487,138 men and women in every State of the United States, District of Columbia, and Hawaii, is vitally interested in aid going to the liberated areas of Europe through UNRRA without delay.

President Truman recognized this need and as far back as September 6 recommended support of UNRRA appropriations both for this year and the coming year, to Congress. He warns us: "as the winter comes on, the distress will increase. Unless we do what we can to help, we may lose next winter what we won at such terrible cost last spring. Desperate men are liable to destroy the structure of their society to find in the wreckage some substitute for hope. If we let Europe go cold and hungry, we may lose some of the foundations of order on which the hope for world-wide peace must rest. We must help to the limits of our strength, and we will."

General Eisenhower, our new Chief of Staff of the Army told us, "Without food, there will be no peace."

It seems unnecessary for us to point out any further the well established and unquestioned need in these countries.

Our organization gave strong support to every measure that has been passed by Congress to bring about world peace, i. e., United Nations Charter; Bretton Woods agreements; reciprocal trade agreements; International Office of Education and Culture; and Food and Agriculture Organization. We are equally concerned with measures to preserve the peace, and we consider appropriations for UNRRA without any cuts or amendments the greatest means to this end.

Therefore, both for humanitarian reasons and as a means for preservation of world peace, we urge speedy action on this legislation.

MRS. MALCOLM MCCLELLAN,
Chairman, Committee on Legislation,
National Congress of Parents and Teachers.

ASSOCIATION FOR CHILDHOOD EDUCATION,
Washington 6, D. C., November 23, 1945.

MR. SOL BLOOM,
Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BLOOM: On the morning of November 23, in executive session, members of the executive board of the Association for Childhood Education, representing 40,000 members in every State, and with the purpose of service to children, request your careful consideration of the following points:

Time is most valuable, for every day means lives lost. Therefore, it is important to pass the UNRRA authorization bill, H. R. 4649 quickly, without amendments that deal with irrelevant questions.

As a member of the United Nations, the United States is already committed to the program of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, as we helped to establish this international organization. This is an international problem and as such there is no other agency than UNRRA to provide this relief and rehabilitation.

The Association for Childhood Education is particularly concerned about the children of these stricken areas. The lack of food, the ravages of disease, homelessness, and lack of education and provision for healthful and normal family living endanger the present and future growth of children. This not only undermines them as individuals but also affects all humanity and the safety of all nations in the future.

We therefore urge that you do all that is possible to make immediately available to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration both the funds which have been authorized but not fully appropriated and the additional contribution which has been requested.

Respectfully submitted.

MAYCIE K. SOUTHALL,
President, Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.

ROSAMOND PRAEGER,
Vice President, Representing Nursery School, Department of Public Instruction, Syracuse, N. Y.

ELLEN M. OLSON,
Vice President, Representing Kindergarten, Chicago Teachers College, Chicago, Ill.

ELIZABETH NETERER,
Vice President, Representing Primary, Seattle 66, Wash.

HATTIE S. PARROTT,
Secretary-Treasurer, State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, N. C.

MARY E. LEEPER,
Executive Secretary, Washington 6, D. C.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED NOVEMBER 22, 1945, BY THE NATIONAL GRANGE AT THEIR ANNUAL CONVENTION IN KANSAS CITY

FINISHING THE WAR

While military hostilities have ceased, the job of reconstruction lies before us. Hunger, want, and distress in war-torn areas are increasing as the resulting effects of active conflict.

A program for relief of distressed people has been developed. It has been entered upon in good faith. Our promises have been made. Fear has been allayed and hope restored because of the action taken by all the United Nations.

Our obligations to suffering humanity must be fulfilled and we urge Congress to meet the commitments made, and to do what may be necessary to aid deserving war-torn nations to become self-supporting.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN LEGION NATIONAL CONVENTION

13. We endorse assisting to the utmost those peoples who suffered the ravages of invasion and are still in dire need. We particularly commend for this purpose our loyal friends of the Philippines who fought alongside us at Bataan and suffered such ruin after its fall.

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES FOR FOREIGN SERVICE, INC,
New York 10, N. Y., November 23, 1945.

Hon. SOL BLOOM,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BLOOM: I am chairman of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, including some 50 American agencies. As the agencies are cooperating with native agencies and governments in many of the areas of Europe and Asia, the council is, through its members, well informed as to the sufferings of the people and as to the urgent need that UNRRA receive the funds required for its on-going program.

I am strongly in favor of the appropriation which will enable UNRRA to carry on its humanitarian task of giving relief to desperately needy people. You have had testimony enough to make it clear how great is that need, so that I need not dwell on the point and will only say that the experience of the many American foreign relief agencies in the council will fully bear out all that has been said or written about the suffering of the present and the catastrophic suffering of the future if UNRRA does not continue to send supplies and trained workers abroad.

It is an old American principle not to change horses while crossing a stream, and no answer could be more apposite to the proposals to substitute other instruments of relief for the UNRRA. The need is at its peak, with the winter already here. UNRRA has an organization which is functioning in procuring goods, in preparing them for shipment, in transporting them abroad and in reception and distribution to foreign countries. Delay in the steady, and I hope accelerated, flow through the UNRRA pipe line will be counted in human lives lost by hunger, by exposure to cold, and by disease.

The UNRRA pipe line is not fed only by supplies bought by money which the Congress votes. Others of our allies in the war make very large appropriations to help keep it full, so that the operation is an expression of international good will and cooperation which this country cannot fail to support at a time when its success is so important as a proof that nations can work together. We realize the many delays in the past, and we have been insistent that red tape be cut, that speed was essential, that delay meant suffering abroad and dissatisfaction in this country. We have been impatient for action, but we know that conditions in many of the countries which UNRRA serves made it for a long time physically impossible and later difficult to distribute goods and to send in personnel, and that political considerations too caused deplorable delays. Lack of shipping and of internal transportation during the war and during the first period after surrender also caused delay under which the UNRRA staff chafed as did that of the voluntary agencies. All of this I think must be given great weight in evaluating UNRRA's performance, but the point on which I insist is that the UNRRA is now operating on a vast scale and that your decision on whether to approve this appropriation must be based on present performance and on the future, not on criticisms of past performance.

We believe that the American people understand the utter need in Europe and Asia and will back prompt action by Congress. This appears from the reaction of the millions of supporters of our member agencies and emphatically from the success of the clothing drive which was carried out last spring by cooperation between UNRRA, the churches, the voluntary agencies, and civic bodies. The great contribution of 125,000,000 pounds of used clothing as a free gift by our people to the peoples of Europe and Asia was distributed to each needy country whether or not UNRRA was working in it.

Conditions having no direct relation to the operations of UNRRA and which will be looked at as an effort to tie in political objects to the humanitarian purpose of the contribution of the United States should not be attached to the authorization of funds. Believing firmly in the Jeffersonian principle of a free press, I would like to see it accepted by the peoples as the sound basis of popular government. A political condition on the use of UNRRA relief, however praiseworthy its object, would mean that foreign governments would be loath to let UNRRA function freely in their territory. Governments would resent what they would consider an attempt to interfere in their internal relations even if they were ready to grant freedom to reporters on their own motion. The condition may well work against its object.

Furthermore, UNRRA has no power, nor should it have power, to enforce political conditions. It is an international organization for a special humanitarian purpose, supervised by a council of many governments, so that if one country attaches conditions not germane to relief and rehabilitation to its contribution, others may do the same and the operations of UNRRA be rendered impossible.

I am making this statement in a personal capacity, and not as officially representing the Council, but I believe that it states the general sentiment in the council.

Very truly yours,

JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN.

THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES, INC.,
New York 18, N. Y., November 21, 1945.

The American Christian Committee for Refugees urgently requests the House Committee on Foreign Affairs to recommend the immediate authorization of $1,350,000,000 for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, as recommended by the President, without the attachment thereto of any conditions which would hinder the full participation of the United States in this imperative relief of human suffering.

We make this appeal after years of experience in dealing with refugee problems and after full discussion in a meeting of our board of directors on November 21, 1945.

LELAND REX ROBINSON, *President.*
ROBERT A. ASHWORTH.
PERCIVAL F. BRUNDAGE.
JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN.
SAMUEL GUY INMAN.
HENRY SMITH LEIPER.
E. GRAHAM WILSON,

RESOLUTION PASSED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF MEMBERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE GREEK WAR RELIEF ASSOCIATION, INC., UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, HELD IN WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER 29 AND 30

Whereas the Congress of the United States is now considering the request for $1,350,000,000 as an additional contribution of the United States toward UNRRA's humanitarian work; and

Whereas this appropriation is essential to enable UNRRA to meet its responsibilities and carry out its program of speeding shipments and supplies during the coming winter to avoid widespread suffering and disaster in liberated countries; and

Whereas, with particular reference to Greece the association, through observations of its local representatives and through personal visits of its officers and members, is in a position to testify as to the tragic need, and to affirm that the work of UNRRA in Greece not only should continue without interruption or curtailment but on the contrary should be greatly speeded up and expanded; and indeed, in view of the utter destruction and ruin left behind by the Axis Powers and their satellites in Greece, the UNRRA shipments of food, clothing, medicines, and other essentials for relief and rehabilitation, have given hope to a despairing people. Should UNRRA fail to continue shipments to Greece it will mean not only immense suffering but actual starvation of the people, so that this appropriation for UNRRA is a matter of life and death for the Greek people.

Therefore, mindful of the great debt which the American people owe to the peoples of liberated countries such as Greece who have done so much and suffered so tragically for our common cause and victory—

Deeply stirred by elemental sympathy and compassion for those who are deprived of the barest essentials of life, conscious of the paramount interests of our country to ensure peace and economic survival in the world so that international life and commerce may be reestablished, we respectfully appeal to the Congress of the United States to approve the UNRRA appropriation asked by the President of the United States in accordance with the obligation of the United States to complete its original contribution to UNRRA and to grant $1,350,000,000 to carry its work through the critical period of the coming year.

AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS,
New York 17, N. Y., November 15, 1945.

Hon. SOL. BLOOM,
House Foreign Affairs Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BLOOM: In reply to your letter of November 13 granting our request to submit a statement in connection with the hearings of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on President Truman's proposal to Congress for an UNRRA appropriation of $1,350,000,000, we are forwarding herewith the statement of the American Slav Congress and hope that it will be given serious consideration by your committee.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE PIRINSKY, *Executive Secretary.*

STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS BEFORE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE HEARINGS ON PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S REQUEST FOR $1,350,000,000 UNRRA APPROPRIATION FOR 1946

The National Committee of the American Slav Congress, representing millions of Americans of Slav descent throughout the United States, wholeheartedly supports President Truman's request to Congress for an appropriation of $1,350,000,000 for UNRRA relief to the peoples of the liberated countries of Europe and Asia during 1946.

We consider this sum vitally necessary to help save the lives of hundreds of thousands of starving people and urge every Member of Congress to vote for it.

As President Truman stated in his message to Congress on this urgent matter, "This country has pledged itself to do all that is reasonably possible to alleviate the suffering of our war-torn allies and to help them begin the task of restoring their economic productivity."

Congress and the country as a whole cannot afford to break this pledge to the people of the liberated countries, "who by sacrifice and courage kept the enemy from realizing the fruits of his early victories and from bringing his military might to bear upon our shores."

Millions of Slavic Americans who, like all true patriots, worked day and night to help win the war, have been shocked by the recent disgraceful performance of the House of Representatives in withholding previously authorized UNRRA funds and playing politics with the lives of starving people in Allied countries. We refer to the Brown-Dirksen free-press amendment to House Joint Resolution 226 for the appropriation of the long overdue $550,000,000 to the UNRRA fund for 1945.

We fully agree with the Washington Post, when it wrote editorially on November 11 that "when people are suffering cruelly from hunger we can no more ask them to embrace freedom of the press in return for food than we can buy a change in politics or religion by domestic relief grants. It is an outrageous misconception of democratic principles to suppose that they can be fostered by this means. Throw freedom of the press up as a barrier between starving people and the food they crave and we shall create everlasting hatred of that principle and those who so stupidly espouse it."

As the Post correctly stated, "UNRRA was established not for the purpose of opening foreign doors to American newspapermen but for the simple humanitarian purpose of getting food to starving human beings."

We are sure that all conscientious newspapermen will themselves abhor the idea of purchasing their right to report freely on UNRRA activities at the price of the lives of thousands of starving people. This right they have even now. The

newspapers are full of reports from countries where UNRRA relief is being distributed. It is reactionary politicians in Congress and outside that are trying to make such an issue of this question.

Many of our members in the great industrial centers of the country as Detroit, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland, and New York, have been receiving heartbreaking letters from their starving relatives and friends in the liberated countries. The stories of these hungry people who fought the Nazis so bravely and did so much for our common victory over Germany are too long to recite here. That they are in desperate need of immediate help is generally recognized. What is not recognized yet is the fact that every day of delay in appropriating UNRRA funds increases the death rate in the liberated countries. To withhold, to sabotage the appropriation of funds for UNRRA means to cause the death of thousands and millions of freedom-loving people in Allied countries.

UNRRA's director, Mr. Herbert Lehman, is 100 percent right when he says that the catastrophe which would be caused by the stoppage of UNRRA aid to nations dependent upon it because of lack of funds "is too serious to contemplate."

AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS,
ZLATKO BALOKOVIC, *Acting President.*
GEORGE PIRINSKY, *Executive Secretary.*

NOVEMBER 15, 1945.

CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA,
Chicago 23, Ill., November 23, 1945.

FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: The Czechoslovak National Council of America is wholeheartedly supporting the proposal to approve an additional $1,350,000,000 to permit the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to continue next year.

According to direct information we are receiving from central Europe, the need for relief and rehabilitation is very urgent. We believe with General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower that if our military victory is to have lasting significance we must cooperate with other nations in assisting the war-devastated countries back on their feet. The sooner these countries are assisted to help themselves, the sooner we may expect reestablishment of normal conditions upon which speedy return of many of our servicemen and servicewomen from abroad depends. Early rehabilitation and recovery of these stricken areas will also enhance our opportunity for a resumption of trade relations with them, thus relieving the postwar unemployment situation here in the United States.

For humanitarian and practical reasons we therefore strongly urge you to approve ample funds for UNRRA.

Respectfully yours,

CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA,
JOSEPH MARTINEK, *Executive Secretary.*

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA,
New York 3, N. Y., November 26, 1945.

Hon. SOL BLOOM,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Upon authorization of the general executive board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, speaking on behalf of 325,000 members, I respectfully submit for the immediate consideration of your committee the enclosed resolution urging your committee to report out favorably the appropriation of an additional $1,350,000,000 for UNRRA in order to help prevent famine and death before spring in Europe and China.

I need not tell you how terribly concerned our membership is in prompt action by your committee. Outside of their interest in the name of common humanity, a large part of our membership are intimately concerned, through blood ties, with the plight of millions of men, women, and children abroad.

We urge your prompt action upon this resolution.

Cordially and sincerely,

JACOB S. POTOFSKY,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Whereas the House Foreign Affairs Committee has now pending before it a measure to authorize an additional $1,350,000,000 appropriation for UNRRA in order to prevent famine and death before spring in Europe and China; and

Whereas the House committee has just heard the eloquent and moving testimony of General Eisenhower as to the desperate plight of the peoples of Europe; and

Whereas General Eisenhower warned that not only the lives of millions of men, women, and children are critically affected, but also the necessity of securing our military victory, won at such great cost of blood and lives of young Americans: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That the general executive board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, meeting in Atlantic City, N. J., and speaking on behalf of 325,000 members, respectfully urges the House Foreign Affairs Committee to report out favorably, without delay, the bill authorizing the additional $1,350,000,000 for relief purposes. We urge it in the name of humanity and in the interest of our common safety.

THE NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, N. Y., November 13, 1945.

Representative SOL BLOOM,
Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations at its meeting on October 3, 1945, urged that the request of UNRRA for $1,350,000,000 be granted by the Congress. The board's resolution went on to state:

"In urging such financial assistance to UNRRA, we recognize the difficulties under which it has worked, many of them beyond its control. We are convinced of its importance as a United Nations venture, and of its ability to carry out its objectives given financial and other support."

This statement was part of a resolution urging a wider sharing of our resources, especially food, with nations which have borne the full brunt of the war. We recognized that starving and undernourished people cannot be expected to rebuild their countries and to develop democracy and peace, and that therefore it is in our interest to help meet their needs. But while we recognized the stake of the United States in a peaceful and democratic world, we were also deeply aware of our moral obligations to those who have suffered so greatly in our mutual victory over aggression.

The necessity of adequate relief in countries where UNRRA operates is undoubted, and will be brought home to us this winter even more than now. The only organization able to undertake the distribution of relief goods in these countries, and help them back on their feet is UNRRA.

The amount requested from the United States is very small in comparison to war costs. We believe that there would be a loss of faith in the intentions of our country if this amount is reduced and an entirely justifiable reaction in the suffering countries against our well-fed Nation, unravaged by war. This feeling would not be confined to those countries which will be directly affected by a reduced UNRRA contribution from the United States, but may influence all our allies in the victory over aggression. We trust that UNRRA will be able to retain the excellent officials already enrolled and experienced on its complicated tasks, but adequate funds will be needed for this as well as for relief supplies.

Similar results which may destroy confidence among nations will arise if the operations of UNRRA are limited by restrictions which, apart from their value as principles, would in effect deny relief to those needing it most.

We urge prompt and favorable action by your committee and the Congress in order to maintain the flow of relief goods and services to UNRRA. We will be glad if you will have this statement included in the report of your committee's deliberations.

Very sincerely yours,

MARY S. INGRAHAM
Mrs. Henry A. Ingraham, *President.*

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA,
Washington 1, D. C., November 26, 1945.

The Honorable SOL BLOOM,
Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BLOOM: May we ask you, please, to include the enclosed statement in the record of the hearings on the new appropriation for UNRRA.

Our national legislative representative who was to bring it in person was prevented by illness.

Thanks for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

ELISABETH CHRISTMAN, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA,
Washington 1, D. C., November 23, 1945.

The Honorable SOL BLOOM,
Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BLOOM: The National Women's Trade Union League strongly supports the legislation now being considered by the Foreign Affairs Committee which would authorize the appropriation of a second sum of $1,350,000,000 for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The need is great; of that there is no question.

When such a vast administrative job is undertaken, there will, of necessity be mistakes. UNRRA has made mistakes; but the league believes that it has profited by them and is making a determined effort to remedy them. The organization is set up and ready to go forward with the alleviation of cold and starvation. The United States must not go back on its pledge of assistance now.

The National Women's Trade Union League further believes that the people who are starving and freezing to death are not the ones who are responsible for restriction of the press in some areas. We therefore plead that no amendments relative to the political sphere be allowed to cut off aid to innocent victims.

Sincerely yours,

MARGARET F. STONE
Mrs. J. Austin Stone,
Chairman, Committee on International Relations.

ELISABETH CHRISTMAN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

NEW YORK CITY CONSUMER COUNCIL,
Long Island City 1, N. Y., November 21, 1945.

Representative SOL BLOOM,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BLOOM: The New York City Consumer Council is the coordinating agency for 63 organizations—trade unions, church, social, civic, and fraternal groups—representing an aggregate of 250,000 consumers.

We want you to know that we are solidly behind you in your fight to secure funds to feed the starving people of Europe. To preserve the order that has been won at such a tremendous price; to help those who aided us in defeating the common enemy we must see to it that provisions for the necessities of life are made available. Only by helping our neighbors who are in such desperate need of help can we hope to build democracy all over the world.

We are most anxious to have an opportunity to testify at the hearings on UNRRA. Will you be good enough to let us know if this will be possible, setting the time and place? Rev. Richard Morford of our executive board is prepared to come when the date has been set.

We urge you to continue your fine leadership in the fight to insure the peace.

Sincerely,

JEANETTE S. TURNER, *Secretary.*

Appropriation for UNRRA

STATEMENT PRESENTED BY AGNES WINN FOR THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON NOVEMBER 30, 1945

The National Education Association strongly urges your committee to act favorably upon the second appropriation for UNRRA. According to previous testimony, the balance ($550,000,000) of the first amount pledged, and now approved by both the House and Senate, is already committed and will be exhausted within a short time. According to testimony given here many orders for supplies have had to be canceled for lack of funds. Therefore it is most urgent that the second appropriation of $1,350,000,000 for relief work among the devastated peoples of Europe and China, which your committee is now considering, be granted at the earliest possible moment.

Director General Herbert H. Lehman, Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, and others have given the committee a clear picture of the work that has already been done by UNRRA. They have shown the urgent need for additional funds for the rehabilitation of the millions of unfortunate people of Europe who are now facing a bleak and dreary winter. The National Education Association has a deep interest in this relief work because only through the welfare services carried on by UNRRA in providing food, emergency shelter, clothing, household supplies, child care, and health services, can these unfortunate people even start to rebuild their shattered lives and resume their normal way of life.

Our association is especially concerned with the restoration of school facilities in the countries overrun by the Nazis but we realize that a balanced and adequate economy is prerequisite to restoring such facilities. However, it is hoped that those in charge of relief activities will point out to these countries the importance of getting the children back into the classrooms where they may learn the ways of democracy and peace.

We understand that the guiding principle of UNRRA is to show the people of these war-stricken lands how they may use the supplies and services furnished to them to help themselves. Only in this way will they be able to regain their self-respect. From those who have had the opportunity to observe the work that is going on in these countries, we believe much has been done along this line but it is only a beginning. Surely America with its wealth and resources should be willing to do its share in continuing this important work which will be made possible by the granting by Congress of the appropriation now being considered.

The National Education Association hopes that through the help of UNRRA, schoolhouses, libraries, and other educational aids may again be established in the lands that were so cruelly overrun and help to brighten the lives of these unfortunate victims of war.

[From the New York (N. Y.) Times, October 18, 1945]

The "Free Press" Amendment

Republican leaders of the House of Representatives have given their approval to a "free press" amendment which they propose to attach to the bill appropriating additional funds for UNRRA. This amendment would prohibit the use of United States funds for war relief in any country whose government infringes upon freedom of information or expression, or places any barriers—technical, political, legal, or economic—against the free exchange of information among the peoples of the world.

We welcome the interest of the House Republicans in a good cause, but believe that in several respects their present proposal is mistaken. In the first place, action to meet hunger and pestilence cannot wait; on humane grounds the relief problem is so acute, and the case for prompt and generous aid is so strong, that the Republicans have chosen a wrong spot to launch their crusade. They would be better advised to attach a "free press" amendment to legislation dealing with the subject of long-term loans for purposes of reconstruction and expansion. But even here their proposal seems to us to be too sweeping. For, in its present form, it would bar United States aid to governments which did either one of two things, or both: (1) Denied freedom of speech to their own people within their own borders or (2) prohibited American correspondents from having free access to news for publication in this country.

We cannot properly use our financial power to attempt to compel other countries to establish freedom of speech and press for their own people; for, highly

desirable as this would be, judged by our own standards, we would be using our power here to interfere with the domestic affairs of other nations. But we can quite properly insist upon freedom of access to news for our own purposes—and we would, in fact, be well advised to do so. For, if billions of dollars of American credit are to be used for reconstruction loans to other countries the American public which provides such credit is surely entitled to acquire all the information it wishes to have and needs to have about the conditions prevailing in those countries. This is, in fact, the only way in which loans of this kind can be made with real responsibility.

We suggest that the House Republicans take a second look at their amendment and consider whether there is not a better place and way to put it forward.

[From the New York (N. Y.) Times, November 3, 1945]

UNRRA's Appropriation

The House of Representatives has approved the long-pending bill to make an additional $550,000,000 available for UNRRA, but only after attaching an amendment which provides that relief funds shall not go to help countries in which the American press is prevented from reporting on the use that is made of such funds.

If a proviso of this kind were attached to a proposal for long-term American loans for purposes of reconstruction and expansion, it would seem to us to be a perfectly proper and necessary precaution; for if billions of dollars of American credit are to be used for reconstruction loans to other countries the American public which provides the credit is surely entitled to acquire all the information it wishes to have and needs to have about the conditions prevailing in those countries. The question of relief, however, seems to us to stand on a different footing. The problem is acute, the need enormous; on humane grounds the case is strong for prompt and generous aid with no strings attached to it. We hope that this amendment is reconsidered in the Senate, and that the Senate acts on the whole matter with greater speed than the House has shown.

[From the Washington Post, November 3, 1945]

Relief and Politics

The Brown amendment which the House on Thursday tacked onto the UNRRA appropriation is at once a mischievous irrelevancy and an administration absurdity. It pretends to assure freedom to American newspapermen in countries where UNRRA operates. Press freedom is, of course, a laudable goal. And espousal of it, like espousal of the sanctity of American motherhood, seems an easy avenue to political glorification. It has nothing to do, however, with the filling of bellies which crave not news but food. We do not believe that the House Republicans were prudent, or even politic, in making a party issue of this specious amendment. They have laid themselves open to the ugly charge of playing politics with relief.

The Brown amendment has to be read to be believed. It provides that none of the funds appropriated "shall be furnished to or used in any country of which the controlling government * * * maintains any barrier—technical, political, legal, or economic—to obtaining, dispatching, and disseminating the news * * *." Such barriers, wherever they exist, are lamentable. But the fact is that they do exist and are certain to be continued to some extent in a number of the countries which have undergone recent political upheavals. The people who live in those countries may be no less hungry, however, than the people in countries adhering more closely to our own concepts of press freedom.

In point of fact, every country maintains some barriers to obtaining news. Newspapermen were excluded, for example, from the executive session of the House Appropriations Committee which acted on the UNRRA request for funds. A literal interpretation of the Brown amendment would mean, therefore, that not even the United States would be eligible for UNRRA aid. General Eisenhower necessarily maintains certain barriers to dispatching news from Germany; the Brown amendment would make it impossible, therefore, for UNRRA to give assistance to the displaced persons now inside the Reich. The Russians—at whom the Brown amendment is patently aimed—are not going to be forced into

an abandonment of their deplorable censorship by this sort of blackmail; all that we can get out of such tactics is a further deterioration of our relations with them.

The Republican Congressional Food Study Committee reported just a few days ago that "the $550,000,000 remaining to complete the current contribution of the United States toward UNNRA's operating expenses should be made available immediately. This is a national obligation. It is unthinkable that the United States should now default on the commitments it has made to UNRRA and which UNRRA in turn has made, in reliance upon us, to the people of the liberated countries of Europe." We cannot now impose a special condition upon our contribution to UNRRA without just such an unthinkable default on our commitments. The Brown amendment imposes a condition, which is in any case, impossible of fulfillment and which, if enforced, will condemn millions to hunger. UNRRA was established not for the purpose of opening foreign doors to American newspapermen but for the simple, humanitarian purpose of getting food to starving human beings. We hope the Senate will have a better sense of values.

[From the Washington Post, October 23, 1945]

Funds for UNNRA

There is occasion for concern over some of the amendments which have been proposed in connection with the $550,000,000 requested appropriation for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. This sum represents the balance pledged to the international organization when Congress authorized an American contribution of $1,350,000,000. It is needed now, urgently needed, for the purchase of foodstuffs and other supplies to be shipped into the liberated countries of Europe in which UNRRA is operating. UNRRA's activities were badly impeded in its early days by a scarcity of shipping and supplies. Now that shipping and supplies are relatively plentiful, it would be tragic if the organization were hampered by a lack of funds. The needs of Europe are immediate and brook no delay. If we are to help the helpless through the desperate winter ahead. there must be no break in the UNRRA pipe line.

Representative Herter, of Massachusetts, after a 2-month tour of European countries served by UNRRA, brought back to the House last week a lucid and illuminating report on the operations of the agency. It was an extremely favorable report for the most part, and Mr. Herter was wholly sympathetic to UNRRA's aims. He observed, however, that "in some of the countries which I visited, bitter criticisms were voiced against the UNRRA operation, often by our own officials, because of the feeling that too little was known as to what became of UNRRA goods once they entered the country, and too little was known of the operations of the government with respect to its own economic problems."

To correct these defects, Mr. Herter has proposed that no part of the American contribution to UNRRA shall be used in any country unless it certifies, among other things, that press representatives "will be granted full liberty to observe and report upon the distribution and utilization of relief and rehabilitation supplies and services." There can be no doubt that UNRRA would be aided, and that American confidence in its activities would be enhanced, by unhampered reporting on the part of American correspondents. It is much less certain, however, that this freedom ought to be brought about in the manner suggested by Mr. Herter. We should like very much of course, to have American newspapermen unleashed in countries where their movements are now restricted; and we hope that the State Department will continue to press for this right. But we doubt the wisdom of obtaining it through the threat of withholding food from the hungry. Freedom for American press representatives is a political matter, however desirable; and the attachment of it as a condition upon an act of charity smacks of playing international politics with relief.

The conditions under which UNRRA aid is extended were agreed upon by the representatives of 44 nations, and, properly executed, they afford abundant assurance that relief will go to the genuinely needy. If the United States imposes special conditions for the use of its contribution, other nations may be strongly tempted to do likewise respecting the funds that they donate. The upshot may be to hamstring UNRRA completely. The absurd lengths to which the attachment of special conditions can go was illustrated by amendments proposed by Representative Clarence Brown which would forbid the use of American funds in any country which interferes internally with freedom of the press or imposes any censorship upon information in time of peace. This would

make impossible, for example, the provision of any relief for the Philippines because General MacArthur feels that press limitations are still necessary there. Perhaps we had better let UNRRA tend strictly to the administration of relief and leave it to the State Department to bring about the political conditions we desire.

[From the Washington Star, November 3, 1945]

Reports on UNRRA

There is no doubt that the House was influenced by motives which are thoroughly commendable when it adopted the amendment forbidding the expenditure of any part of the $550,000,000 scheduled to be appropriated for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in any country where accredited representatives of the American press are denied opportunity to report fully on UNRRA operations. There is a real possibility, however, that the amendment, if finally adopted, would defeat the very purposes for which UNRRA was created.

It is most unjust to say that this "free press" amendment was inspired by a desire to cripple UNRRA or defeat its purposes. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that most of the members who voted for it did so in the belief that its adoption would tend to make certain that the food and other relief supplies actually reach the people who need help instead of being diverted to serve shady political ends at the expense of the needy. There were, of course, other considerations. Some of the sponsors objected to the present method of operation on the ground that Russia, though contributing nothing to UNRRA, indirectly controls 60 percent of its administration. Others contended that UNRRA was shipping food to Yusoslavia, while that country was exporting like amounts of the same food to the Soviet Union. Another was struck by the alleged fact that one of the Soviet republics has made a request for a certain tonnage of vegetable oils at a time when it was reported that Russia had agreed to ship an identical tonnage of vegetable oils to Finland.

These and similar objections, however, are largely irrelevant to the main issue—have the American people, who put up 72 percent of the UNRRA funds, the right to know, through American press representatives, how their money is being spent and upon whom?

The opponents of the amendment met this main contention on two grounds. First, they pointed out the pending bill already provides that no country can participate in UNRRA funds unless personnel accredited by UNRRA are given free access and safe conduct to follow the relief supplies to their ultimate destinations. Second, they argue that the free reporting requirement might be rejected by some governments, with the result that the needy there would starve.

With respect to the first point, sponsors of the amendment said that the provision in the bill, in effect, called upon UNRRA to check on itself, and that therefore it was unsatisfactory. As to the second, they said that if any government should refuse to admit American correspondents, with resulting hardship to its own people, the onus would be on that government and not on the American Congress.

There is merit in both of these replies. But in the light of all the circumstances, and in view of the fact that we have already contributed so much to UNRRA, it would seem unwise at this time to put in jeopardy the operations which UNRRA has scheduled for this coming winter, which will bring hardships enough to the suffering people of Europe. If Congress desires to pursue the "free press" amendment, which is basically sound, that can be done when UNRRA comes back for a new appropriation next year. In that way the risk that relief might be cut off during this most critical winter by the hostility of some foreign government toward free reporting can be avoided, and it is to be hoped that the Senate will take this view.

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[From the Baltimore Evening Sun, November 2, 1945]

Stupid and Callous

The action of the House of Representatives in amending the UNRRA appropriation bill so as to forbid use of the fund in any country which puts restraints upon American correspondents' activities would be ludicrous if it were not so callously inhumane.

No reader will need to be told that we are as much devoted as any representative to the principle of press freedom. All men of good will must ardently wish to see that principle accepted and honored throughout the world. But it will not be advanced by withholding assistance from hungry peoples; men are not brought to see the light by denying food to them and their children.

Indeed, the whole basis of this action of the House is characterized by a kind of moral irresponsibility. If there is a nation—say Finland—whose population faces a lean and bitter winter but whose current Government maintains a censorship over press and radio, then the denial of UNRRA help lays a most cruel punishment upon that people for a condition for which their Government is to blame. It is as if a physician refused treatment to a child injured in a traffic accident because he, the physician, strongly disagreed with some of the political opinions held by the child's father.

A concept repugnant alike in ethics and simple human feeling underlies the position adopted by the House. The concept is this: The succoring of a suffering people is not an obligation, is not an act which is good in itself, but is a political means, a form of coercion. Even within the sphere of expediency it is a stupid position, since we are not likely to persuade peoples of the rightness of our faith in a free press by telling them they shall not eat.

The excuse that freedom of reporting is necessary to the right use of UNRRA supplies is patently a flimsy invention, because UNRRA officials themselves will be able to check on the operations of their organization in any country in which that organization functions. Approval of the UNRRA appropriation is right, for Europe's hungry peoples cannot be left to starve; but the shocking amendment ought to be eliminated before the bill is passed by the Senate.

[From the Philadelphia Bulletin, November 3, 1945]

Trading Relief

When the House passed the additional $550,000,000 appropriation for relief of liberated peoples, it hooked to it a string providing that no money could be spent in any country which denied correspondents opportunity to investigate the way the funds were administered.

In other words, relief through UNRRA is a club being used to obtain freedom of the press. The action is in direct contrast to steps taken at home to insure that no strings are attached to aid for the needy.

Freedom of the press, to be effective, cannot be obtained by force, and though it is a highly desirable objective, the House has taken the wrong route to obtain it.

Moreover, the Representatives, in agreeing to the amendment, put the United States in the position of a welsher. This country had committed itself to furnish $1,350,000,000 to UNRRA. No reservations were made in the commitment; no hint given that conditions would be attached later. The clear obligation is to provide the money as agreed, and this $550,000,000 fulfills the agreement.

It is entirely proper to see that the funds are not wasted and that the administration is nonpolitical. But the House puts this country in the unhappy role of dictating the policies of an international organization. If we can't make the rules, we won't furnish the marbles. That attitude, when exhibited by other nations, is severely criticized.

The Senate has an opportunity to undo the House's mischief.

[From the Boston Herald, Saturday, November 3, 1945]

Shall It Be "UNRRRA"?

The 45 countries which joined to aid the war-broken peoples of the world called the new organization the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The House, in appropriating the rest of America's $1,350,000,000 contribution for 1945, has sufficiently altered the purposes of the agency so that it might now be called the United Nations Relief, Rehabilitation, and Reformation Administration.

The story is this: The Republican Congressional Food Committee, in recommending that UNRRA be permitted to finish the job in Europe, declared that there had been too much secrecy surrounding its operations. It urged that, as a condition of further assistance, accredited press and radio representatives be admitted to recipient countries and given full freedom to observe the report on the distribution of supplies. The House, by a majority of 20, accepted this restriction, over the earnest protests of Secretary Byrnes and UNRRA Director Lehman.

Unlike the old Hoover organization, the recipient countries are doing the actual distribution of relief supplies. Perhaps this was a mistake in policy. In Yugoslavia, for instance, Premier Marshal Tito may be helping to secure his ascendancy by directing the handouts, a political stratagem not unknown in this country.

The question now is: Do we want to fortify our official observers to combat such relief perversion or should we turn the job over to the press?

The House amendment looks innocuous, for it seems to apply only to UNRRA activities. But no one can believe that our correspondents in relating what is done with relief supplies will fail to reveal political and social conditions. No competent job of reporting could be performed otherwise. So the amendment really constitutes an attempt to remove censorship. In effect we would be saying to these countries: Either you adopt our views on freedom of communications or starve.

In the first place this is extremely autocratic behavior. If Russia should attempt anything like that in this hemisphere, we would say: "Go to!" In the second place, we are only one of 45 nations contributing to UNRRA. Though ours is by far the largest contribution, that doesn't give us the right to change the rules by unilateral decision.

We all want worldwide press freedom. We want our UNRRA aid to be distributed fairly. But the House amendment is a bad way to attempt either.

[From the Springfield Republican, Springfield, Mass., November 3, 1945]

Conditional Relief for the Starving

In passing the acutely needed $550,000,000 appropriation for the relief of starving populations abroad, the House tied a string to it, making expenditures in any country conditional on the freedom of the press, particularly the press representatives of American newspapers. There may be as much reason for a provision to the effect that the exercise of religion shall be free in famine-stricken countries, and that those countries shall freely admit foreign missionaries. It may be a good chance, also, to force our conception of democratic government by majorities on politically backward European states where food and clothing are most needed.

It is a new idea in famine relief. Pure humanitarianism seems weak in our House of Representatives. It is to be desired that the Senate will kill the Brown-Dirksen rider for the benefit of newspaper reporters and tender aid to the starving without any such conditions.

Undoubtedly, the official representatives of the United States, who dominate UNRRA, will know where and how the relief funds are spent and will enjoy unimpeded facilities for supervision and inspection. They can be trusted to furnish news to the reporters, if foreign governments should be inhospitable to the press. Actually, the free pass condition attached to the appropriation is indicative of lack of confidence in the American direction of UNRRA. It is also designed, without much disguise, as an anti-Russian move—which explains the Truman administration's opposition to the free press rider.

It may be gravely doubted that a majority of American newspapers want famine relief in Europe made by law conditional on privileges for their reporters—wholesome as those privileges would be in practice. It would make a bad precedent. There were no strings tied to St. Paul's inspired message, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him."

[From the St. Paul Pioneer Press, St. Paul, Minn., November 3, 1945]

Soup Democracy

Congress should delete from the $500,000,000 UNRRA appropriation the stipulations that would deny aid to the hungry of any country which does not give American reporters access to news about relief expenditures.

The press of the United States, which functions for the people of the United States in gathering news abroad, should indeed have access to news of all kinds in foreign countries. It should have the freedom to gather, the right to transmit, and the liberty to publish news of all kinds about all countries. It should be a principle of our foreign policy to seek this kind of freedom; not because it is helpful to newspapers but because it is essential to international peace to have the fullest information about developments everywhere in the world.

It is, however, utterly immoral and indefensible for the Government of the United States to capitalize upon the hunger and want of Europe's needy people in order to coerce them or their governments into accepting under such duress the principles in which we believe. They are poor principles indeed if their acceptance is to be won only by making them an alternative to starvation. We have little confidence in those principles if we despair of gaining their universal acceptance except by bribe.

The principles of government to which we adhere are not so poorly recommended to the world that they need this sort of support. It will be no great triumph for them if the governments of starving people in Europe subscribe to them as something more welcome than want.

America should make clear to the world that it does not intend to use its power to afford relief as an instrument of economic or political coercion. The fear that this is so has had a part in complicating the activity of UNRRA agents already. It will be sharpened if we attempt to couple grants of food with doses of indoctrination.

Congress should withdraw the stipulations that are bound to be offensive to those who are to be given aid, to other countries whose funds are being dedicated to relief without any such hampering clauses, and to relief administrators who have problems of administration already sufficiently great. If it does not withdraw them UNRRA should not allow the red tape in which Congress is swathing this relief program to stand between it and the hunger of a single European citizen. The needy should be fed and clothed and warmed no matter what political beliefs dominate the governments that have jurisdiction over them. It is not necessary to use soup to sell American democracy.

[From the St. Louis Star-Times, St. Louis, Mo., November 3, 1945]

Blackjack Tactics

A fine example of the way in which Uncle Sam could win an international reputation as a blackjack artist is to be found in the attempt of the House of Representatives to attach a "freedom of the news" rider to the $500,000,000 appropriation for UNRRA relief in liberated countries.

As a newspaper, the Star-Times obviously is deeply interested in free access to sources of information in all parts of the world. We want to bring all the news there is to our readers, and we believe that democracy anywhere will be insecurely based if people do not get that full information which is necessary for sound decisions.

However, we do not believe that the humanitarian work of feeding the hungry and clothing the naked should be used as a device for obtaining concessions or imposing ideas of our own on any government anywhere. The idea of using the "big stick" in this manner is particularly reprehensible when our ostensible purpose is the spread of freedom. Liberty and the conditions for liberty cannot be forced on anybody. The very attempt to do so arouses opposition.

So far as UNRRA is concerned, this Nation has pledged itself to make a definite contribution. This is not merely a matter of humanitarianism, but also a matter of plain self-interest. There can be no stability in a world of hunger and suffering. Therefore, it is up to us to make good on our pledge and, if anything to increase our contribution.

So far as winning other nations to the ways of democracy is concerned, let us try the method of persuasion and the setting of a good example. If we try to force people into our own mold, we can achieve only a superficial compliance, an unwilling acquiescence devoid of all meaning and dependability.

[From the Chicago Sun, November 3, 1945]

Unseemly UNRRA Rider

To hold up the rescue of a drowning man until he washed his face would make about as much sense as the House rider to the UNRRA appropriation bill, which prohibits use of relief funds in countries refusing "full and free access to the news."

Freedom of the press is an excellent thing. But civil liberties are not prompted by intimidation, nor struck off overnight by fiat of a foreign power. We cannot force destitute peoples to adopt our conceptions of peacetime press relations by denying them food if they don't.

The sole effect of the House rider is to grant relief funds with a snarl instead of a smile. Such was evidently the purpose. The Republican leadership which put across the rider with Democratic help did not aim to uphold freedom of the press so much as to express dissatisfaction with some of the regimes in eastern Europe.

There may be cause for dissatisfaction, but it has no place in a relief appropriation bill. Either we owe support to UNRRA or we don't. The House did not dare deny our obligations; let the Senate accept them without attaching futile, unseemly reservations.

[From the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, November 3]

Are We Willing To Go Hungry for World Information Freedom?

Congress has at last made good the American commitment of $500,000,000 toward UNRRA—the United Nations organization to administer relief and rehabilitation to the devastated areas of Europe and Asia.

But before any of this American money can be spent in any given area American newspaper and radio representatives must be permitted to enter and observe how the money is being spent. This provision was inserted and carried through by "Republicans, with help from southern Democrats," according to the Associated Press.

It's one of the few times we are in agreement with the Congressmen who can always be counted on to block, or attempt to block progressive legislation.

It seems harsh to say that American dollars cannot go to feed starving children in Poland, or the Balkans if American reporters cannot follow those dollars. The stipulation, of course, is aimed mostly at Russia with a ricochet at Great Britain in Greece. Our guess is that Russian and British relief will to to those places, and they will get the credit and good will from those countries. Our dollars then will go to other areas.

While it may seem futile at first, we like the principle of the American Government insisting on freedom of information everywhere in the world. The lack of world-wide freedom of information was one of the basic causes of the war. If more peoples can be informed about other peoples we are less likely to have another war.

It seems a little harsh that the first time such a stipulation becomes American foreign policy, starving and helpless people must be the martyrs to the principle of world-wide freedom of information. We wonder if the Congressmen who insisted on this are willing to go a little hungry themselves for this same principle.

If America will share its food with Great Britain the Argentine Government can be forced to do away with its undemocratic practices which jeopardize freedom of information in the Western Hemisphere. It's a neat test for the Congressmen, and all of us. Unless our Government, backed by Congress, is willing to go the whole way in declaring to the world that we believe in, and will fight for, and sacrifice for world-wide freedom of information—the UNRRA move will be only a meaningless, irritating and hypocritical gesture.

[From The Tennessean, Nashville, Tenn., November 3, 1945]

All Can Chip

Of the 305 Congressmen who voted on the House amendment to deny American contributions through the UNRRA to nations not giving newspaper reporters of the United States free access to all the facts in relief areas, not one, we are sure, was opposed to the principle of the proposal.

Inclined toward the Jeffersonian proverb that a free press without a government is better than a government without a free press, Americans unquestionably feel

that they have a right to know how their relief dollars are being spent and that every precaution should be taken to prevent political use being made of goods sent to fight off hunger and disease.

Yet the 147 Representatives who voted against the amendment to the $550,000,000 UNRRA bill did not do violence to the American free press concept or to the right of the people to know how the huge appropriation will be spent.

The House amendment is a reminder that a good and desirable end does not justify the use of questionable or vicious means to attain it.

UNRRA is an international organization. Whatever reservations or restrictions should be made as to its administration of relief funds should be effected at the meetings of the UNRRA and not through unilateral action.

The vote of the House to attach a reservation to the use of UNRRA funds is a dangerous precedent. If Congress has a right to make exceptions or impose unilateral restrictions, so would the British Parliament, the French Chamber of Deputies, or the Russian Presidium. This unilateral chipping away of the powers of international organizations would make any advance in international government very doubtful.

If we are going to live in a world of international commitments, we will have to start thinking in international terms. Clearly the House was not doing this when it attached the free-press amendment, highly desirable in itself, though it is, to the UNRRA bill.

[From the Daily Herald, Gulfport, Miss., November 3, 1945]

UNRRA and Free Press

The Republicans gained their fight against granting funds to UNRRA to help countries that restrict activities therein of the American press and radio.

This fight followed the rejection of the amendment by the appropriations committee, which could not reconcile its spirit with that underlying the United Nations Relief. Representative Brown proposed that the relief funds be withheld "from countries where the controlling Government refuses full and free access to the news of any and all activities of UNRRA by the press and radio of the United States."

This denial of funds would apply also to any country, which "maintains any barrier—technical, political, legal, or economic—to obtaining, dispatching, and disseminating the news or discriminates in rates and charges * * * or attempts to censor in time of peace any news representatives of the press and radio of the United States may dispatch from such country."

This question of the freedom of the American news services in other peoples' lands has been boiling throughout the war, and before, at, and after every meeting and conference, and now obtrudes itself between suffering peoples and starvation or great suffering. It disregards entirely the spirit and fundamental purposes of their relief, and apparently is willing for them to perish rather than to have free, unhindered, reluctant, and unlimited access to American news representatives, and their readers and audiences. It is believed, however much these news services are appreciated, that Americans who buy bonds will do so in an entirely different spirit and for an entirely different purpose.

[From the Berkshire Evening Eagle, Pittsfield, Mass., November 3, 1945]

It's a Mistake To Try To Mix Reformation With Relief

Under Republican leadership in the House of Representatives, humanitarianism and international politics have been badly mixed. The Senate should promptly rectify the mixture and insist the final United States appropriation of $550,000,000 to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration pass without the irrelevant amendment which prescribes that funds from the current appropriation shall go to no country where the United States press under complete freedom is not allowed to observe and report on the distribution of supplies.

The amendment, of course, is primarily aimed at Russia. The Soviet Union is in political control of many eastern European countries where freedom of the press is restricted and where starvation threatens without the relief furnished by UNRRA. The amendment gratuitously demands that the ordinary controls and regulations of the UNRRA officials be further fortified by United States press and radio reporting and observation.

It is true that UNRRA policy prescribes that the recipient countries make the actual distribution of supplies and, as such, it differs from the Hoover policy prevailing after World War I where the donors alone directed the mechanics of distribution. Maybe the present policy is a bad one. But it has been made and can't be changed at this late date.

We are for world freedom of the press and the sooner there is universal freedom of reporting the safer the world will be. But certainly such a maneuver will not hasten its acceptance anywhere. Freedom of the press can't be imposed by the whip. It must come by the will and conviction of the nation concerned and not be imposed from without.

UNRRA is an association of 45 countries which have banded together to provide relief for the war-broken countries of the world. It is true that the United States has made by far the largest appropriation to its activities, the current $550,000,000 under discussion being the final installment of an initial United States $1,350,000,000 authorization. If this country wanted to combine political reformation with charity, it should have so insisted when the organization was first set up and not try to change the rules of the game after it is in operation.

This is autocratic behavior, to say the least. As Democratic Leader John McCormack said in opposition to the amendment when it was debated on the floor of the House: "People can't live on freedom of the press." The problem in Europe is acute and the need is gigantic. To try to make acceptance of one of our tenets of democracy as a condition of Europeans not starving to death is not only unwise but it is a violation of the very principles of humanitarianism which this country so fondly champions.

[From the Manchester (N. H.) Union, November 3, 1945]

Unfortunate Rider

It is hoped that the Senate will eliminate the rider attached by the House to the bill it has just passed, making $550,000,000 available to make up the United States share of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's program for the present year. The United States agreed to provide a total of $1,350,000,000 this year to this worthy cause. The $550,000,000 constitutes the balance of that amount still unpaid. Most of the other countries pledged to support UNRRA have already made their contributions in full, and we are in duty bound to make these additional funds available.

Spurred at the last moment, however, by Molotov's abrupt rejection of American and British newsmen's plea for a relaxation of the Russian censorship of reports from Russian-controlled territory, the House attached a rider to its adoption of the UNRRA appropriation, withholding relief funds from all countries where the American press is prevented from reporting on their use.

The purpose of UNRRA cannot be questioned. The organization may have made some mistakes in handling a most difficult job, but it must be upheld if hunger, disease, and death are not to run riot in the nations crippled and emaciated by the war. It is doubtful that any other organization appointed to the task UNRRA has had to accomplish could have done any better. At any rate, UNRRA is on the ground and for the present constitutes the only means available to meet the pressing problem of war relief in the coming months.

On general principles freedom of information is essential to international understanding and cooperation. But to make our contribution to UNRRA dependent on whether newsmen are to be allowed to report what is going on in the areas where it is used, is like a man with money telling starving people that they will be saved from starvation only if they accept conditions in many cases contrary to their own ideas and customs.

A move of this kind would be certain to be misunderstood and to arouse deep bitterness. It must not be forgotten that under the Soviet system freedom of the press does not exist domestically, and a demand that it be recognized in the matter of news sent abroad is bound to be considered a distinct innovation.

It is fair to expect that a detailed report shall be made to the United States Government by officials responsible for the distribution of relief in areas where freedom of the press is not recognized. But to demand that American newsmen shall be allowed to report on the use of relief funds in these areas, and that otherwise no funds will be granted for use, puts us in the position of using our aid to the sufferers of Europe to impose our ideas upon them. Such an attitude must be distasteful to all warm-hearted Americans as well as those who hope to see international friction lessened instead of increased.

[From the Burlington (Vt.) Free Press, November 2, 1945]

Press Freedom and Food

Naturally, we believe in freedom of the press, and we think it is poor judgment for any country to try to bottle up news in these days. Every country should be open to those who gather and disseminate news to the world.

But when it comes to a question of refusing food to the people of a country because that country has restricted the activities of the American press within its borders, that is going too far. We are glad to note that the House Appropriations Committee rejected such an amendment. It is difficult to believe that there is any large support for it in Congress.

When our own people are hungry, we do not insist that they conform to any specific ideas on political or governmental matters before we give them food. That is no way to win converts to democracy, either at home or abroad. If the principles of democracy and freedom cannot be sold to the peoples of the world on their own merits, it is futile to try to make them effective through crowding them down the throats of people with their food.

When dealing with the peoples of some of the countries of Europe, we have to remember that they never have known freedom as we have known it, and that even though they may desire such freedom they cannot hope to achieve it overnight. They never have had much to say about the policies of their respective governments. Even when they have revolted and thrown out one unpopular ruler, they have not known what to do to keep control, so that usually they came under the dictatorship of another man or group.

The day of complete press freedom in such countries will not be hastened by refusing food to the ill-nourished unless they revolt and do our bidding. It will come much more quickly if we demonstrate to them that the fruits of freedom and democracy are good will and a purpose to relieve suffering wherever it is found.

[From the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram, November 3]

A Blunder To Be Corrected

The House on Thursday voted half a billion dollars for relief in the war-ravaged countries of Europe. This was almost a routine proceeding to fulfill the pledges already made to the fund of the UNRRA. But a small majority attached a condition to this fund.

No country was to receive any relief for its starving people unless it permitted American correspondents to report on the distribution of the supplies we provided. This move was designed as an attack upon the censorship that prevails in many disturbed areas of eastern Europe. It expressed the natural desire of Americans for the extension of a free press.

That desire can be made evident in many legitimate ways. But the proposal to starve great masses of destitute people, in order to coerce their government on an issue of its own domestic policy, is not merely an insult to that government, it is an insult to the intelligence of the American people.

In the case of a country like Poland, for example, it is not clear whether the distribution of supplies will be handled by the agents of the UNRRA or by Polish officials. This relief administration is not exclusively an American agency; other nations have contributed to this fund. If Congress distrusts the capacity of the UNRRA, it can send properly qualified officials to check on its methods in Europe. If it distrusts the government of Poland, it can direct our diplomatic agents to report on any activity in which our interests are involved.

But the present action by the House should be roundly condemned, and the Senate should be called upon to correct it.

[From the Youngstown (Ohio) Vindicator, Friday, November 2, 1945]

A Gift With a String to It

The House at last ends its indefensible delay in feeding the hungry. It gives the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration the $550,000,000 which America had already pledged, by Congress's authorization last year. But the House puts an intolerable string on the gift.

The string is the free-press rider which forbids use of the money in any country where "the controlling government" hampers American newsmen in reporting

UNRRA work. Of course it is aimed at Russia. It is much as if the community chest in Youngstown should refuse aid to a starving mother and her children, because it did not like her landlord.

It is true that Russia's "iron curtain" must be lifted before there can be completely free and friendly relations between Moscow and Washington. But this issue must be left to President Truman, whose agent, Secretary Byrnes, pursued it in his Monroe Doctrine speech Wednesday night. Congress can't conduct the foreign affairs of the United States.

It is also true that free reporting of UNRRA activities would insure good handling, as Mrs. Bolton said in the House yesterday. Yet the admission of UNRRA behind the iron curtain is a gain, and surely we can count on our official representatives to see that the money is not misused. To insist also on unofficial reporters might well wreck the whole plan, for Russia suspects it anyway as a possible means of strengthening the western Allies and weakening her own position in eastern Europe. Representative Bradley, of Pennsylvania, even charged that Russia "would welcome any excuse to let the Poles starve to death."

In any case, as Secretary Byrnes told the House, "we cannot put ourselves in the position of denying promised relief to millions of human beings because we have failed to secure our other objectives in advance." In other words, we can't let millions of men, women, and children starve to death because we don't like their landlord. The country will look to the Senate to correct the House's mistake.

[From the Watertown (N. Y.) Daily Times, November 2, 1945]

Funds for European Relief

The House has passed a $550,000,000 appropriation bill for European relief under the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. This new measure will open the way for a new United States grant to UNRRA for $1,350,000,000. Republican spokesmen inserted an amendment calling for assistance only in those countries which allow newspapermen to enter and write but the Senate is expected to strike this out of the bill. Although there should be full and thorough coverage of all European activities it is plain that forcing such entry through a food and aid bill is not logical.

There can be no question of Europe's suffering. Every visitor to the Continent tells the same story. A congressional committee back from 2 months of tour testified for the full UNRRA appropriation. Greece is placed at the head of those European nations which must have aid. The average Greek man, woman, and child has only 670 calories a day or about one-sixth the American consumption. Austria, Poland, Denmark, Germany, and Norway are also high on the list of countries which must have food and clothing. Fuel is short in every European country. France, for example, used 2,400,000 tons of coal per winter before the war. This winter the nation must get along on 700,000 tons. Dutch families will receive a maximum of one-half ton of coal for a complete winter. Belgians will get 400 pounds or one-fifth ton for the winter.

Europe's winter will be bleak. Hunger and cold stalk hand in hand. Americans will be glad that this country is doing what it can to alleviate suffering and distress.

[From the Norfolk Virginia Pilot, November 3, 1945]

Playing Politics With Relief Funds

After several months of irresponsible committee delay, the House at last decided on Thursday to make good on the American promise of funds for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and passed the $550,000,000 bill to complete the total of $1,350,000,000 authorized as the American contribution 2 years ago. But it also added, with a roll-call vote of 188 to 168, an amendment barring the use of American funds for relief in any country which which does not allow American reporters to enter its territory and have absolutely free access to any and all news about UNRRA activities. This is not as drastic as the original proposal to ban relief to any country which does not permit general freedom of the press on the American model. But it is still tainted inevitably as an attempt to force upon war-devastated nations abroad changes in their internal policies under the threat of starvation for their peoples.

The extension of a free press to nations which still lack it is a worthy ideal. It is one to be sought through political and diplomatic channels, as the State Department has done and is doing, not by threatening to deny suffering men, women,

and children the food and medical supplies they need in the aftermath of a terrible war in which many of them fought as our allies. The House move, in effect a direct slap at UNRRA, which is headed by an American and includes many American officials, would be bad enough under any circumstances. It is particularly so in the present case, for it attaches an unjustifiable restriction to a grant of funds previously pledged without any such restriction.

Senate action has had to wait upon House action, because all appropriation measures must originate in the lower chamber. Fortunately a probable majority of the Senators seem to be in favor of scrapping the amendment at the first opportunity. They should do so with an emphatic margin that will stimulate the House into more sensible second thoughts.

[From the News and Observer, Raleigh, N. C., November 3, 1945]

Obey or Starve

Freedom of the press everywhere and self-government of all peoples must come if we are to live in a democratic world. These two goals were kept in view at San Francisco and must likewise be the chief objectives of the United Nations as insurance for ending war. But the United States, unfortunately, cannot compel them to come by imposing penalties on those not yet ready to go all the way with us. We oppose the French and British imperialism that chains weaker nations to their foreign rule. We have no sympathy for the doctrine of Communism as incarnated in Trotsky. But we cannot say to Russia and England that they must instanter end these two policies which are anathema to us.

The attempt to force freedom of the press on some European nations by the threat of refusing to give food to starving people, as the House did by a vote of 158 to 147, is most regrettable. The people in occupied Europe and other countries will starve and freeze this winter without aid from the United States. And yet the House says by a majority of 6 votes that unless the officials of those countries immediately grant full freedom of the press, we will deny the food needed to keep them alive. The suffering people do not have the power to make laws or establish policies. And yet we undertake to condition our food unless those in places of authority change age-old policies instanter.

Leader John McCormack, in opposing the rider, said that "withholding funds might promote communism and anarchy in distressed nations where governments would refuse to agree to such a requirement." The amendment, which the Senate should delete, is equivalent to saying to people in distress: "Compel your rulers to do as we say or starvation is your portion."

[From the New York Post, November 3, 1945]

(Washington Memo, by Charles Van Devander and William O. Player, Jr.)

House Handling of UNRRA Bill Paints a Gloomy Picture of our UNO Role

If the House's handling of the $550,000,000 UNRRA appropriation bill—finally adopted late yesterday by a vote of 339 to 17—is any indication of the way Congress is going to underwrite America's future role in the United Nations, the prospect is dismal, indeed.

Almost at the outset, after approving this country's membership in the UNRRA and authorizing an initial contribution of 1 percent of the national income toward its financing, Congress reneged when the matter of actually appropriating the money first came up a year ago.

Instead of appropriating its full quota of $1,350,000,000 it made only a partial payment of $800,000,000—and by holding back the $550,000,000 balance brought on the crippling financial crisis in which UNRRA now finds itself, in its hour of direst need.

(Most of the other uninvaded member nations already had, or since have, come through with their full quotas—but, the United States national income is 72 percent greater than the combined incomes of all those other countries, and therefore their appropriations fell far short of meeting the deficit created by our delinquency.)

When, in response to a series of SOS calls from Director General Lehman, the House finally did consent to take up the question of the unpaid United States

balance, many of its members seemed to view it as some entirely new obligation that was being thrust upon us—another demand on Uncle Sam to "play Santa Claus" to the rest of the world—and weeks of niggling and haggling, first in committee and then on the floor, ensued.

Lehman and other high UNRRA officials were hailed before committees as though they were hirelings of our government alone, rather than executives of a world organization; they were called to account for policies and expenditures (for which they are legally accountable only to the organization itself); they were brought sternly to book on charges of "waste and extravagance."

And, yesterday, in belatedly redeeming America's pledge to Europe's and Asia's millions of homeless, starving and diseased, the House tacked onto the appropriation bill a series of amendments providing, among other things:

1. That no country shall receive UNRRA aid which refuses United States newspapermen free access to news of UNRRA activities.

2. That no supplies bought with the supplementary United States funds shall be shipped to countries other than China after December 31, 1946, or even to China after March 31, 1947.

3. That nations receiving such supplies must advise UNRRA of trade and barter agreements with other countries, must furnish other pertinent information on foreign trade and must permit UNRRA representatives to investigate distribution of relief.

We're in favor of freedom of the press, the eventual liquidation of UNRRA and the principles involved in various others of the amendments—but we're shocked and dismayed at the spectacle of the Congress of the United States undertaking to assume individual jurisdiction over an agency of the United Nations, presuming to dictate administrative policies and conditions, and, above all, daring to compromise the good faith of the United States by hamstringing our contribution toward world relief and rehabilitation with a lot of restrictive provisos and stipulations.

Furthermore, if the Senate concurs in the high-handed action of the House, and the bill goes through in its present form, it'll create a new and very embarrassing situation for UNRRA itself—in that a special meeting of UNRRA's executive council probably will have to be held to determine whether or not to knuckle under to such unprecedented dictation by one of its member nations.

And if it does knuckle under, what's to prevent an epidemic of similar provisos attached to the future appropriations of other governments with political, economic, and social axes to grind?

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register of November 7, 1945)

Give UNRRA the Go-Ahead Sign

The House of Representatives has now approved an additional contribution to UNRRA of something more than a half billion dollars by our Government, and it was high time. Nobody seriously disputes the fact that we were morally committed to this further part of our share of UNRRA costs or that the need for relief abroad this winter is going to be very great. We hope the Senate completes the approval of this appropriation rather more promptly than the House did.

It may be, as has frequently been charged, that UNRRA for a variety of reasons has not been altogether efficient. Its job was no "snap," certainly. But in any case the UNRRA relief is going to save hundreds of thousands of people from starvation this winter if it gets there, and there is going to be untold misery if it doesn't.

There is just one thing that continues to distress us about the House action. An amendment was attached providing that none of the funds should be used in countries where the American press is not free to report on the distribution of relief. In principle this may be a very noble and righteous resservation to make, but we wonder whether this is the particular time and place to try to force freedom of the press throughout Europe.

The children who need milk so desperately, and the hollow-eyed peoples who are waiting for medicine in their rags and tatters, are certainly not responsible for the failure of their groping governments to admit American newspaper correspondents wherever they want to go. The relief of human suffering hardly seems an issue that ought to be kicked around for purposes even as just and urgent as this one may seem to our Congressmen.

Even in war, our Medical Corps men and Red Cross people bending over wounded prisoners and civilians did not ask them what their politics was, nor whether they

believed in three freedoms or four, nor what their response would be to a four no-trump bid. If human beings were suffering, that was excuse enough to administer whatever humanitarian aid was available.

And we feel a good deal the same about UNRRA's relief throughout Europe. The ultimate cost to us in chaos and misunderstanding is going to be much greater if we do not prevent epidemics and starvation in Europe this winter than it will be from any absence of full information over the next few months.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, November 6, 1945]

Why Put Strings on UNRRA?

Although the vote was on almost solidly partisan lines, the House Members who attached a "free press" amendment to the UNRRA appropriation bill the other day can be credited with sincere motives. Certainly it is important to have full and uncensored reports on what is being done with the funds supplied by American taxpayers for relief of homeless and hungry persons in the liberated countries. But is an amendment barring use of the money in countries which restrict news freedom a proper course in connection with relief?

UNRRA is set up as a purely humanitarian agency, without political implications. Its misuse by the British in Greece to favor the rightist cause there was widely criticized. There should be no strings on UNRRA, even for the praiseworthy objective of press freedom. If such a restriction is adopted, then the way will be open for other curbs, until at last UNRRA becomes an instrument of official policy instead of an unselfish and nonpolitical relief agency.

There should be world-wide freedom of news, and we trust our Government will seek energetically to bring it about by international agreement. But surely we do not want to work for this objective by threatening to keep relief way from needy people. In any event, agreements obtained by such compulsion are rarely lasting.

Freedom of news will be a benefit to all peoples, and a means to harmonious world relations. The Senate should vote against the House bill's attempt to attain a worthy goal by unworthy means.

[From the Richmond Times Dispatch, November 6, 1945]

An Ill-Advised Amendment

After dawdling on the bill far too long, the House of Representatives finally approved the appropriation of $550,000,000 more to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, representing the balance of the amount which Congress had already pledged; but in doing so it attached an unjustifiable string to the contribution. This was an amendment, strongly opposed by the administration, requiring that any nation benefiting from the funds must allow American correspondents free access to news pertaining to UNRRA's activities.

The amendment was sponsored by two Republican Members, Representatives Dirksen, of Illinois, and Brown, of Ohio. It was put through, on a relatively close vote, by a combination of Republicans and southern Democrats, over the protest of Majority Leader McCormack and other Democratic Members.

Unquestionably, it is desirable that the American press and radio be permitted to report on the activities of UNRRA in other countries. But it is improper to incorporate such a restriction in the bill appropriating the money. This question would seem to have been covered in the Potsdam communiqué following the last meeting of the Big Three, which included an agreement to give Allied press representatives "full freedom" in reporting on developments in various European countries, specified by name. The list included all the countries in which any difficulty on this score might have been anticipated, with the exception of Russia and Yugoslavia. It may be granted that press relationships in some of these countries are not yet all that might be desired, but to hamstring the operations of UNRRA by this "free press" amendment is no way to improve matters. The amendment is out of place and therefore ill-advised.

Representative Clifton Woodrum stated the case against it aptly on the floor of the House. He said that he was entirely in sympathy with its purpose, but that it was not right to attach it to an essentially humanitarian fund. Mr. Woodrum made the point that the funds being distributed are not wholly contributed by the United States and that Congress, therefore, had no right to put

strings on them. "The right to have a representative of UNRRA follow each ton of goods that is delivered, and to report back to Congress what has happened to it, is an entirely different proposition from throwing open the gates of those countries to admit promiscuously any accredited representative of the press to go there and write anything that his imagination might suggest to him ought to be written," the Virginia Congressman remarked.

It is gratifying that not a single member of the Virginia delegation in the House voted for the amendment.

The long-delayed UNRRA appropriation bill has now gone to the Senate where we hope it will be speedily approved without the ill-considered amendment.

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle, November 2, 1945]

UNRRA With Strings

It is a curious mental quirk, though one easily found in the catalog, which makes Representative Brown of Ohio want to deny American UNRRA funds to countries that restrict the activities of the American press.

Apparently it does not occur to Representative Brown that General Eisenhower occasionally restricts the activities of the American press, sometimes with good military reason, at other times out of traditional Army obfuscation. He has not noted, it seems, that even UNRRA does not always confide to the press every detail of what it is doing.

Yet, in countries that have never had a free press, whose people know nothing about one and have no particular interest in one, Representative Brown would let women and children go hungry if their governments, over which they have no control, do not devote themselves to turning everything inside out for the American press.

We conceive the function of UNRRA to be exclusively to feed hungry and clothe freezing people and help them into a position where they can fend for themselves as soon as possible. It is for this that we expect Congress to provide the money and not to enforce any species of ideology—even though it happens to be our own free-press ideology.

[From the Decatur (Ill.) Herald, November 2, 1945]

Press Freedom for Food

Republican efforts in the House to attach a freedom-of-the-press condition to the United States contribution to the United Nations relief and rehabilitation fund is a clumsy approach to a desirable end.

A fight on the floor of the House, undertaken by Representative Brown of Ohio, has the backing of the GOP steering committee. The condition that relief would be withheld from countries where governments refused full and free access to the news was rejected by the appropriations committee, after careful consideration.

The relief funds, $550,000,000 of which are to come from the United States, are seriously needed in European countries. The people of the nineteenth congressional district have the assurance of their own congressman, Rolla C. McMillen, that this is so. Mr. McMillen's comments, based upon personal observations during a recent trip, have been delivered to the House.

"We must rush food to prevent actual starvation in some countries this winter. We must do it in our own interest," he said.

Freedom of access to the news of foreign countries and equal transmission rates for all are important to the development and maintenance of world understanding. Some believe, and with reason, that genuine freedom of access to news can prevent war and certainly prevent many of the frictions that lead to war.

Nevertheless, it is pressing a little too hard to refuse to feed starving children because of the stubbornness of provisional governments. Few of the governments of Europe have been tested by elections and it may be believed that they do not all represent their troubled and needy citizens.

The United States has the whip hand in matters of relief and can make any condition it chooses. Anyone familiar with "rice Christians" in the Orient will hesitate to make "press freedom" a meaningless password to be exchanged for food.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin, November 6, 1945]

Platforms and Performance

Senator Austin, of Vermont, predicts that a liberal stand on issues of foreign relations will be contained in a statement of policy which the Republican Members in House and Senate expect to prepare and forward to the party's national committee.

Senator Austin himself is a tried and true advocate of international cooperation for security and peace. He often stood in the minority, as far as the party representatives in Senate and House were concerned, on vital issues. It is to be recognized that the party line as a whole on all such issues has advanced since the outbreak of war proved the futility of attempted isolation.

But those who attempt to frame statements of policy for the delegations in Congress have need to bear in mind that the party will be judged in coming national elections not on what Senators and Representatives have said, or pledged themselves to do, but on what they actually have done to make professions good. That goes for both domestic and foreign policy.

For instance, Republican professions to making good on the American promise to give financial support to UNRRA are naturally to be weighed in the light of the party's vote for an amendment which set a very dubious condition to the grant of an installment last week.

Republicans voted overwhelmingly for active American participation in the United Nations Organization. But the vitality of the UNO, its ability to prevent future aggression and war, will depend on the powers for instant intervention in an emergency given to the Security Council. The Republican record in voting on that issue will be scanned with an attention that no statement of policy can ever command.

[From the Abilene (Tex.) Reporter-News, Abilene, Tex., November 3, 1945]

How Not To Do It

Much as Americans treasure a free press, we doubt if many free-press advocates would consent to use a club to force press freedom upon other peoples, as a majority of the House of Representatives voted to do Thursday.

An amendment to the United States appropriation for UNRRA would forbid use of any funds or food in any region where American newspaper representatives are forbidden to enter and write unhindered of censorship.

Much as they believe in a free press, we doubt if any responsible American newspaper group would consent to use that principle as a means of starving people to death.

That is literally what the House amendment would mean. It is aimed, of course, at Soviet Russia, and is backed mainly by old-line conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats who see a Red behind every bush. But even these gentlemen know Russia well enough to realize that the Soviet could not be coerced into abandoning one of its cardinal precepts, a controlled press. Russia would let the innocent victims of hunger go right ahead and starve.

There was a better and more reasonable way to approach the problem. Congress could insist that the distribution of foodstuffs under UNRRA must be supervised by Allied representatives in every case, or at least by neutrals like the Swiss or Swedes. But that would be an unnecessary gesture, because UNRRA rules already require careful supervision of distribution by trained representatives.

Obviously the House amendment was a slap at Russia, and it would seem apparent that indulging in slaps at Russia is not the best way to create international accord and good will.

Baiting the Russian bear is one sure way to build up another war, since Russia is the only country on the globe today capable of fighting the United States. No American in his right senses would court another war.

Russia has her way, we have ours; and toleration of the other's viewpoint is more than ever necessary at this ticklish time.

[From the Winston-Salem (N. C.) Journal, November 7, 1945]

Food and Free Press

Congress is considering the proposition to tie a string around the relief bundles we give to war-stricken nations abroad. It would prohibit the use of American relief funds by nations barring American newspapermen.

Theoretically, this proposition seems fair enough and plausible. In practice it may cause a great deal of unnecessary trouble.

Of course, there is something to the point made by advocates of the condition that any country which would accept American money and yet refuse to let us know what they did with it would be open to justifiable suspicions, as the Raleigh Times puts it.

But those nations might feel that the newsmen were not coming in merely to see what was done with American relief money, but rather to report on all sorts of things.

All good Americans believe in the freedom of the press, both at home and abroad, but the question here is whether by placing a condition of this sort on our relief program we may not be victimizing millions of men, women, and children who are more interested today in solving the problem of a square meal and in finding some rags with which to wrap themselves against the wind than in abstract principles affecting the privileges of the press.

In this case it conceivably might be far better to allow our warm-hearted American humanity to act as the trail-blazer for American democratic philosophy. The Master democrat did not say, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these because he was of the same political persuasion as you were, ye have done it unto Me."

If we do our duty in feeding the hungry stomachs of European war sufferers, is it not likely that they will be more inclined in due season to allow us to feed their hungry minds with same democratic ideals?

[From the Reno (Nev.) Evening Gazette, Nevada, November 3, 1945]

The UNRRA

Congressional debate on a $1,350,000,000 appropriation for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has brought out the fact that there is a lot of legitimate dissatisfaction with the operations of this organization, designed to relieve human suffering, particularly in Europe. Its administration has been bungled. It is barred from northwest Europe—France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway—although this region is in dire need of help. Nine-tenths of UNRRA's help thus far has been extended to the Balkans and eastern Europe. As one observer recently pointed out:

"This is a part of the world which, except for Greece (here the British policy has governed UNRRA's distributions), is falling under the Russian sphere of influence. Since the United States puts up 72 percent of UNRRA's cash, and Britain 17 percent, a cynic might assert that UNRRA has become an Anglo-American administration for the relief of Russian Europe. The bulk of our money is going into a region from which, because of Russian restraints, we cannot even receive free and fair reports on how the work is progressing."

Apparently there is room for considerable improvement in UNRRA's operations, improvements that Congress has a right to insist upon before approving another huge appropriation. However, we cannot go along with Representative Brown of Ohio who wants to deny American UNRRA funds to countries that restrict the activities of the American press. The purpose of UNRRA is to feed the hungry and clothe the freezing. Many of those needing help reside in countries where governments do not believe in a free press. We cannot deny them succor because their ideologies are not our own. That is not the way to convert them.

[From the State Journal, Lansing, Mich., November 6, 1945]

Strings on UNRRA Funds

The attempt of some Members of Congress to place the strings of a free press on funds put up by this country for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, although inspired by good intentions, would appear to be ill-advised.

While the establishment of freedom of the press in nations where it is not now available would be a boon to the peoples of those countries there is some doubt as to whether the United States should try to purchase such freedom with food which is badly needed by those in the war-torn countries. There also is doubt that such an attempt, even if it were justified, would be successful.

For governments which deny their people access to the truth to establish a free press in order to make food and other relief available to them would presuppose a real regard for the welfare of the people which denial of freedom of the press indicates that the governments do not possess.

The result of attaching such strings to relief would be likely to be that the people who are in need would be deprived of food as well as truth through no fault of their own. Freedom of the press, like other fundamental liberties, are likely to be more lasting and real if they spring from a desire for them from within and a willingness to strive for them than if they are forced upon the governments from without.

The United States, of course, is entitled to access to facts which will acquaint this country with use which is being made of the relief and rehabilitation funds which it is providing.

[From the Clarksburg (W. Va.) Exponent, November 6, 1945]

Relief and a Free Press

Action of the House of Representatives in tying a "free-press" provision to the $550,000,000 appropriation for relief in liberated countries was an untimely, though well-intentioned move.

Secretary of State James Byrnes in a letter to House Appropriations Committee Chairman Clarence Cannon, stated the objection to this action very plainly when he said:

"We cannot put ourselves in the position of denying promised relief to millions of human beings because we have failed to secure our other objectives in advance."

The willingness to grant relief money should not be tied to irrelevant "ifs." Either we are willing to aid the suffering peoples of the world, or we are not, and there should be no political questions involved.

The motive behind the House action is apparent. It aims directly at Russia, where tight censorship continues despite the fact that wartime need for such secrecy no longer exists. Naturally, if we are going to send huge sums abroad for relief, we will want to know how that money is being administered, whether the goods which that money buys are being used for political purposes.

More than that, we want to know what is going inside the other nations of the world. We can trust the officers of UNRRA to keep a sharp eye on the administration of its funds, and to report to UNRRA members honestly, but there is more to it than that.

There has been much talk of "one world," and international cooperation as the guaranties of lasting peace.

But can there be "one world" in the true sense if any country prohibits free reporting to the rest of the world of conditions within that country? Is that international cooperation? Is that the sort of attitude that will promote the trust and confidence that is necessary to peace?

There must be a free press in every corner of the world, if there is to be mutual sympathy and understanding among nations. We are wholeheartedly in favor of the United States pressing for free reporting in all nations, but it should not be a restriction on any move to alleviate suffering.

The same editorial was carried in each of the following newspapers:

Terre-Haute Star, Indiana, November 7.
San Angelo Standard Times, Texas, November 6.
Waterville Morning Sentinel, Maine, November 7.
Gary Post Tribune, Indiana, November 7.
Wheeling News Register, West Virginia, November 4.
La Crosse Tribune, Wisconsin, November 5.
Waterbury Democrat, Connecticut, November 6.
Kennebec Journal, Augusta, Maine, November 6.
Pueblo Chieftain, Colorado, November 6.

[From the Johnstown (Pa.) Tribune, November 7, 1945]

THE NATIONAL WHIRLIGIG—NEWS BEHIND THE NEWS

WASHINGTON

(By Ray Tucker)

Slap.—The enactment of the Dirksen-Brown-Herter amendment to the recent $500,000,000-odd appropriation for UNRRA reflects congressional bitterness toward Moscow, although the significance of the affirmative vote was generally missed. It was put over through a combination of Republicans and Democratic conservatives.

Messrs. Dirksen of Illinois and Brown of Ohio, who are two of the top GOP leaders, insisted that American contributions to UNRRA could not be disbursed in countries—chiefly Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and two Russian provinces—where American newspaper correspondents were not permitted to check on how the money was spent. It was designed as a distinct slap at Russia, although opponents argued that its only effect would be to keep food from the "shrunken bellies" of starving children.

Attitude.—GOP'ers admitted privately that the amendment was a time-serving proposition. It cannot become effective unless all the other members of the international relief organization accept it, and that they will not do. It will simply add fuel to the flames of our other controversies with Stalin.

Moreover, a nation's press policy, regrettable as it may be, is that nation's own affair. The United States has no more right to say how Moscow shall deal with domestic or foreign correspondents than Russia has to dictate the policies of our press associations or of an individual newspaper like the New York Times. The realistic thing would have been to require that UNRRA ascertain the facts and report back to Congress.

The majority backing the amendment knew that; they acknowledged it in corridor conversations. But they wanted to register their suspicion, their dissatisfaction and their hostility to the Soviet's recent behavior. And they did.

Like it or not—and the attitude does not augur well for an improvement in international relationships—that is how Congress feels about the disturbing world situation as of today.

[From The Evening Star, Washington, D. C., November 7, 1945]

"ON THE OTHER HAND" SAYS UNRRA AMENDMENT WOULD MAKE PRESS AN AGENCY OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

(By Lowell Mellett)

For the sake of its own freedom the American press should call off the men in Congress who are seeking to fasten a free-access-to-the-news amendment to any appropriation of funds for the relief of distress in foreign countries. Specifically, the press should advise the Senate that the amendment already attached by the House to a $550,000,000 grant to UNRRA places the press in a preposterous position.

Any experienced newspaperman can tell the Senate that the proposition will not work.

In the first place, what is "free access to the news"? What standard can be set up? Who can determine whether or to what extent any such standard is being met?

The one country in the world in which the press has the freest access to the news is the United States. Suppose the situation were reversed and we were receiving food, fuel, clothing, and medicine from European countries. Suppose this assistance were conditioned on our giving their correspondents free access to all news concerning the use made of supplies sent to us. Well, there are all kinds of correspondents, some of them remarkably good and some of them not; some of them industrious and some of them lazy; some of them conscientious and some of them irresponsible.

The foreign correspondents would have their bases in Washington or New York. The conscientious and industrious ones would endeavor to get about the country, only to learn that it's a long way from New York to San Diego and that there is an awful lot of America between; only to learn that covering the United States is not a one-man job. Being serious workers, however, they would try

and in due time would go crazy, because they would have a terrible burden on their consciences. They would be responsible for determining whether their home governments should continue to help keep us alive, since they would have to report on whether or not they were being given free access to the news in Chicago, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, and all the other big and little towns to which relief supplies were sent.

The other kind of correspondent could operate differently. New York and Washington are pleasant places, with the sort of night life we correspondents are supposed to enjoy. It is possible to cover any country after a fashion by reading its newspapers. So the lazy correspondents would do it the easy way and sometimes they would get scooped. What then? What would be their alibi? You guessed it: They would cable to their complaining editors that they had been denied "free access to the news."

That's just one small facet of the problem presented by the House amendment to the UNRRA bill. Another is raised by the simple fact that there never has been and never can be free access to the news in the fullest sense. Who has the news? Public officials, more than anybody else. Who can tell when a public official is giving up all he knows?

In this country we meet regularly with the President and he tells us a great deal, but hardly all. To get at all he knows, we'd have to sit beside his desk every hour of the day, listening to his conversations with his callers; we'd have to follow him home and listen to his conversation with his wife; we'd have to penetrate his mind to learn what he was holding out, even from his wife. For what the President merely thinks is news—when we can get at it.

But, even if there could be such a thing as free access to the news in the countries of Europe, is the American press prepared to make the House amendment workable? Is it able to provide enough competent reporters to cover every corner of every country and able then to find the space for all they write? Is it prepared to take on its conscience the suffering of the distressed people of Europe as the result of a bit of ill-considered legislation that would make the press, without its consent, an agency of the Government?

[From the Christian Science Monitor, November 15, 1945]

A Race With Chaos

"Just half a stride ahead of chaos" are the present operations of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, according to Director General Herbert H. Lehman. That is far too slight a lead where human lives are concerned. The relief pace must be quickened if it is to outdistance the oncoming winter's acceleration of chaotic conditions. Fortunately, sufficient supplies and transport are available to permit tripling United States shipments abroad, but a lack of funds threatens to hold up December's entire quota.

The House of Representatives has passed the bill authorizing an appropriation of $550,000,000 (remainder of the sum to which Congress committed itself a year ago), but has attached thereto a press-freedom rider which threatens to cripple UNRRA administration. As desirable and essential to a free world as is the establishment of a free press, UNRRA is in no position to force its acceptance in countries which practice restrictions. Such an attempt in all likelihood would result in depriving starving, homeless people of desperately needed aid because of circumstances beyond their control. Moreover, the United States cannot unilaterally amend the rules of an international organization.

UNRRA's rules, however, do stipulate that relief shall "at no time be used as a political weapon and no discrimination shall be made because of race, creed, or political belief." To this end, the House of Representatives seems well warranted in its rider requiring that recipient countries supply UNRRA personnel with all facilities and credentials necessary to inspections and investigations. The provision that trade and barter agreements made by aided nations, together with information on all exports and imports, be made available to UNRRA would also seem to be in line with the organization's duty to assess the resources and needs of applicants for relief.

Any properly enforceable measures that can be taken to prevent such political misuse as has been made of UNRRA supplies should be adopted. But the immediate need is for food and fuel, clothing, and shelter. And neither Congress nor the world can afford to lose that "half a stride" ahead of chaos.

[From the New York Times, November 15, 1945]

UNRRA Must Be Sustained

President Truman's request for an additional $1,350,000,000 for American participation in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was sent to Congress Tuesday while the bill to appropriate $550,000,000 to meet our existing UNRRA obligations was still pending in the Senate. It was sent during an extraordinarily busy and eventful week, while Mr. Truman was deep in his discussions with Prime Minister Attlee, the dreadful economic plight of many millions of Europeans was being brought to this country's attention and political situations the world over were at a critical point. The best that UNRRA can do if this additional money is appropriated and suplemented by funds from other uninvaded United Nations countries will be little enough to turn back a vast tide of human woe. But UNRRA is terribly important. It deserves attention even when mighty happenings and urgent issues compete with it

The kind of help that UNRRA can give is still desperately needed in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Albania, which have been to this time, as the President said, the "chief objects" of its activity. It is needed in Italy, which without such aid "might well lapse into starvation." It is needed to give continued assistance to displaced persons until this problem has been solved. It is to be extended to hungry Austria, in accordance with the Moscow and Potsdam declarations. A "limited program of aid" is scheduled for the Soviet Republics of White Russia and the Ukraine, where American dollars can express our good will toward the Russians who suffered so much in our common war. Finally, it is needed in China and other far-eastern areas—"the largest of all the relief responsibilities which UNRRA now faces."

President Truman is sure that "America will not remain indifferent to the call of human suffering." He believes that UNRRA's success "will do much to prove the possibility of establishing order and cooperation in a world finally at peace." He reminds us that those who now most need our help are the very ones "who by sacrifice and courage kept the enemy from realizing the fruits of his early victories and from bringing his military might to bear upon our own shores." UNRRA is not and cannot be a continuing dole. It is an attempt to save human beings from death, and thereafter to put them on their feet so that they can look out for themselves. The basic necessities come first in its program, but there are also included agricultural supplies and equipment, transportation equipment, and other supplies for self-help.

It is proper that the House Foreign Affairs Committee should ask for first-hand information, as it started to do yesterday, before acting on the President's request. If General Eisenhower or any one else can throw light on Europe's crisis, he should be asked to do so. But there is need for haste. Any unnecessary delay and any introduction of partisan pllitics would be wicked and cruel. There is, above all, no justification for attaching riders such as the so-called "free press" amendment which the House put on the pending $550,000,000 appropriation. Free access to European news is eminently desirable. We ought to fight for it—but not at the cost of human lives.

[From Time magazine, November 12, 1945]

Relief

A STRING FOR UNRRA

Far from satisfied with the job UNRRA was doing already, United States Representatives voted to give the huge relief agency still another job. The House approved a $550,000,000 appropriation for UNRRA, but attached a string: the money could be spent only in countries which granted the United States press full freedom to report UNRRA doings.

Similar policy matters, soluble only at a high diplomatic level, had greatly retarded UNRRA's performance, and UNRRA was falling far short of expectations. It could give no relief to the hungry countries of northwestern Europe. Short on authority, it could do little in the field of rehabilitation. Whatever UNRRA needed, it was not the job of enforcing press freedom.

UNRRA hoped that the Senate would remember that: (1) UNRRA's policies and functions can be altered only by a majority vote of the 44 member nations; (2) the Potsdam agreement has already opened up the countries of southeastern Europe to United States correspondents, who have recently been able to file an astonishing amount of highly critical copy.

[From the Washington Post, November 19, 1945]

UNRRA's Request

UNRRA, the organization established by the United Nations to bind up the worst and most urgent wounds of war, is asking the United States, as well as other countries which were not invaded, to make a second contribution amounting to 1 percent of national income—in our case $1,300,000,000. It is making this request because, as its director general, Herbert H. Lehman, put it very simply, "UNRRA's total financial resources under its first authorization are virtually used up—but its job is only half finished." The job is one on which we cannot default without a denial of the most elementary values which we went to war to preserve. The sense of common humanity which is the basis for all our hopes of a happier world ahead impels us to answer the need of fellow men whose suffering we have been spared.

"Europe and the Far East," says Governor Lehman, "face a grim winter, perhaps the worst in modern history * * * Nearly everywhere in liberated Europe and Asia there is the threat, and in too many instances the actuality, of starvation, disease, economic disorganization, and chaos." Speed, then, is of the essence in meeting this problem. There is no time for "politicking", either in the domestic or the foreign sphere, no time for academic debate over the cultural or political outlooks of the governments whose people we are to aid, no time for any unreasonable delay. Neither is there time for discussion of theoretical approaches to the problem through some mechanism other than UNRRA. There have been criticisms of UNRRA; and its operation has certainly not been faultless. But it is the mechanism agreed upon by all of the United Nations. It is real and functioning; it has gone through the pangs of growth and has eliminated its more serious deficiencies. There is no time, even if we wished to do so, to replace it.

Finally, we must realize the dangers of crippling it by attaching special conditions of any sort to the American contribution. We have embarked upon a concrete program of international action and we cannot responsibly employ our participation to buldgeon extraneous concessions from other participants, however desirable the concessions may seem in themselves. It is not UNRRA's business to bring about universal freedom of the press or universal free elections or anything else in the political realm. Its very urgent business is to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. Let us tend to this business first because it is of the first order of importance. All else that we hope for must flow from this.

[From the Washington Post, November 14, 1945]

Washington Calling

(By Marquis Childs)

HUNGER WON'T WAIT

The relief and rehabilitation of Europe by the only organization that can do the job—UNRRA—is being slowed down through the failure of Congress to appropriate funds already authorized.

This is gambling with the future of western civilization. It is gambling that Europeans will be able to resist cold and hunger for another winter. It is gambling that Europe will not lapse into anarchy or totalitarianism.

Altogether, it is the most shocking example of the dilatory indifference with which our lawmakers seem to face the crisis of our time.

The United States owes UNRRA, an international organization, $550,000,000 which UNRRA had counted on for use in the early winter. The House took an unconscionable time over appropriating the money—the authorization had been approved once by both Senate and House. Now, by slow motion, it is proceeding through the Senate Appropriations Committee.

For lack of funds, UNRRA has canceled $50,000,000 in rehabilitation supplies that had already been arranged for through the Treasury. The money left in UNRRA's cash drawer is needed for food to keep human beings alive.

Included in the $50,000,000 of canceled purchases were supplies and industrial equipment intended to help make Europe a going concern again, as well as clothing and medical supplies. One of the chief aims of UNRRA is to get Europe off the dole as quickly as possible.

But that cannot be done while the subsistence line is so close to actual starvation. In the most fortunate areas in Europe the dietary level is not much more than half what it should be to maintain minimum health.

Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson announced the other day that foreign food allocations would be increased by 50 percent. That was welcome news.

It is good news, especially, for the countries in Europe that are now on a paying basis. France, Belgium, Holland, and Norway are buying food and supplies to a total of about 700,000 tons a month.

The countries dependent on UNRRA—Italy, Greece, Albania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia—are the ones now being pinched by the lack of funds. Poland would probably be at the bottom of the list, but Italy's plight is almost as serious.

Thanks to the United States Army, it has been possible to get Italy through the fall and early winter. Just before the end of lend-lease the Army turned over $150,000,000 in lend-lease supplies for Italian relief.

This source will be exhausted by the first of the year. Moreover, it will not be possible to help Italy out of the $550,000,000, when it is appropriated, because that amount has already been committed elsewhere. Italian relief must wait on authorization and appropriation of $1,300,000,000, which is the second installment to come due to UNRRA.

Figures have so little power to convey the hunger that gnaws at Italian bellies. The average consumption of fats and oils in Italy is 4.8 pounds a person a month. That compares with 44 pounds a month in this country. With the worst drought in 20 years, even the grain crop is down.

What makes the contrast more startling is that UNRRA is getting no fats or oils for either November or December. At the same time, quotas for industrial users in this country have been put back to within 8 percent of the level of 1941, which was a year of high prosperity and high consumption.

The House, in approving the $550,000,000 appropriation, added certain amendments. One provided that American press representatives should have free access, within countries in which UNRRA is distributing relief, to information about how relief is being used.

While that may be a desirable objective, there is danger that it might cause further delay for making formal press agreements with some of the countries. UNRRA is fearful that that would be the result. We have already had too many delays. Hunger will not wait forever.

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OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE 79th-1st, No. 209
Legislative Reports and Service Section

DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
(Issued November 28, 1945, for actions of Tuesday, November 27, 1945)

(For staff of the Department only)

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HIGHLIGHTS: House began debate on 1st deficiency appropriation bill; farm-labor item disccussed. Foreign Affairs Committee reported UNRRA authorization bill.

HOUSE

1. FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1946. Began and concluded general debate on this bill, H.R.4805 (pp. 11223-55). Rep. Cannon, Mo., discussed the bill's provisions and urged economy in the national budget, stating, "Unless we can maintain this Nation on a sound financial basis there is disaster ahead for us and for the world" (pp. 11224-29), and he and Rep. Anderson, Calif., discussed the farm-labor item (pp. 11228, 11230). Reps. Tarver, Ga., Hare, S.C., Lemke, N.Dak., Doyle, Calif., and Eberharter, Pa., discussed the flood-control items in the bill (pp. 11230-4, 11245-9). Rep. Wigglesworth, Mass., criticized the appointment "of personnel for which there has been no authorization from the Congress," citing several agencies including BE&FA (p. 11234). Reps. Murdock, Ariz., Whittington, Miss., and others discussed the reclamation items and Rep. Whittington stated that "Sound public works...are always in order (pp. 11236-9, 11250-1). Rep. Vorys, Ohio, criticized UNRRA administration and questioned the personnel situation in that agency (pp. 11240-1). Rep. Hoffman, Mich., discussed cost-of-living figures and criticized the $50 membership fee which he had to pay to the AFofL when "I tried to send provisions and fruit into Detroit on my own truck" (pp. 11242-3).

2. UNRRA AUTHORIZATION. The Foreign Affairs Committee reported without amendment H.R.4649, to enable the U.S. to further participate in the work of UNRRA (H. Rept. 1311) (p. 11257).

3. WAR POWERS. Received the Navy Department's draft of a proposed bill to extend the effectiveness of Title V of the Second War Powers Act. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 11257).

4. CLAIMS. Minority views of the Judiciary Committee submitted on H.R.2788, to amend 28USC, limiting the time for bringing acting against the U.S. (H.Rept.1141,pt.III (p. 11257).

SENATE

5. UNRRA APPROPRIATIONS. Sens. McKellar, Tenn., and Wherry, Nebr., discussed H.J. Res. 266, the UNRRA-appropriation bill (pp. 11219-20).

6. ACCOUNTING. The Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee reported without amendment H. R. 4350, relating to the issuance of checks in replacement of lost, stolen, etc. U. S. checks (S. Rept. 801) (p. 11191).

7. PHILIPPINE REHABILITATION. Began debate on S. 1610, for the rehabilitation of the Philippine Islands (pp. 11219-20).

8. FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Continued debate on S. 1580, to provide for appointment of U.S. representatives in organs of the United Nations and to make other provision with respect to U.S. participation in such organization (pp. 11195-218).

9. COOPERATIVES. Sen. McKellar, Tenn., inserted a Memphis (Tenn.) C of C resolution urging equal exemptions and immunities, with respect to subsidies and loans, to all cooperative organizations other than certain farmers' and fruit growers' associations (pp. 11189-90).

10. MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY. Sen. Langer, N.Dak., inserted a Warwick (N.Dak.) citizens' letter favoring establishment of an MVA (p. 11190).

11. NOMINATION of Robert Tenbrook to be a member of the Export-Import Bank Board of Directors was withdrawn (p. 11221).

12. CLOTHING SHORTAGE. Sen. Langer, N.Dak., inserted a constituent's letter criticizing the clothing shortage in N. Dak. (p. 11191).

BILLS INTRODUCED

13. BUTTER AND EGGS. S. 1628, by Sen. Capper, Kans., for the prevention of obstructions and burdens upon interstate commerce in butter and eggs by regulating transactions relating to future sales on commodity exchanges. To Agriculture and Forestry Committee. (p. 11191.)

14. FLAG DISPLAY. H. R. 4806, by Rep. Baldwin, Md., to amend the codification of existing rules and customs pertaining to the display and use of the U.S. flag set forth in the joint resolution of June 22, 1942, so as to include among the special days on which the U.S. flag should be displayed the anniversary of the writing of the Star-Spangled Banner. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 11257.)

15. PERSONNEL. H.R. 4812, by Rep. Traynor, Del., to provide for the bonding of Federal officials and employees. To Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee. (p. 11258.)

H.R. 4839, by Rep. May, Ky. (by request) to amend the act to provide for furnishing transportation for certain Government and other personnel necessary for the effective prosecution of the war. To Military Affairs Committee. (p. 11258.)

16. MONOPOLIES. H. R. 4810, by Rep. Kefauver, Tenn., to amend an act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 11258.)

17. HOUSING; VETERANS. H.R. 4811, by Rep. Thomas, Tex., to provide certain benefits under the National Housing Act to veterans and war-service seamen in order to facilitate home ownership by such veterans and seaman. To Banking and Currency

H. R. 3979. An act to extend for the period of 1 year the provisions of the District of Columbia Emergency Rent Act, approved December 2, 1941, as amended;

H. R. 4018. An act for the relief of Robert A. Hudson;

H. R. 4411. An act to adjust the pay and allowances of members of the Navy Nurse Corps, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 236. Joint resolution providing for the continuance of the tax-exempt status of certain property in the District of Columbia when used and occupied by any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States of America or by the American Red Cross.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 53 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, November 28, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

(Wednesday, November 28, 1945)

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds at 10 a. m. on Wednesday, November 28, 1945, in room 1304, New House Office Building, to consider H. R. 4719.

COMMITTEE ON THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

(Thursday, November 29, 1945)

The Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries will continue its consideration of H. R. 2346 and other related bills regarding benefits to merchant seamen on Thursday, November 29, 1945, at 10 a. m., in open hearings.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

841. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to extend the effectiveness of title V of the Second War Powers Act, 1942, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

842. A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to amend section 7 of an act making appropriations to provide for the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes, approved July 1, 1902; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

843. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Deputy Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, dated October 25, 1945, forwarding statements of the cost of manufacture at the armory and arsenals named therein, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1945; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

844. A letter from the secretary, Smithsonian Institution, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for cooperation by the Smithsonian Intsitution with State, educational, and scientific organizations in the United States for continuing ethnological researches on the American Indians," approved April 10, 1928, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Library.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. WALTER: Committee on the Judiciary. Submits additional minority views on H. R. 2788 (Rept. No. 1141, pt. III). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. GARY: Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads. H. R. 4652. A bill to provide credit for past service to substitute employees of the postal service when appointed to regular positions; to extend annual and sick leave benefits to war service indefinite substitute employees; to fix the rate of compensation for temporary substitute rural carriers serving in the place of regular carriers in the armed forces; and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1309). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BURCH: Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads. H. R. 2647. A bill to restore the 2-cent-per-ounce rate of postage on first-class mail for local delivery; without amendment (Rept. No. 1310). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BLOOM: Committee on Foreign Affairs. H. R. 4649. A bill to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; without amendment (Rept. No. 1311). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. DICKSTEIN: Select Committee to Investigate and Study Laws and Problems Relating to Postwar Immigration and Naturalization submits an interim report pursuant to House Resolution 52 (79th Cong., 1st sess.) (Rept. No. 1312). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. KEOGH: Committee on Claims. H. R. 207. A bill for the relief of Edgar Kaigler; with amendment (Rept. No. 1289). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FERNANDEZ: Committee on Claims. H. R. 873. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Bessie S. Edmonds; without amendment (Rept. No. 1290). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HEDRICK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1315. A bill for the relief of B. Pendino; with amendment (Rept. No. 1291). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MORRISON: Committee on claims. H. R. 1348. A bill for the relief of estate of Gordon T. Gorham, and others; with amendment (Rept. No. 1292). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. PITTENGER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1615. A bill for the relief of the legal guardians of John Buchan and Lawrence Gillingham, minors; with amendment (Rept. No. 1293). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RAMEY: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2251. A bill for the relief of Catherine V. Sweeney; without amendment (Rept. No. 1294). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. JENNINGS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2596. A bill for the relief of M. F. Diller; with amendment (Rept. No. 1295). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HEDRICK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2724. A bill for the relief of Charlie Powell; with amendment (Rept. No. 1296). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. JENNINGS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2728. A bill for the relief of R. H. Sindle; with amendment (Rept. No. 1297). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SCRIVNER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3124. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Gisella Sante; without amendment (Rept. No. 1298). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RAMEY: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3158. A bill for the relief of Leonard J. Fox and Milford G. Fox, a partnership, doing business as Fox Co.; without amendment (Rept. No. 1299). Referred to the Commitee of the Whole House.

Mr. HEDRICK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3229. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Leslie Price, Philip C. Price, Mrs. Louise Keyton, Annie Curry, and James Curry; with amendment (Rept. No. 1300). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RAMEY: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3285. A bill for the relief of Capt. Wayne E. Meisenheimer; without amendment (Rept. No. 1301). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. PITTENGER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3784. A bill for the relief of C. H. Brumfield; with amendment (Rept. No. 1302). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. PITTENGER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3834. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Eunice C. Hardage; with amendment (Rept. No. 1303). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SCRIVNER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4116. A bill for the relief of M. R. Stone; with amendment (Rept. No. 1304). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4117. A bill for the relief of Franklin P. Radcliffe; with amendment (Rept. No. 1305). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FERNANDEZ: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4249. A bill for the relief of Lucy Delgado; with amendment (Rept. No. 1306). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. KEOGH: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1782. A bill for the relief of Ida F. Braun, Alice Braun Menges, and Carl J. Braun, individually and as executors of the estate of Hedwig W. Braun, deceased, and as legatees and beneficiaries of the will of Hedwig W. Braun, deceased, and as the sole parties in interest by succession under the last will and testament of Hedwig W. Braun, deceased, and under the last will and testament of Herman W. Braun, deceased; with amendment (Rept. No. 1307). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. JENNINGS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3698. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Lucille Scarlett and Charles Scarlett; without amendment (Rept. No. 1303). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BALDWIN of Maryland:

H. R. 4806. A bill to amend the codification of existing rules and customs pertaining to the display and use of the flag of the United States set forth in the joint resolution of June 22, 1942, as amended, so as to include among the special days on which the flag of the United States should be displayed the anniversary of the writing of the Star-Spangled Banner; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BENNET of New York:

H. R. 4807. A bill relating to the income-tax liability of members of the armed forces dying in the service; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. D'EWART:

H. R. 4808. A bill to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress to the counties of Valley and McCone, Mont., to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River at or near Frazer, Mont.," approved August 5, 1939; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GAMBLE:

H. R. 4809. A bill relating to the income-tax liability of members of the armed forces dying in the service; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KEFAUVER:

H. R. 4810. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914 (38 Stat. 730), as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMAS of Texas:

H. R. 4811. A bill to provide certain benefits under the National Housing Act to veterans and war-service seamen in order to facilitate home ownership by such veterans and seamen; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. TRAYNOR:

H. R. 4812. A bill to provide for the bonding of Federal officials and employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. HORAN:

H. R. 4838. A bill to amend the act of January 22, 1932, as amended (47 Stat. 5), to authorize and direct the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to purchase aluminum for stock-piling purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MAY (by request):

H. R. 4839. A bill to amend Public, No. 779, Seventy-seventh Congress, second session, an act to provide for furnishing transportation for certain Government and other personnel necessary for the effective prosecution of the war, and for other purposes, approved December 1, 1942, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BECKWORTH:

H. Res. 419. Resolution to authorize the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to conduct a study with respect to the holding and disposition of alien property; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H. Res. 420. Resolution requesting information from the Administrator of the War Shipping Administration about transportation to return troops from overseas points; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. Res. 421. Resolution requesting information from the Secretary of War about transportation to return troops from overseas points; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. Res. 422. Resolution requesting information from the Secretary of the Navy about transportation to return troops from overseas points; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BENNET of New York:

H. R. 4813. A bill for the relief of the Bunker Hill Development Corp., to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BIEMILLER:

H. R. 4814. A bill for the relief of Ioannis Peter Benezis; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BRUMBAUGH:

H. R. 4815. A bill for the relief of Pittsburgh DuBois Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COLE of Kansas:

H. R. 4816. A bill to provide for the advancement on the emergency officers' retired list of the Army of John W. McManigal; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COX:

H. R. 4817. A bill for the relief of A. J. Davis, Mrs. Lorene Griffin, Earle Griffin, and Harry Musgrove; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. D'EWART:

H. R. 4818. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain lands in the State of Montana to Richard K. O'Connor; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 4819. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain lands in the State of Montana to John J. Akers; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 4820. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain lands in the State of Montana to Clayton L. Lowe; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 4821. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain lands in the State of Montana to Chauncey W. Whitright, Jr.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 4822. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain lands in the State of Montana to Robert J. Leete; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 4823. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain lands in the State of Montana to Robert J. O'Connor; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 4824. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain lands in the State of Montana to Charley Roller; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. GEELAN:

H. R. 4825. A bill for the relief of Peter J. Geenty; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LANDIS:

H. R. 4826. A bill granting a pension to Nellie Knotts; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McGEHEE:

H. R. 4727. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Pan American Petroleum and Transport Co. against the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MURDOCK:

H. R. 4828. A bill for the relief of Edwin W. Mills; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PETERSON of Georgia:

H. R. 4829. A bill for the relief of Commander R. P. Erdman; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RAINS:

H. R. 4830. A bill for the relief of J. H. Karr and Mrs. J. H. Karr, doing business as Home Plumbing Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 4831. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Frances B. Bynum; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RICHARDS:

H. R. 4832. A bill for the relief of Stanley B. Reeves and Mrs. Stanley B. Reeves; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 4833. A bill for the relief of the estate of Robert Lee Blackman; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Utah:

H. R. 4834. A bill for relief of the estate of Katherine Delores Smith; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 4835. A bill for relief of the estate of Agnes Jane True; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHAFER:

H. R. 4836. A bill for the relief of Louis M. Drolet; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMASON:

H. R. 4837. A bill for the relief of the city of El Paso, Tex.; to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1348. By Mr. EATON: Petition of certain returning GI veterans of Raritan, N. J., regarding leave or furlough credit; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1349. By Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON: Petition of board of directors of the Texas Federation of Cooperatives, opposing H. R. 4322 in its present form and favoring suggested changes proposed by B. L. Sanders, director of the Navarro National Farm Loan Association of Corsicana, Tex., and others; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1350. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Southwest Shippers Advisory Board, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to their approval of H. R. 2536 and with regard to other legislation; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

79th Congress } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { Report
1st Session } { No. 1311

FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN WORK OF UNRRA

November 27, 1945.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. Bloom, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 4649]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment and recommend that the bill do pass.

This bill amends sections 1 and 9 of the joint resolution of March 28, 1944, entitled "Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization" (Public Law 267, 78th Cong.), and in accordance with clause 2a, rule 13, there is inserted in the report those sections (the language proposed to be repealed enclosed in black brackets and the amendatory language in italics), which are as follows:

[Public Law 267—78th Congress]

[Chapter 135—2d Session]

[H. J. Res. 192]

JOINT RESOLUTION To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President such sums, not to exceed [$1,350,000,000] *$2,700,000,000* in the aggregate, as the Congress may determine from time to time to be appropriate for participation by the United States (including contributions in funds or otherwise and all necessary expenses related thereto) in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and Associated Governments on November 9, 1943, reading as follows:

"AGREEMENT FOR UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

"The Governments or Authorities whose duly authorized representatives have subscribed hereto,

"Being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations in this war,

"Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services,

"Have agreed as follows:

"Article I

"There is hereby established the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

"1. The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its objects and purposes.

"2. Subject to the provisions of Article VII, the purposes and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

"(a) To plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishings of these services. The form of activities of the Administration within the territory of a member government wherein that government exercises administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed by the member government for carrying out measures planned by the Administration therein shall be determined after consultation with and with the consent of the member government.

"(b) To formulate and recommend measures for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments for the coordination of purchasing, the use of ships and other procurement activities in the period following the cessation of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans and activities of the Administration with the total movement of supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable distribution of available supplies. The Administration may administer such coordination measures as may be authorized by the member governments concerned.

"(c) To study, formulate, and recommend for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of its experience in planning and performing the work of relief and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member governments. Such proposals shall be studied and recommendations formulated if the proposals are supported by a vote of the Council, and the recommendations shall be referred to any or all of the member governments for individual or joint action if approved by unanimous vote of the Central Committee and by vote of the Council.

"Article II

"Membership

"The members of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be the governments or authorities signatory hereto and such other governments or authorities as may upon application for membership be admitted thereto by action of the Council. The Council may, if it desires, authorize the Central Committee to accept new members between sessions of the Council.

"Wherever the term 'member government' is used in this Agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the Administration whether a government or an authority.

"ARTICLE III

"THE COUNCIL

"1. Each member government shall name one representative, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which shall be the policy-making body of the Administration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select one of its members to preside at the session. The Council shall determine its own rules of procedure. Unless otherwise provided by the Agreement or by action of the Council, the Council shall vote by simple majority.

"2. The Council shall be convened in regular session not less than twice a year by the Central Committee. It may be convened in special session whenever the Central Committee shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within thirty days after request therefor by one-third of the members of the Council.

"3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, with the Director General presiding, without vote. Between sessions of the Council it shall when necessary make policy decisions of an emergency nature. All such decisions shall be recorded in the minutes of the Central Committee which shall be communicated promptly to each member government. Such decisions shall be open to reconsideration by the Council at any regular session or at any special session called in accordance with Article III, paragraph 2. The Central Committee shall invite the participation of the representative of any member government at those of its meetings at which action of special interest to such government is discussed. It shall invite the participation of the representative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affecting the provision of supplies are discussed.

"4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing those member governments likely to be principal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The members shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate, and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies designed to assure the provision of required supplies. The Central Committee shall from time to time meet with the Committee on Supplies to review policy matters affecting supplies.

"5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the European area and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make these appointments in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the Far Eastern area and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make these appointments in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The regional committees shall normally meet within their respective areas. They shall consider and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect to relief and rehabilitation within their respective areas. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall replace the Inter-Allied Committee on European Post-war Relief established in London on September 24, 1941, and the records of the latter shall be made available to the Committee for Europe.

"6. The Council shall establish such other standing regional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions of such committees and the method of appointing their members being identical to that provided in Article III, paragraph 5, with respect to the Committees of the Council for Europe and for the Far East. The Council shall also establish such other standing committees as it considers desirable to advise it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council, to advise the Central Committee. For such standing technical committees as may be established, in respect of particular problems such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, repatriation, and finance, the members may be members of the Council

or alternates nominated by them because of special competence in their respective fields of work. The members shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. Should a regional committee so desire, subcommittees of the standing technical committees shall be established by the technical committees in consultation with the regional committees, to advise the regional committees.

"7. The travel and other expenses of members of the Council and of members of its committees shall be borne by the governments which they represent.

"8. All reports and recommendations of committees of the Council shall be transmitted to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of Article IV, paragraph 4.

"ARTICLE IV

"THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

"1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nomination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The Director General may be removed by the Council on recommendation by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

"2. The Director General shall have full power and authority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by Article I, paragraph 2 (a), within the limits of available resources and the broad policies determined by the Council or its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office he shall in conjunction with the military and other appropriate authorities of the United Nations prepare plans for the emergency relief of the civilian population in any area occupied by the armed forces of any of the United Nations, arrange for the procurement and assembly of the necessary supplies and create or select the emergency organization required for this purpose. In arranging for the procurement, transportation, and distribution of supplies and services, he and his representatives shall consult and collaborate with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations and shall, wherever practicable, use the facilities made available by such authorities. Foreign voluntary relief agencies may not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the Administration without the consent and unless subject to the regulation of the Director General. The powers and duties of the Director General are subject to the limitations of Article II.

"3. The Director General shall also be responsible for the organization and direction of the functions contemplated by Article I, paragraphs 2 (b) and 2 (e).

"4. The Director General shall appoint such Deputy Directors General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions, as he shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director General, or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors General, shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities as shall be required by the Council and its committees, including the regional committees and subcommittees. Such Deputy Directors General as shall be assigned special functions within a region shall attend meetings of the regional standing committee whenever possible and shall keep it advised on the progress of the relief and rehabilitation program within the region.

"5. The Director General shall make periodic reports to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall be made public except for such portions as the Central Committee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United Nations, to keep confidential; if a report affects the interests of a member government in such a way as to render it questionable whether it should be published, such government shall have an opportunity of expressing its views on the question of publication. The Director General shall also arrange to have prepared periodic reports covering the activities of the Administration within each region and he shall transmit such reports with his comments thereon to the Council, the Central Committee and the respective regional committees.

"ARTICLE V

"SUPPLIES AND RESOURCES

"1. In so far as its appropriate constitutional bodies shall authorize, each member government will contribute to the support of the Administration in order to accomplish the purposes of Article I, paragraph 2 (a). The amount and character

of the contributions of each member government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies. All such contributions received by the Administration shall be accounted for.

"2. The supplies and resources made available by the member governments shall be kept in review in relation to prospective requirements by the Director General, who shall initiate action with the member governments with a view to assuring such additional supplies and resources as may be required.

"3. All purchases by any of the member governments, to be made outside their own territories during the war for relief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after consultation with the Director General, and shall, so far as practicable be carried out through the appropriate United Nations agency.

"ARTICLE VI

"ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

"The Director General shall submit to the Council an annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary budgets as may be required, covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of a budget by the Council the total amount approved shall be allocated to the member governments in proportions to be determined by the Council. Each member government undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its share of the administrative expenses so determined.

"ARTICLE VII

"Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained, while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command of that area, and unless subject to such control as the command may find necessary. The determination that such hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be made by its military commander.

"ARTICLE VIII

"AMENDMENT

"The provisions of this Agreement may be amended as follows:

"a. Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the approval of the Council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it;

"b. Amendments involving modification of Article III or Article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of the Central Committee;

"c. Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote.

"ARTICLE IX

"ENTRY INTO FORCE

"This Agreement shall enter into force with respect to each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory.

"ARTICLE X

"WITHDRAWAL

"Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of six months from the entry into force force of the Agreement for that government. Such notice shall take effect twelve months after the date of its communication to the Director General subject to the member government having met by that time all financial, supply, or other material obligations accepted or undertaken by it."

SEC. 9. The authorization contained in this joint resolution shall expire on June 30, [1946] *1947*.

URGENT NEED FOR CONTINUED OPERATIONS BY UNRRA

The end of the war in Europe and in the Pacific has revealed the full extent of destruction and the requirements for relief and rehabilitation in all of the liberated countries. The original contribution to UNRRA by the United States will, when fully appropriated by the Congress, only permit the continued procurement of supplies to meet these needs until January 1, 1946, and the supplies so procured will all have been delivered to the receiving countries in a short period thereafter.

We have every reason to expect that this winter will be the most difficult since the war began for those who so long resisted the enemy and were under his heel. Last summer's droughts in Europe and the disruption and collapse of transportation systems, distribution channels, and whole economies which resulted from the destruction of the Axis system, have increased the misery and enlarged the task which UNRRA was originally assigned. The job cannot be finished in the next few weeks; it will require operations through 1946 in Europe, and during the first quarter of 1947 in the Far East.

PROVISIONS OF THE HOUSE BILL

The House bill leaves unaltered the provisions of the original authorization act (act of March 28, 1944; Public Law 267, 78th Cong.) except that the amount authorized for the participation of the United States in the work of UNRRA is increased by $1,350,000,000 and the expiration date of the authorization is extended to June 30, 1947.

HEARINGS

The House bill was introduced on October 29, 1945. During the extensive hearings held by the committee, a thorough inquiry was made into the operations of UNRRA since its creation and its success in providing supplies to the devastated areas was investigated. A full study was made of the use of UNRRA's resources by the Administration, the methods of UNRRA's operations and its arrangements with the receiving countries. The hearings continued for 8 days and the following witnesses were heard in support of the resolution: Under Secretary of State, Dean Acheson; the Honorable William L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State and the United States member of the UNRRA Council; the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Acting Chief of Staff of the Army.

Under Secretary Acheson discussed with the committee the history of the organization from its inception until last summer when he was succeeded as the United States member of the Council by Assistant Secretary William L. Clayton. Assistant Secretary Clayton testified in detail with respect to the decisions undertaken at the UNRRA Council session held in London last August, and described the extent and urgency of the need for an additional authorization. Governor Lehman and members of his staff were able to supply the committee with complete information concerning UNRRA's operations and programs. General Eisenhower described the activities of UNRRA

in Germany and stated his belief that an international organization such as UNRRA is the only feasible way to handle the relief problem in Europe.

In addition the committee heard Mr. Eugene Meyer, editor and publisher of the Washington Post; Mr. Alexander Jones, managing editor of the Washington Post; Mr. John Corson, research director of the Washington Post, all of whom testified concerning the inadvisability of attaching to the UNRRA authorization bill any condition relating to the free access of newspaper correspondents to countries receiving UNRRA assistance. The committee also heard testimony from Msgr. John Boland of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, who has spent a considerable amount of time in a number of European countries during the past year, and who stated that he believed UNRRA was doing a most effective job, that he had heard no criticism of UNRRA until he returned to the United States. Testimony in favor of the bill was also given by Mr. Leslie Moss, executive director, church committee on overseas relief and reconstruction of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; and Mr. Robbins Walcott Barstow, director, Commission for World Council Service, World Council of Churches.

James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Mr. Lewis G. Hines, legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor, and Mr. Robert Forsberg, representing a group of interested college students, appeared before the committee to urge the prompt authorization of our additional contribution without restrictive amendments. Mr. Edward O'Neal, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, filed a statement with the committee in support of the bill. The committee also received testimony from Mrs. Helen Dwight Reid, president of the Association of American University Women; Mrs. Dana C. Backus, of the Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace; Mrs. Allan Mitchell, legislative representative of the League of Women Voters; Mrs. Dorothy Detzer, director of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Mrs. Joseph Low, executive secretary of the National Council of Jewish Women; Mrs. Allan C. G. Mitchell, director, National League of Women Voters; Mr. E. Raymond Wilson, executive secretary, Friends Committee on National Legislation. Mrs. Alice C. Weitz presented a statement for Mrs. La Fell Dickinson, president, General Federation of Women's Clubs, in support of the bill.

The only witness who appeared in opposition to the bill whose appearance was requested by Mr. Chiperfield for Mr. Vorys, was Mr. Raymond Lindgren, a former employee of UNRRA who resigned after only 4 months with the organization, and before he had undertaken his duties in connection with displaced persons for which he had been employed. Mr. Lindgren stated that he did not believe that it was possible to secure results in relief work through international cooperation since there could not be teamwork among people of various nationalities. Mr. Lindgren testified with respect to instances of inefficiency and black-market operations on the part of UNRRA employees; all of these instances were based on rumors and hearsay; he knew of no such instances of his personal knowledge.

The record of the committee hearings includes not only the testimony of the witnesses who appeared before the committee, but a

number of documents submitted in response to requests of the committee.

BASIS FOR REQUEST OF ADDITIONAL AUTHORIZATION

UNRRA furnishes relief and rehabilitation assistance only to those liberated countries which apply for such assistance and which qualify under the resolutions adopted by the UNRRA Council. One of the principal grounds on which a country must qualify relates to its ability to pay for the supplies which it must procure abroad for the relief of its people. Many countries, such as those in western Europe, have adequate foreign exchange resources which permit them to meet their own needs. Other countries, however, are not so fortunate, and it is toward them that UNRRA's operations are directed.

UNRRA has undertaken relief and rehabilitation programs in Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and a limited program in Italy. It assists the military authorities in the United States, British, and French zones of Germany in caring for and repatriating displaced persons. Since the defeat of Japan it has also been able to increase the quantities of supplies which it has delivered to China. At the last Council session in August of this year, the extension of additional aid to Italy was approved and programs were authorized for Austria, Korea, and Formosa, areas which we are seeking to return to the side of the United Nations. At the time of the Council session in London last August, a request for assistance had been filed by the Soviet Union, but during the conference it was agreed that such assistance should be limited to a reasonable program for the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics, the two republics which suffered the most extensive and direct devastation from the German invasion.

Because of the end of the war, which occurred during the meeting of the Council, it was possible to estimate with more precision the full extent of the needs in the countries which were to receive UNRRA assistance, and the programs tentatively approved made it appear that an additional contribution from each of the contributing member nations, equal to their original contributions, would be required if UNRRA's task was not to be interrupted in midstream and if the devastated areas were not to be left without necessary help from abroad.

The Council agreed that shipments to the recipient countries in Europe should cease by the end of 1946 and to the recipient countries in the Far East 3 months thereafter. With this time limit agreed upon, it was possible to determine the magnitude of the total task.

The additional contributions from the member nations will not, of course, be sufficient to cover all of the needs. The greater part of the job will have to be done by the people of the receiving countries themselves. UNRRA can only hope to supplement their efforts with supplies not available to them and which they would otherwise be unable to secure.

UNRRA'S RECORD

The testimony before the committee demonstrated that UNRRA has a substantial record of accomplishment. During the war UNRRA, of course, faced inevitable difficulties. Our military forces

and those of our allies necessarily had first call on supplies, transport, equipment, and personnel. Not until April of this year could UNRRA ship supplies in any substantial quantities to where they were needed in Europe. Not until VJ-day were the ports in China opened.

The following testimony shows the problem with which UNRRA has been faced:

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. General Eisenhower, I should like to ask one question: When our subcommittee met you in France, I believe you said that you thought that UNRRA had been to a large extent criticized for conditions over which it had no control, and that while the war was on, all UNRRA could hope to receive was the bottom of the barrel, the scrapings in shipping and the materials and, perhaps, even in personnel.

General EISENHOWER. That is right, Mrs. Douglas. I should say this, if anyone had given me the job of organizing UNRRA under the conditions that existed all during that campaign, I think I would have thrown up my hands in helplessness, because at that time we (the Army) demanded everything and we got everything. We had to get that job done, and it was a discouraging thing. That UNRRA made any progress at all I consider remarkable, and I guarantee that they are improving steadily.

With the end of the war, UNRRA has made an impressive showing. By the end of October UNRRA had shipped into Greece 1,378,000 long tons of supplies valued at $217,000,000. There can be no doubt that UNRRA has been responsible for saving the Greek people from mass starvation. In Yugoslavia UNRRA had delivered by October 31, 1945, over 640,000 long tons of goods valued at $171,000,000. Shipments to Poland and Czechoslovakia could not get under way on a large scale until the Baltic ports had been opened. Yet by October 31, 1945, UNRRA shipments to Poland totaled 219,200 long tons worth $111,600,000 and the supplies sent in to Czechoslovakia amounted to 225,800 long tons valued at $94,000,000. Until now in Italy UNRRA has been empowered only to carry on a limited program of aid amounting to $50,000,000 for the purpose of assisting mothers, children, and displaced persons. By the end of October UNRRA deliveries into Italy had amounted to 105,000 long tons of supplies valued at over $22,000,000. Albania had received over 34,000 long tons of supplies by the same date and China, where operations were only beginning, had received approximately 32,000 long tons. In Germany, UNRRA has had over 5,000 trained personnel in the western area, assisting the military in the care of United Nations and stateless displaced persons, mainly by operating the assembly centers where these displaced persons live. General Eisenhower testified from his own observation in Germany that UNRRA is "operating with steadily increasing effectiveness" and that its displaced-persons operation constitutes a "remarkable achievement in the face of the many difficulties which have confronted UNRRA." General Eisenhower also said that the UNRRA administrators in Germany are "expert administrators of unquestionable competence."

Most significant to the committee has been the rapid rate of acceleration in UNRRA's operations during the past few months. In July 1945 shipments amounted to 296,500 tons; in August they went up to 318,837 tons; in September they increased to 418,000, and in October UNRRA had pushed them up beyond the half-million mark. In November UNRRA will ship 800,000 tons of relief supplies, the equivalent of over 100 Liberty shiploads.

The committee is convinced that the administration of UNRRA has learned from its experience. Its increasing program of aid has demonstrated that it is an organization capable of furnishing relief

and rehabilitation assistance efficiently and fairly. It has procurement and shipping machinery functioning smoothly and it has a staff competent to handle its administration and the complex technical matters involved in a world-wide relief program. The committee was impressed with Governor Lehman's vigorous leadership, his thorough knowledge of the complex, world-wide relief problem and his successful efforts to improve the efficiency of his organization.

DESIRABILITY OF CONTINUING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The committee was particularly impressed with General Eisenhower's testimony that UNRRA, and not a purely American relief organization, should carry out the relief program. General Eisenhower said:

> In the war against the Axis Powers we recognized that all the world was a battleground. It was impossible to consider one theater of operations separately from the others. There was but one war even though fought around the globe. Every battle, wherever fought, affected the outcome of the war. In this situation we achieved military success only by the splendid cooperation and mutual tolerance and respect of the Allied Powers and associated United Nations.
>
> The relief of Europe and those areas of Asia which have similarly suffered is not the responsibility of our Nation or of a single group of nations. It is a world problem and no nation desirous of a peaceful world can ignore it.
>
> UNRRA represents one major effort of the United Nations to act constructively in meeting the challenge of the peace. The United States assumed leadership in organizing UNRRA. The United States has also assumed leadership in urging upon the other nations of the world the thought that by united action and consultation through such a medium as the United Nations Organization resort to war shall not again be necessary.
>
> The ravished nations of the world are looking to UNRRA for their relief in this period of their necessity.
>
> If UNRRA were to fail them, they could not help but feel that not only had the United States failed them but that the hope of solution of world problems through United Nations action was an illusory one.
>
> I am convinced that the best way of developing the habit of cooperation is by building and supporting effective operating international organizations such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The committee is also convinced that the international machinery of UNRRA is an economical and efficient way of providing relief and rehabilitation. The UNRRA supply pipe line draws on countries all over the world. Jute comes from India; coffee from Brazil; nitrates from Chile; all as contributions from member nations. The 31 United Nations which have not been invaded share the financial burden of relief and rehabilitation. Many of these countries have made a real sacrifice in making their contributions to UNRRA; with their second contribution, they will have contributed a total of $1,000,000,000.

There is a further practical point which the committee wishes to emphasize. Approximately 90 percent of the American contribution to UNRRA will be spent for American supplies and services, thus assisting American industry, labor, and agriculture. In addition, with these funds UNRRA will make large purchases of American military surpluses which are now available for disposal both in this country and overseas. The American taxpayer has already paid for these military supplies. When UNRRA buys them the United States Government accounts will be credited accordingly and, as Assistant Secretary Clayton told the committee, it would be most difficult to dispose of many of these supplies for dollars in any other way.

THE DANGER OF RESTRICTIVE CONDITIONS

The committee considered a number of suggestions for conditions and limitations on the use of the funds to be authorized. The committee felt that some of the suggested amendments were directed to ends not germane to relief and rehabilitation; others sought to impose upon UNRRA conditions concerning the securing of information which would delay or prevent relief assistance to the recipient countries. Indeed, the so-called free-press amendment sought to impose standards with respect to access to information which could not be met even in the United States zones of occupation in Europe and Asia. Testimony by Mr. Meyer, editor and publisher of the Washington Post, and Mr. Jones, managing editor, indicated that from a practical newspaperman's point of view this amendment imposed an ineffective and inappropriate restraint on UNRRA activities. The committee is convinced that the administration of UNRRA itself has developed adequate methods for obtaining information necessary to its functions. It has trained observers of many nationalities, including Americans, in all recipient countries, checking on requirements and distribution in order to assure compliance with UNRRA principles. It receives and analyzes a vast amount of statistical material obtained through Government channels and through first-hand reports and it is, therefore, in a position to assure the contributing countries that UNRRA assistance goes where it is needed in a fair and efficient manner. The committee is convinced, therefore, that these amendments concerning information are not necessary and would be highly unfortunate.

But more important, we feel that the moral position of the United States would be seriously impaired if our political objectives were made the basis of denying relief to millions of needy human beings. People cannot be starved into accepting American policies. Moreover, the result of such unilateral action by the United States might well be the imposition of restrictive and undesirable conditions on UNRRA's operations by other countries. The committee believes that a precedent of this kind would have a most detrimental effect on the successful functioning of this and other international organizations.

THE ROLE OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

The testimony before the committee showed that there has been close cooperation between UNRRA and the private relief organizations of this country. No private agency complained that UNRRA operations had conflicted with its activities. In fact, all of them stressed the importance of continuing a governmentally financed international relief organization with adequate means for handling the main burden of relieving devastated Europe and Asia. It was brought out that UNRRA encouraged and fostered the activities of private agencies by facilitating shipments of contributed supplies and by arranging for supplementary field activities by voluntary agency groups. Moreover, the committee believes that UNRRA performs a most essential function in coordinating the operations of private relief groups in recipient countries, thereby eliminating wasteful duplication and inefficient use of contributed funds.

URGENCY OF A SECOND 1-PERCENT CONTRIBUTION

The most important fact brought out in the hearings was that a new 1-percent contribution must be made before the end of December 1945 if there are to be uninterrupted relief shipments during this winter. The key facts which demonstrate this are as follows: The $800,000,000 already appropriated by the United States has been completely used up. The $550,000,000 now being appropriated under the first authorization will be obligated entirely before the end of December for urgently needed supplies, procurement of which has already been unduly delayed. This means that procurement operations will actually cease in the United States by the end of December unless the new contribution is made available before then. The result will be a break in the supply line of UNRRA that will cause damage in terms of human suffering and life. Seed and farm tools, for example, will not be ordered in time to assure deliveries before spring planting.

From the standpoint of actual shipments of supplies from the United States the figures show that if procurement ceases in December, shipments of food and clothing will end in February.

At the end of this November UNRRA will have only $102,000,000 worth of supplies remaining for shipment. To this will be added the supplies bought with the $550,000,000. However, UNRRA's shipping program for December will absorb $280,000,000 and a similar sum will be absorbed in January—a total of $560,000,000. The remaining $92,000,000 will cover supplies shipped after January. The net result is that UNRRA will have to stop loading food and clothing in the middle of February. Every day's delay in making this contribution will, therefore, mean more disease, more starvation. We cannot afford to trifle with human suffering. We must act promptly to do our part in this United Nations undertaking.

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Union Calendar No. 396

79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 4649

[Report No. 1311]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NOVEMBER 12, 1945

Mr. BLOOM introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

NOVEMBER 27, 1945

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

---

A BILL

To enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the joint resolution of March 28, 1944, entitled "Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization", is amended in the following respect:

(1) The first section is amended by striking out "$1,350,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$2,700,000,000".

(2) Section 9 is amended by striking out "1946" and inserting in lieu thereof "1947".

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OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE 79th-1st, No. 214
Legislative Reports and Service Section

DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

(Issued December 5, 1945, for actions of Tuesday, December 4, 1945)

(For staff of the Department only)

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HIGHLIGHTS: House Rules Committee cleared UNRRA-authorization bill. Senate began debate on UNRRA-appropriation bill.

HOUSE

1. UNRRA AUTHORIZATION. The Rules Committee reported a resolution for the consideration of H. R. 4649, to authorize an additional appropriation of $550,000,000 to UNRRA (pp. 11610, 11628).

2. LATIN AMERICA. Rep. Clevenger, Ohio, discussed the "collapse" of the Latin-American good-will policy through "meddling in foreign political internal affairs" (pp. 11592-3).

3. FOREIGN RELIEF. Rep. Buffett, Nebr., criticized foreign relief through UNRRA, urged relief through religious organizations, and included a Nebr. priest's telegram on the subject (p. 11592).

4. ELECTRIFICATION. Received Federal Power Commission's report, "The Financial Record of the Electric Utility Industry" (p. 11628).

SENATE

5. UNRRA APPROPRIATIONS. Began debate on H. J. Res 266, the UNRRA-appropriation bill (p. 11590).

6. FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Passed, 65-7, with amendments S. 1580, the UNO bill (pp. 11570-90).

7. PUBLIC LANDS and Surveys Committee submitted its third partial report on administration and use of public lands, relating to withdrawals which "raise certain fundamental questions" in connection with withdrawal procedures (pp. 11562-5).

8. FOREIGN RELATIONS. Sen. Eastland, Miss., spoke on "American Policy Toward Europe," discussing agricultural economics, UNRRA, exports of agricultural commodities, and surplus commodities. Other members discussed this with him. (pp. 11552-62.)

9. HOUSING. Sen. Saltonstall, Mass., inserted Philip Nichols' (Mass. Housing Board) letter setting forth his recommendations in connection with housing projects (pp. 11549-50).

Sen. Capper, Kans., inserted a Kansas Savings and Loan League resolution opposing S. 1592, the national housing bill (p. 11550).

BILLS INTRODUCED

10. FARM CREDIT. H. R. 4873 (see Digest 213) provides as follows: Creates an independent Agricultural Credit Agency to include FCA and FSA functions. Establishes in the Agency an Agricultural Credit Board consisting of 7 members, one of whom shall be the Secretary of Agriculture, who may act through a Special Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, to receive a salary of $10,000. Requires the President to designate one Board member as Chairman. Requires the Board to appoint an Agricultural Credit Administrator, at a salary of $10,000, to execute the programs under general supervision and direction of the Board. Provides for Deputy Administrators, to be selected by the Administrator, one to be in charge of each of the following divisions: (1) Loans to farmers' cooperatives, (2) short-term loans by cooperative lending institutions, (3) long-term farm-mortgage loans, (4) direct lending to farmers, (5) financing and discounting activities, and (6) appraisal, examination, and other service functions. Declares it to be Congressional policy to promote a system of agricultural cooperative credit banks and associations; to assist tenants, veterans, etc., in becoming farm owners; and to assist farmers eligible for direct loans. Establishes a system of Federal farm appraisers to make appraisals for the public on a fee basis. Makes the bill effective 90 days after its enactment, except that with the Agency's approval the transfer of any personnel, function, etc., may be delayed for an additional 90 days.

11. HOUSING. H. R. 4899, by Rep. Patterson, Calif., to establish a national housing policy and provide for its execution. To Banking and Currency Committee. (p. 11629.)

12. SELECTIVE SERVICE. H. R. 4894, by Rep. Smith, Wis., to amend the Selective Service and Training Act and to suspend all inductions thereunder. To Military Affairs Committee. (p. 11629.)

H. J. Res. 282, to suspend further inductions under the Selective Service and Training Act. To Military Affairs Committee. (p. 11629.)

13. LEND-LEASE. H. Res. 466, by Rep. Dworchak, Idaho, to create a select committee to investigate lend-lease operations. To Rules Committee. (p. 11629.) Remarks of author (p. 11594).

14. VETERANS. H. R. 4893, H. R. 4895, H. R. 4896, H. R. 4900, H. J. Res. 281.

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

15. ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY. Rep. Gallagher, Minn., inserted Under Secretary of State Acheson's Democratic Digest article favoring this project (p. A5647).

Sen. Tobey, N.H., inserted Sen. Aiken's (Vt.) Boston City Club address favoring this project (pp. A5648-50).

Extension of remarks of Rep. Pittenger, Minn., including J.H. Barnes' Detroit Economic Club address, favoring this project (pp. A5670-4).

16. PRICE CONTROL. Speech in the House by Rep. Biemiller, Wis., including a constituent's letter, urging retention of price control and citing the increase in the price of lemons and oranges (p. A5647).

count of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

C. H. BRUMFIELD

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 3784) for the relief of C. H. Brumfield.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to C. H. Brumfield, Chicago, Ill., the sum of $25,000. The payment of such sum shall be in full settlement of all claims of the said C. H. Brumfield against the United States on account of personal injuries and property damage sustained on August 31, 1943, when an automobile owned and driven by him was in collision with a United States Army vehicle on United States Highway No. 2, near Devils Lake, N. Dak. No part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 6, strike out "$25,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$6,790."

Page 1, line 8, after the word "injuries," insert "hospital and medical expenses, and loss of earnings."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MRS. EUNICE C. HARDAGE

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 3834) for the relief of Mrs. Eunice C. Hardage.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That sections 15 to 20, inclusive, of the act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916, as amended (U. S. C., 1934 ed., title 5, secs. 767 and 770) are hereby waived in favor of Eunice C. Hardage, widow of Newton G. Hardage, former rural mail carrier, at Dallas, Ga., whose death occurred on January 8, 1936, and her claim for compensation is authorized to be considered and acted upon under the remaining provisions of such act, as amended, if she files such claim with the United States Compensation Commission not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of this act, or within that time renews her claim heretofore filed which has been denied because of failure to comply with said provisions of said act: *Provided*, That no benefits hereunder shall accrue prior to the approval of this act.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 10, after the word "death" insert "of pneumonia."

Page 1, line 11, after the figure "1936", insert "alleged to have been caused by exposure."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

M. R. STONE

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 4116) for the relief of M. R. Stone.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the limitations of time in sections 15 to 20, both inclusive, of the act entitled, "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916, as amended, are hereby waived in favor of M. R. Stone, of Huntington, W. Va., and the United States Employees' Compensation Commission is hereby authorized and directed to receive and consider under the remaining provisions of said Act his claim on account of injury and disability alleged to have been sustained in February or March 1938, while performing his duties at Huntington Veterans' Hospital, West Virginia: *Provided*, That claim hereunder shall be filed within 6 months from the approval of this act.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 2, line 1, after the word "injury", strike out the words "and disability" and insert "to his hip and leg."

Page 2, line 6, after the word "act:", insert "*Provided*, That no benefits shall accrue hereunder prior to the approval of this act."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FRANKLIN P. RADCLIFFE

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 4117) for the relief of Franklin P. Radcliffe.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the limitations of time in sections 15 to 20, both inclusive, of the act entitled, "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916, as amended, are hereby waived in favor of Franklin P. Radcliffe, of Huntington, W. Va., and the United States Employees' Compensation Commission is hereby authorized and directed to receive and consider under the remaining provisions of said act his claim on account of injury and disability alleged to have been sustained on or about March 19, 1938, while performing his duties as fireman at the United States Veterans' Hospital, West Virginia: *Provided*, That claim hereunder shall be filed within 6 months from the approval of this act.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 2, line 1, after the word "disability", insert "caused from a hernia."

Page 2, line 6, after the word "Act", insert ": *Provided*, That no benefits hereunder shall accrue prior to the approval of this act."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LUCY DELGADO

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 4249) for the relief of Lucy Delgado.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $3,570 to Lucy Delgado, who was seriously injured on June 11, 1944, when a United States Army truck overturned on Insular Highway No. 25, between Cataño and Santurce, P. R. The payment of such sum shall be in full settlement of all claims against the United States on account of such accident: *Provided*, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 5, after the word "Delgado", strike out all down to and including the word "accident" in line 11, and insert "and to pay the sum of $750 to Irma M. Delgado, both of Puerto Rico, in full settlement of all claims against the United States for personal injuries and loss of earnings sustained as the result of an accident which occurred on June 11, 1944, on Insular Highway No. 25 between Cataño and Santurce, P. R., and which involved a United States Army truck in which they were riding:".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill for the relief of Lucy Delgado and Irma M. Delgado."

IDA F. BRAUN ET AL.

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 1782) for the relief of Ida F. Braun, Alice Braun Menges, and Carl J. Braun, individually and as executors of the estate of Hedwig W. Braun, deceased, and as legatees and beneficiaries of the will of Hedwig W. Braun, deceased, and as the sole parties in interest by succession under the last will and testament of Hedwig W. Braun, deceased, and under the last will and testament of Herman W. Braun, deceased.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

MRS. LUCILLE SCARLETT AND CHARLES SCARLETT

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 3638) for the relief of Mrs. Lucille Scarlett and Charles Scarlett.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Mrs. Lucille Scarlett, Cookeville, Tenn., the sum of $5,000, and to Charles Scarlett, Cookeville, Tenn.,

the sum of $175. The payment of such sum of $5,000 shall be in full settlement of all claims of the said Mrs. Lucille Scarlett against the United States on account of personal injuries sustained by her on October 18, 1943, when the automobile in which she was a passenger was in collision with a United States Army truck at the intersection of United States Highway No. 70–N, Scott Street, and Buffalo Valley Road in Cookeville, Tenn. The payment of such sum of $175 shall be in full settlement of all claims of the said Charles Scarlett against the United States for damage to his automobile as the result of such collision: *Provided,* That no part of either of the sums appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with the claim settled by the payment of such sum, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, a d passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HONOLULU PLANTATION CO.

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 2688) to provide compensation to Honolulu Plantation Co., a California corporation, as compensation for damages sustained.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Honolulu Plantation Co., a California corporation, having its principal properties and operations in the Territory of Hawaii, the sum of $3,250,000, as compensation for the damages to and the loss of property sustained by said company to its mill, water system, and other properties of its enterprise by reason of the expropriation by the United States of America of divers lands held under leases owned and operated by this company as an integral part of its enterprise, in full and complete satisfaction of all claims of said company against the United States of America: *Provided,* That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection herewith, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

"That jurisdiction is hereby conferred upon the United States Court of Claims, notwithstanding any prior determination, statute, or decision, to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Honolulu Plantation Co., a California corporation, for damages to its real property, mill, water system, remaining leasehold, and other enterprise properties not expropriated by the United States Government, and located on the island of Oahu, in the Territory of Hawaii, for the depreciation in the market value thereof arising out of the expropriations by the United States of divers lands upon which said claimant held leases, in proceedings wherein said lands were condemned in the United States District Court in and for the Territory of Hawaii, and designated as civil Nos. 416, 430, 434, 436, 442, 452, 514, 525, 529, 533, 535, 544, and 548.

"SEC. 2. The damage to be ascertained and adjudged shall be the difference in the fair market value of the fee lands, mill, and other enterprise properties of said claimant as the same existed in 1936, prior to the filing of the aforesaid condemnation suits, and as the same remained in 1945 after the severance and loss of the beneficial use of said leased lands of said claimant condemned and expropriated by the United States as aforesaid.

"SEC. 3. Any suit brought under the provisions of this act shall be instituted within 1 year after the date of approval of this act; and from any decision or judgment rendered in any suit commenced under authority of this act, a writ of certiorari to the Supreme Court of the United States may be applied for by either party thereto as provided by law in other cases. All testimony adduced before and all documents and evidence received by the subcommittee of the Committee on Claims of the House of Representatives shall be competent evidence of said damages and shall be received upon the record thereof made before said committee, as fully and to the same extent as though the witnesses were present and without further proof and certification."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the United States Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Honolulu Plantation Co."

FRANTISEK JIRI BOVELEK OR GEORG BOVELEK

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 4381) for the relief of Frantisek Jiri Bovelek or Georg Bovelek.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That Frantisek Jiri Bovelek or Georg Bovelek, who arrived at the port of Boston on September 21, 1945, as a stowaway, shall, upon the payment of the required head tax, be considered, for the purposes of the immigration and naturalization laws, to have been lawfully admitted to the United States notwithstanding the fact that he was found to be inadmissible on the sole grounds that he arrived as a stowaway and was without proper immigration documentation. Upon the enactment of this act the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota-control officer to deduct one number from the Czechoslovakian quota of the first year that the same Czechoslovakian quota is available.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 3, strike out "Bovelek" and insert "Pavlik."

Page 1, line 3, strike out the word "Bovelek" and insert "Pavlik."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill for the relief of Frantisek Jiri Pavlik or Georg Pavlik."

NATALE PIAVALLO

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 3787) for the relief of Natale Piavallo, also known as Natale Kiecieck.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That, in the administration of the immigration and naturalization laws, the Secretary of Labor is hereby authorized and directed to cancel the warrant of arrest and the order of deportation against Natale Piavallo, heretofore issued on the grounds that on July 11, 1945, admission to the United States had been illegally obtained, and thereupon Natale Kiecieck shall hereafter be deemed to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence at Boston, Mass., on July 11, 1945.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following: "That in the administration of the immigration and naturalization laws the Attorney General is hereby authorized and directed to record the lawful admission for permanent residence of the alien Bozic Kisic, also known as Natale Piavallo, and other names, at Boston, Massachusets, on July 11, 1945, on the Navy Transport *"General T. H. Bliss,"* notwithstanding the provisions of the immigration laws of the United States. Upon the enactment of this act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota-control officer to deduct one number from the quota of the appropriate nation when such quota number becomes available. Nothing in this act shall prevent the deportation of the said alien for any cause under the immigration laws arising subsequent to his admission for permanent residence on July 11, 1945."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. BARDEN. Mr. Speaker, that concludes the call of the Private Calendar.

ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR UNRRA

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 444, Rept. No. 1332), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed one day, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider, any rule of the House to the contrary notwithstanding, an amendment prohibiting the use of funds involved in the bill H. R. 4649 in countries that refuse free access to examination of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration operations by representatives of the United States press and radio. At the conclusion of the reading of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the same to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SABATH asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made earlier in the day.

as follows: "and the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to enlist at any time after the passage of this act as many additional men as in his discretion he may deem necessary, not to exceed 1,000,".

(e) That proviso at the end of the first sentence after the heading "Bureau of Supplies and Accounts. Pay of the Navy:" in chapter 130, Thirty-eighth Statutes at Large, page 392, which appears at page 403 and which reads as follows: ": *Provided*, That hereafter the number of enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps provided for shall be construed to mean the daily average number of enlisted men in the naval service during the fiscal year."

(f) The following portions of chapter 417, Thirty-ninth Statutes at Large, page 556:

(1) That portion of the first sentence after the heading "Hospital Corps" in such chapter, which appears at page 572 and which reads as follows: "and shall be in addition thereto."

(2) That portion of the first sentence after the heading "Bureau of Supplies and Accounts. Pay of the Navy:" in such chapter, which appears at page 575 and which reads as follows: ", and the President is hereafter authorized, whenever in his judgment a sufficient national emergency exists, to increase the authorized enlisted strength of the Navy to 87,000 men," and that portion of such sentence which reads as follows: ", and hereafter the number of enlisted men of the Navy shall be exclusive of those sentenced by court martial to discharge."

(3) That portion of the first sentence after the heading "Commissioned Personnel" in such chapter, which appears at page 576, as amended by the first section of chapter 402, Forty-ninth Statutes at Large, page 487, and which, so amended, reads as follows: "Hereafter the total authorized number of commissioned officers of the active list of the line of the Navy, exclusive of commissioned warrant officers, shall be equal to 4¾ percent of the total authorized enlisted strength of the active list, exclusive of the Hospital Corps, prisoners undergoing sentence of discharge, enlisted men detailed for duty with the Naval Militia, and the Flying Corps."

(4) That portion of the first sentence after the subheading "Pay of enlisted men, active list," in such chapter, which appears at page 612 and which reads as follows: "and hereafter the number of enlisted men of the Marine Corps shall be exclusive of those sentenced by court martial to discharge.".

(5) The third sentence after the subheading "Pay of enlisted men, active list:" in such chapter, which appears at page 612 and which reads as follows: "The President is authorized, when, in his judgment, it becomes necessary to place the country in a complete state of preparedness, to further increase the enlisted strength of the Marine Corps to 17,400: *And provided further*, That the distribution in the various grades shall be in the same proportion as that authorized at the time when the President avails himself of the authority herein granted,".

(g) The first and second sections of chapter 20, Fortieth Statutes at Large, page 84, as amended.

(h) That portion of the second sentence after the heading "Maintenance" in chapter 9, Forty-first Statutes at Large, page 131, which appears at page 137 and which reads as follows: "and the President is hereby authorized, whenever in his judgment a sufficient national emergency exists, to increase the authorized enlisted strength of the Navy to 191,000 men."

(i) That portion of the fourth sentence after the heading "Marine Corps. Pay, Marine Corps;" in chapter 228, Forty-first Statutes at Large, page 812, which appears at page 830 and which reads as follows: "The authorized enlisted strength of the active list of the Marine Corps is hereby permanently established at 27,400, distribution in the various grades to be made in the same proportion as provided under existing law: *Provided*, That."

(j) Section 2 and subsection (d) of section 15 of chapter 598, Fifty-second Statutes at Large, page 944, at pages 944 and 952, respectively.

(k) Chapter 74, Fifty-fifth Statutes at Large, page 145, as amended by chapter 1, Fifty-sixth Statutes at Large, page 3.

Mr. IZAC. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. IZAC: Page 7, line 9, after the word "warrant", strike out the word "or"; insert a comma, and after "grade" insert "or chief petty officer permanent grade."

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Chairman, there is no objection to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. WORLEY, Chairman of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4421) to increase the permanent authorized enlisted strength of the active list of the Regular Navy and Marine Corps, to increase the permanent authorized number of commissioned officers of the active list of the line of the Regular Navy, and to authorize permanent appointments in the Regular Navy and Marine Corps, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 393, had directed him to report the bill back to the House with an amendment.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and the third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RANK OF CHIEFS OF BUREAUS IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H. R. 1862) relating to the rank of chiefs of bureaus in the Navy Department, and for other purposes, and I ask unanimous consent that the statement be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

(For conference and report and statement, see proceedings of the House, November 30, 1945.)

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, in explanation of the conference report, when the bill was passed some weeks ago it only related to the chiefs of bureaus. There are some nine different bureaus in the Navy Department, including the Judge Advocate General's Office. The Senate amended it to make it applicable also to the Director of Budget and Reports, and Assistant Director of Budget and Reports, which was agreed to by the House conferees.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VINSON. I yield.

Mr. WADSWORTH. What rank would the Director of Budget and Reports have?

Mr. VINSON. The Director of Budget and Reports would be a vice admiral at the discretion of the President after 1 year's service as such. The Assistant Director of Budget and Reports would have the rank of a rear admiral. It carries that rank.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DISCHARGE OF MIDSHIPMEN BECAUSE OF UNSATISFACTORY CONDUCT OR APTITUDE

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (S. 1064) to authorize the discharge of midshipmen from the United States Naval Academy by the Secretary of the Navy because of unsatisfactory conduct or aptitude, and I ask unanimous consent that the statement may be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House, November 30, 1945.)

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, as the House will observe from the statement just read, when the bill was passed some weeks ago, the House struck out the words "or that any midshipman has demonstrated that he possesses insufficient aptitude for becoming a commissioned officer in the naval service."

When this bill was before the committee there was grave doubt in our minds as to whether any one person should be given the responsibility of determining whether or not a student lacked aptitude for becoming an officer. So we struck that out. In the conference it was suggested that oftentimes it develops in the Naval Academy that students do not have sufficient aptitude for becoming officers, and therefore, if the unanimous decision is reached by the academic board, then the student should be dropped. So the House conferees agreed to leave the aptitude provision in the bill provided it required the unanimous vote of the academic board that he should be dropped for insufficient aptitude. However, we want it distinctly understood that it must be done by the unanimous decision of the academic board before any student can be dropped for lack of aptitude. It might be that in my mind some student might not have sufficient aptitude. In the decision of someone else he might have. So it is such a debatable question that we were unwilling to confer that au-

thority upon anyone unless it was by the unanimous voice of the academic board.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VINSON. With pleasure.

Mr. MICHENER. That word "aptitude" is all-inclusive, and so comprehensive that it has caused literally days of debate in this Congress since I have been here.

Mr. VINSON. That is right.

Mr. MICHENER. I have been told by Members of various committees that in the olden days in certain departments aptitude was measured sometimes by social accomplishments.

Mr. VINSON. That is right; in the minds of some that might be true.

Mr. MICHENER. If in the mind of the admiral and those in charge a young man who the Chairman of the great Naval Affairs Committee sent to Annapolis, even though he should be A-1 in all the grades, yet according to the standards of the admirals he never would shine at a tea table or a cocktail party, he would be summarily dismissed from the institution without any right of appeal.

Mr. VINSON. No; no.

Mr. MICHENER. I know the gentleman does not want to see anything like that happen. I have tried in selecting my boys to select boys who had some of all the accomplishments.

Mr. VINSON. When you use the word "aptitude" you enter a large field. Therefore when it was before the House Committee and before the House we struck it out. But we have it safeguarded by saying that before any boy can be dropped from the Academy for lack of sufficient aptitude it must be by the unanimous vote of the academic board and not of the admirals.

Mr. MICHENER. I think that is good. I wish the gentleman would interpret the law and tell the House just what he could consider "aptitude" if he were to judge.

Mr. VINSON. Yes. What I have in mind and what in my judgment the individual officer should have in mind is something serious. One of the requirements of a naval officer, for instance, is leadership. If he fails in leadership then I would say he would fail in aptitude and therefore should not be educated at public expense and given a commission because he fails to possess the necessary qualifications that will enable him to lead other men.

Mr. MICHENER. Assuming that this does become the law, and it undoubtedly will, and another policy should be adopted by this academic board, I want the record to show and I hope the gentleman whom I am now interrogating will join in the expression, that if there are cases that are questionable there is likely to be a congressional investigation as to the specific case.

Mr. VINSON. I grant the gentleman that. If I thought for one moment that after this bill becomes a law they would misinterpret what the Naval Affairs Committee thinks is a proper interpretation of "aptitude" there would promptly be an investigation.

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VINSON. With pleasure.

Mr. COLE of New York. Further than that, is it not correct that if a student at Annapolis graduates and is commissioned in the Navy he can be summarily dismissed during a 7-year period of time for no reason?

Mr. VINSON. That is correct.

Mr. Speaker, I ask for a vote.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ANDERSON of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in the Committee of the Whole this afternoon and include certain letters.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix and include therein a copy of a letter he had just addressed to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower concerning the priority of shipping.

Mr. GRANT of Indiana asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in the Committee of the Whole today and include certain data.

Mr. DE LACY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a document sent to him by the War Department on the subject of Negroes in the armed forces.

Mr. FEIGHAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in three instances and include a statement on behalf of H. R. 3940, amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act by the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Mr. MARCANTONIO asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an analysis of the President's labor message prepared by the legislative representative of the United Electrical Workers of America, CIO.

Mr. DOYLE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. GORE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 26 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, December 5, 1945, at 12 o'clock noon.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled ill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 1493. An act to authorize the head of the postgraduate school of the United States Navy to confer masters and doctors degrees in engineering and related fields.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(Wednesday, December 5, 1945)

There will be a meeting of the Transportation Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, December 5, 1945.

Business to be considered: Resumption of hearings on H. R. 2764, the freight forwarders bill, to hear opposition.

COMMITTEE ON THE CENSUS

(Thursday, December 6, 1945)

The Committee on the Census will hold a hearing at 10 o'clock a. m. on Thursday, December 6, 1945, on H. R. 4781, in room 1414, New House Office Building.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(Thursday, December 6, 1945)

The Committee on Immigration and Naturalization will have an executive meeting on Thursday, December 6, 1945, at 10:30 o'clock a. m., in room 446, Old House Office Building.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

(Friday, December 7, 1945)

The Special Subcommittee on Bankruptcy and Reorganization of the Committee on the Judiciary has scheduled a hearing to begin at 10 a. m. on Friday, December 7, 1945, on the bill, H. R. 4779, to enable debtor railroad corporations, whose properties during a period of 7 years have provided sufficient earnings to pay fixed charges, to effect a readjustment of their financial structure without further proceedings under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act as amended. The hearing will be held in the Judiciary Committee room, 346 House Office Building.

COMMITTEE ON INVALID PENSIONS

(Tuesday, December 11, 1945)

The Committee on Invalid Pensions will have an executive meeting on Tuesday, December 11, 1945, at 10:30 o'clock a. m., in room 247, Old House Office Building.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

852. A letter from the President, Commission on Licensure, District of Columbia, transmitting its report showing the activities of the Commission for the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1945; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

853. A letter from the Acting Chairman, Federal Power Commission, transmitting a copy of its newly issued report entitled "The Financial Record of the Electric Utility Industry"; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. SABATH. Committee on Rules. House Resolution 444. Resolution providing for the consideration of H. R. 4649, a bill to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, without amendment (Rept. No. 1332). Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana:

H. R. 4893. A bill to grant to enlisted personnel of the armed forces certain benefits

79TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT
1st Session } { No. 1332

CONSIDERATION OF H. R. 4649

DECEMBER 4, 1945.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H. Res. 444]

The Committee on Rules, having had under consideration House Resolution 444, report the same to the House with the recommendation that the resolution do pass.

○

House Calendar No. 259

79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 444

[Report No. 1332]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DECEMBER 4, 1945

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following resolution; which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

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RESOLUTION

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed one day, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider, any rule of the House to the contrary notwithstanding, an amendment prohibiting the use of funds involved in the bill (H. R. 4649) in countries

that refuse free access to examination of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration operations by representatives of the United States press and radio. At the conclusion of the reading of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the same to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

House Calendar No. 259

79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 444

[Report No. 1332]

RESOLUTION

Providing for the consideration of H. R. 4649, to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

By Mr. SABATH

DECEMBER 4, 1945

Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Dec.
5.

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Legislative Reports and Service Section

79th-1st, No.215

DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

(Issued December 6, 1945, for actions of Wednesday, December 5, 1945)

(For staff of the Department only)

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HIGHLIGHTS: Senate passed UNRRA-appropriation measure. House began debate on UNRRA-authorization bill. House committee reported full-employment bill. Senate made Federal-pay-bill its order of business.

SENATE

1. UNRRA APPROPRIATIONS. Passed as reported H.J.Res. 266, providing $550,000,000 additional for UNRRA (pp. 11636-43). Agreed to committee amendments to strike out the language requiring surplus agricultural commodities, as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture, to be utilized in filling UNRRA requisitions for food and agricultural commodities, and to strike out the "free press" provision.
   Sens. McKellar, Glass, Hayden, Tydings, Russell, Overton, Brooks, Bridges, Gurney, and Ball were appointed conferees (p. 11643).

2. PHILIPPINE REHABILITATION. Passed with amendments S. 1610, to provide for rehabilitation of the Philippines (pp. 11644-50).

3. FEDERAL-PAY BILL. Agreed to Sen. Downey's (Calif.) motion to make S. 1415, the Federal-pay bill, the next order of business (pp. 11631-2, 11650-1).

4. MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY. Sen. Langer, N.Dak., obtained consent to submit his views on S. 555, the MVA bill (S.Rept. 639, pt. 2)(p. 11632).

5. MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION. Commerce Committee reported favorably the nomination of Col. Clark Kittrell to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission (p. 11652).

HOUSE

6. UNRRA AUTHORIZATION. Began debate on H.R. 4649, to increase appropriation authorization for UNRRA from $1,350,000,000 to $2,700,000,000 (pp. 11659-98).
   Rep. Stefan, Nebr., discussed development of a new non-profit organization to furnish food to relatives and friends in foreign countries and inserted

farmers' organizations' letters favoring foreign relief (pp. 11666-8).

Rep. Douglas, Calif., commended UNRRA's food-distribution and school-lunch program in Italy and elsewhere (pp. 11678-81, 11684-6).

Rep. Rabaut, Mich., discussed dairy products, wheat, and cotton as related to UNRRA's program (p. 11682).

Rep. Gordon, Ill., discussed estimated food needs as predicated on the next agricultural-production crop year (pp. 11686-7).

Rep. Flood, Pa., commended the UNRRA relief program and discussed farm-production programs in foreign countries (pp. 11688-90).

Rep. Sadowski, Mich., commended shipments to Poland of food, farm equipment, fertilizers, seed, and farm animals (pp. 11695-6).

7. FULL EMPLOYMENT. The Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee reported with amendment S. 380, the full-employment bill (p. 11704).

8. SURPLUS PROPERTY. Rep. Rich, Pa., spoke urging that the Surplus Property Administrator be given "the power to dispose of...surplus property" (p. 11658).

BILLS INTRODUCED

9. SMALL BUSINESS. S. Res. 199, by Sen. Murray, Mont., to increase the limit of expenditures of the Senate Small Business Committee by $187,000. To Audit and Control Committee. (p. 11633.)

10. PERSONNEL. H. J. Res. 284, by Rep. Tolan, Calif., to amend the Employees' Compensation Act for the purpose of making the 100-percent earning provisions effective as of Jan. 1, 1942. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 11705.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

11. FOREIGN LOANS. Extension of remarks of Rep. White, Idaho, opposing loans to Britain; criticizing some publications, which he inserted, for supporting the loans; and including some statistics on lend-lease and British resources (pp. A5683-6).

12. TURKEYS. Extension of remarks of Rep. Angell, Oreg., including Frank Barton's Portland, Oregonian article, describing the Oregon turkey crop (p. A5687).

13. FARM ORGANIZATIONS; FARM PROGRAM. Extension of remarks of Rep. White, Idaho, commending farm organizations and including Idaho Farmers Union resolutions favoring surplus-commodity disposal to farm cooperatives, establishment of a Columbia Valley Authority, and agriculture on a parity with other industries, and opposing the Springston dam which will "flood...farm land" (pp. A5687-9).

14. COLUMBIA VALLEY AUTHORITY. Rep. Angell, Oreg., inserted Richard Neuberger's favoring, and Robert Sawyer's opposing, Sunday Oregonian articles on this subject (pp. A5691-5).

15. FOREIGN RELIEF. Extension of remarks of Rep. Pittenger, Minn., favoring foreign relief but criticizing UNRRA administration (pp. A5700-1).

16. PRICE CONTROL. Rep. Lane, Mass., inserted some correspondence favoring price control to avert inflation (p. A5707).

BILL APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

17. ACCOUNTING. H. R. 4350, to provide for the liberalization of the existing law

Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances.

Mr. CARNAHAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Mr. FOLGER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address made by the gentlewoman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS] over the radio last night.

ADDRESS BY MRS. HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include therein certain material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this opportunity to commend to every Member of the House, those present and those not present, that they read the broadcast made by the gentlewoman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS] last night. I give it to you as my opinion that her address is extremely timely and one of the most profound, and one of the grandest, utterances made anywhere in this country in the last 10 years or more.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S MESSAGE ON THE LABOR QUESTION

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, patriotic Americans from one end of this country to the other are applauding President Truman for his message to Congress on the labor question. Many Members complain that he did not go far enough, but we know he did go in the right direction.

Honest laborers throughout the country applaud him, because they realize that their future welfare is being jeopardized by certain alleged labor leaders who are merely interested in dictatorial power for themselves.

There has never been such a drive of communism against the American Government as is taking place today. An editorial in the Washington Post this morning winds up with these words: "All hail the revolution," after discussing the Communist anarchy parade around the State Department by these enemies of this Government. Two nights ago a little puny Communist from England named Laski, who is over here trying to stir up a revolution in this country, made a speech to a Communist meeting in Madison Square Garden advocating the overthrow of this Government or the abolition of its sovereignty, which means the same thing. I say it is about time the American people woke up and demanded that everybody on the Federal pay roll either get on the beam for America or get off that pay roll; and that every alien enemy get out of the country, and stay out.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 444, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 1 day, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider, any rule of the House to the contrary notwithstanding, an amendment prohibiting the use of funds involved in the bill (H. R. 4649) in countries that refuse free access to examination of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration operations by representatives of the United States press and radio. At the conclusion of the reading of the bill for amendment, the committee shall rise and report the same to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently no quorum is present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 195]

Adams	Geelan	Norton
Barry	Gillie	Peterson, Fla.
Bradley, Mich.	Hagen	Powell
Brehm	Hall, Edwin Arthur	Rivers
Buckley		Robsion, Ky.
Campbell	Hancock	Roe, N. Y.
Cannon, Mo.	Hart	Savage
Carlson	Hébert	Sheridan
Celler	Henry	Simpson, Pa.
Clements	Hoeven	Slaughter
Coffee	Holifield	Starkey
Courtney	Hook	Stevenson
Crosser	Hope	Sumners, Tex.
Curley	Horan	Talbot
Daughton, Va.	Izac	Voorhis, Calif.
Dawson	Jackson	Vorys, Ohio
De Lacy	Jensen	Weiss
Dickstein	Keefe	White
Dingell	King	Winter
Doughton, N. C.	Lea	Wolcott
Fernandez	Lewis	Wolverton, N. J.
Fuller	Lyle	Wood
Gathings	McGlinchey	Woodrum, Va.
Gearhart	Mansfield, Tex.	

The SPEAKER. On this roll call, 354 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, the resolution before us makes in order H. R. 4649, a bill to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, commonly known as UNRRA. This is an open rule and provides for sufficient time—1 day's general debate and then reading of the bill for amendments.

There is some question about the verbiage of the rule relative to an amendment which is made in order. I wish to assure the gentleman on the other side that it was my purpose to comply with their request to have the verbiage so that the amendment they have in mind, the so-called free-press amendment, will be held to be in order.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I am very much pleased that the chairman of the Rules Committee has seen fit to mention that very question which has arisen as to the germaneness of the so-called free access to the news amendment, which is similar to the amendment I introduced when we had under consideration recently the bill providing an appropriation for UNRRA. The wording of the rule was a little difficult for me to understand.

I am happy that the gentleman has stated that in his opinion under the provisions of this rule the amendment mentioned would be held germane. I wish also to say to the chairman of the Rules Committee and to the House that in consultation with the Assistant Parliamentarian I have been assured that under the provisions of this rule the amendment which was offered before will be germane.

Mr. SABATH. I thank the gentleman. I regret exceedingly, of course, that it is hard for the gentleman from Ohio to understand or construe the verbiage of the rule which I let him dictate. Perhaps, of course, the stenographer did not have accurately recorded what he said.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I wonder if the gentleman will yield just a little further?

Mr. SABATH. With pleasure, as at all times.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Sometimes that which a person dictates is misinterpreted. I am afraid the gentleman did not understand that which was dictated on this rule because certainly the provisions of the rule are not the words I used in dictating the suggestion.

Mr. SABATH. But the intent is there.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. The intent and purpose are there.

Mr. SABATH. I stand by the statement that this so-called free press amendment is not a perfect one by any means. I think it is unnecessary and unwise; nevertheless I am in favor of its being considered and I know it will be held in order. An identical House amendment was recently stricken in the Senate when it considered the last UNRRA bill.

I presume the provisions of this bill are known to nearly every, if not every, Member. I know that every Member here is in favor of our great Government keeping its pledges, carrying out its

legal as well as its moral obligations. There may be some criticism of the expenditure of the funds or the administration of UNRRA, but, so far, I have not heard any really serious charge against the UNRRA organization. There may have been some administrators who were a little reckless, some might even have been dishonest, but, immediately that came to the attention of those in charge, they were dismissed; and now I understand that those Members who have been abroad and all others who have made a thorough investigation, are satisfied that, taking into consideration that there are about 8,500 people administering the act in many countries, there may be in some circumstances minor practices that may not be strictly economical or perhaps in some instances may even be unethical; but human nature is human nature, and among 8,500 administrators and employees we must expect to find a few who are incompetent and a few who wilfully transgress at times.

I am pleased that later the provisions of, and the need and the necessity for, the bill will be explained to the House not only by the chairman and the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, but by an outstanding gentleman who has studied foreign affairs for months and who has the complete confidence of the House.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. JENKINS. It is impossible to get a copy of the rule, there is none on the desk. Let me ask the gentleman this general question: As I understand, this rule does not prevent any amendment that is germane to the bill, does it?

Mr. SABATH. It is an open rule. The gentleman from Ohio ought to know by this time that whenever the chairman of the Committee on Rules can do so, whenever he is not voted down, he always reports an open rule to give the membership an opportunity to vote on any and all provisions and offer proper amendments to their hearts' content.

Mr. JENKINS. The trouble with all of that is the gentleman is voted down a good many times and we do not know from what the gentleman says what the rule means.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman's influence, perhaps, with the Members on his side might help me sometimes, although, being perfectly frank, I cannot criticize and shall not criticize either majority or minority members of my committee, because they have been helpful in many instances in trying to do the right thing.

Mr. JENKINS. Getting back to my question, my question was, as I understand the rule, although we have not seen it, it is an open rule, with one exception, which exception is the amendment that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] fathered before on the floor of the House.

Mr. SABATH. That is right.

The rule appears in a very recent issue of the RECORD.

It is not only an open rule but it permits the offering of an amendment that perhaps otherwise would not be in order. I refer to the so-called free-press amendment.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MICHENER. It is an open rule plus one amendment which possibly would not be in order except for this particular rule?

Mr. SABATH. That is right.

Mr. MICHENER. One other question. This bill is not an appropriation bill, it is an authorization, and the money provided for in the authorization bill cannot be expended and will not be available until the House or the Congress through the regular appropriating agencies provides the money, is that correct?

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman is practically always right, and especially at this time he is right.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. RABAUT. I commend the gentleman and the position he has taken this morning and how happy he should be that he can come out here for a rule on behalf of this great humanitarian proposition. We have considered the rescission bill and we are not asking for more funds to fight a war. We can now expand our abilities in other directions.

Mr. SABATH. I thank the gentleman for his timely observation. I hope to God that we will not be obliged to ask for any funds for war purposes in the future.

It is extremely regrettable that a few gentlemen on the floor of this House and some in the other body make erroneous statements, but I hope unintentionally, that are published widely and tend to effect disunity and discord among nations that have fought so valiantly and successfully to suppress the most savage tyranny and bigotry that ever attempted to bar the march of progress.

These gentlemen are unmistakably actually endangering cooperation, peace and friendship among the great nations. For instance, they are and have been continually challenging the sincerity of and respect Russia has for her plighted word: First, it was alleged that Russia would make a separate peace with Germany; that Russia would not cross the Russian western boundary to continue fighting Germany; that Russia was during the war negotiating a peace pact with Japan; that Russia would not let us use her airfields that were in proximity to Japan; that Russia would not aid us in the war against Japan. But what really happened? Every allegation against Russia has fallen of its own weight. No less a personage than Mr. Churchill is authority for the statement, which proved true, that Stalin promised the United States, England, and China that within 3 months after the fall of Germany he would be at war with Japan. The war with Germany ceased May 8, 1945, and exactly 3 months thereafter, or August 8, 1945, Russia declared war on Japan. And did Russia stop at her western border when she had chased the defeated Germans thereto? She did not. Then it was said that Russia would not go beyond Warsaw in helping the United Nation's war effort; but ultimately we found her valiant and victorious armies storming and taking the Nazi hotbed, Berlin.

Russia was severly criticized for negotiating a so-called peace pact with Germany in 1939. Any well-informed person knows that Russia, then unprepared for war, had to make a saving deal with Germany in order to gain 1 year within which to at least partially prepare for that which Russia well knew was in the future, namely, a long war with Germany. Churchill often said that he would negotiate an agreement with the devil if it would save his dear England; and why should Stalin be blamed for doing the same thing?

Obviously, Russia needed time to switch her powerful armies and their equipment from western Europe to the far west, else Russia would have sooner declared war on Japan. The allegation that the atom bomb and that Japan was already in the bag influenced Russia to declare war on Japan is also untrue. Russia needed a breathing spell and time to transfer her mighty armies eastward and that she accomplished her promise so punctually and well is to her everlasting credit. I forget to mention that Russia, respecting her treaty obligation, had to give Japan appropriate notice of her intention to cancel the then existing peace treaty between the two countries, which was another factor in delaying action by Russia against Japan.

Russia drove the Huns from not only her own country, but she cleared Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, East Prussia, and Yugoslavia of that black beast. And were those mighty campaigns expensive? It is reliably estimated that Russia has ocular proof in the form of 15,000,000 graves of her war effort. Many say that we furnished Russia the things necessary to accomplish her great success in the war. Let us see what the facts really are. We furnished Russia, through the lend-lease agreement, many materials and much food. I have not at hand the amount Russia advanced us by lend-lease in reverse, but she did make a substantial contribution in that way.

Looking at the matter from the painful basis of dollars versus deaths, in all probability we should have lost at least 3,000,000 more men if we had been required to meet Germany and her allies in a one-front war. What would have been our fate in landing in France if Germany could have centered all her armies in the two areas in France through which we entered Europe? Where would we have been; with England also, if the great Russian armies had not so successfully engaged the German armies all the way from Stalingrad to Berlin? Yes, Russia did help us very materially, and do not forget that. Eminent historians tell us that nothing like the Russian defense of Stalingrad ever happened before on this globe. Referring to a little history, did not Russia give us Alaska for a very very small part of its real worth, and did not Russia, in 1862–63, exercise a restraining influence upon those who were very much in favor of a division of the Union.

And is it any wonder that Russia, attacked three times in 25 years from the West, should strive with utmost zeal to

have friends instead of enemies on her west front, and have that front fortified against potential enemies? Would not any prudent nation do likewise? And yet we frequently hear that Russia is preparing for aggression and the violation of the rights of weak nations. Remember, please, that the Treaty of Versailles erased Russia's exit to the Baltic on the west.

The Russians went into Manchuria in order to expel the Japanese, and now that the job has been consummated she is withdrawing in accordance with her plighted word.

The charge is now being made in irresponsible circles that Russia is aiding the Communists of north China. Opposed to that allegation we have the word of Russia that she is positively favoring and supporting the regularly constituted National Government of China, and abundant proof of that assertion from Chinese sources. Has not Mr. Hurley repeatedly assured us that the Russians are actively supporting the legal Government of China? Yet, despite these affirmations and this proper and regular conduct of Russia toward other nations, some among us continue to question the aspirations and the sincerity and sanctity of the Russian promise.

True, Russia does not at all times agree with the British policies and she is not desirous of helping Great Britain strengthen her hold upon her colonial possessions, such as India, which is seeking and has been promised freedom. So far as I have heard, few persons criticize the British cooperation with Spain, Italy, Portugal, her conduct in Greece, in Java, in Iran, and her trade arrangements with Argentina and other countries. England and the oil industry are conducting nefarious, but shrewd, propaganda against Russia in order to gain control of Iran. That seems to have the approval of those Fascist-inclined gentlemen here and the capitalistic group in England and elsewhere.

Only this morning I read with profound disgust a statement in the press by a Senator from Mississippi, urging the strengthening of Germany, a policy that Great Britain pursued after World War I when she enspired Germany to gain strength to destroy Communist Russia. Statements like these are most dangerous and provocative in the extreme. The statement I have in mind reads as follows:

Meanwhile, Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, Democrat, Mississippi, bluntly called for an economically strong Germany as a bulwark against Russia.

He told the Senate that Russia was a "predatory, aggressor nation."

Communism, he said, soon would take control of all Germany unless the United States abandons its sadistic policy toward this late enemy state. He suggested a new program to permit the Germans to find contentment in prosperity, and thus remain in the orbit of western civilization.

WANTS REICH RECOVERY

EASTLAND cautioned that there can be no permanent European recovery without German recovery.

In a 5,000-word speech, EASTLAND charged that the United States was starving the German people, and letting their industries be carried off. If this is continued much longer, EASTLAND said, it will drive Germany into the arms of communism.

EASTLAND recalled that Germany has served both as neutralizing agent and as a barrier between the oriental hordes and a western civilization 2,000 years old.

The Senator offered four specific recommendations:

1. Repudiation of the doctrine of collective guilt of the German people.

RELIEF NEED NOTED

2. The United States to demand that the starvation rations of the German people be increased, with a separate American relief machine to be set up.

3. Reunion of the four German zones under a central, non-Nazi civil administration.

4. End scorched earth reparations policies and set German peacetime industry in motion.

Is it any wonder, Mr. Speaker, that Russia aims to safeguard herself against the capitalistic group, the Fascists, and the Nazi ideologists?

Russia is not demanding anything that may be of real interest to us. She has been so seriously wounded that she naturally craves peace so that she may repair her injuries and rebuild and enlarge her commercial progress.

I hope the practices and policies being pursued by these Fascists will be investigated to learn how far-reaching this conspiracy extends in an effort to involve us in another devastating war.

I realize that most of these statements and press notices are from the same kind of people who hated Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal so fervently, although they may be made only for political advantage at home, in line with the shameful fight made against the League of Nations. I need not point out the desirability and the necessity for all right-minded, patriotic, loyal citizens decrying these irresponsible utterances and writings that surely tend toward involving us in serious potential and menacing dangers.

Somehow those who are fighting for freedom and liberty nowadays are always charged with being Communists. Under that theory, should we not call Washington and his gallant followers rebels? In their days the word "Communist" was not known or little used, but currently "communism" is a handy stick with which to indefinitely tar those who disagree with their Fascist-inclined, monopolistic, cartel-group accusers. And, later, what about those in the South who waged war against the Union? How would they be designated if their activities had occurred within the last 10 or 15 years? Yet those brave men were undoubtedly sincere, and they were ultimately granted an amnesty.

Because a few misled men and women in this country who are opposed to some British practices, such as using the United States and other Nations to pull their own chestnuts out of the fire, and other national ills, and parade their sentiments openly among us, those who seek a pretext to defame, vilify, incite, and inflame against Russia charge that these demonstrators are Communists and link them with the good name of Russia. No matter how harmless these advocates are, what good they mouth, and what respectable liveries they wear, they are, for the want of a better name, labeled "Communists."

These demonstrators at least work overtly, and they are less harmful than the representatives of the Fascist, Nazi ideologies, who said they would rather see Russia defeated instead of Germany.

Peace-minded Americans are bound to condemn these oft-repeated statements and activities of those who wittingly and unwittingly are gradually but surely trying to involve us in the worst thing that could infest any country—war.

I do not wish to make an exhaustive speech because I do not want to deprive the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], who will follow, of the opportunity to explain the bill more thoroughly and lucidly than I can.

Before yielding to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], I am going to yield to my colleague the ranking minority member of the Rules Committee, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN], 30 minutes, and reserve the remainder of my time.

(Mr. SABATH asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BARDEN].

Mr. BARDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Education may be permitted to sit during the remainder of the day while general debate is going on.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON].

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include a release of the Public Relations Section of the Fifth Army of the United States in Italy.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the able chairman has fully explained this rule. On this side of the aisle there is no objection to the consideration of the rule. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that this bill requires $2,700,000,000 of the taxpayers' money. That is a great deal of money, especially when we realize that our national debt is now approaching nearly $300,000,000,000. I know that this country has made certain obligations. It has made certain commitments to various foreign countries in regard to relief and in regard to the sheltering, the feeding, and the clothing of the people in those countries. I expect to vote for this authorization, but I reserve the right to oppose further spending for the relief of the world.

In regard to this $2,700,000,000, that amount of money represents about $100

for every family in the United States. When we have our Community Chest Fund drive I question whether there are many Members of Congress who give $100 for the needy in their own country, but we sit here appropriating what amounts to $100 for each family in the United States to take care of the starving and the destitute throughout the world. Some people seem to think more about foreign countries than they do of the United States.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. Did I understand the gentleman to say that this bill calls for $2,700,000,000?

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Yes.

Mr. BLOOM. I think the gentleman will concede that he is mistaken.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I mean this amount, with the other authorizations, totals $2,700,000,000.

Mr. BLOOM. This bill calls for $1,350,000,000. It merely amends the original act which was $1,350,000,000, which has already been authorized and appropriated by this House. This calls for $1,350,000,000 based on 1 percent of the income of the United States for the year 1943. This is merely an authorization.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. This is an authorization for an additional $1,350,000,000, making a total of $2,700,000,000.

Mr. BLOOM. That is right.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. LUCE], and ask unanimous consent that she may proceed out of order.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

(Mrs. LUCE asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. LUCE. Mr. Speaker, on November 26 on the floor of this House the gentleman from Washington [Mr. DE LACY] made a lengthy speech on the subject of China which was so replete with factual errors and distortions that anyone in this House having the least knowledge of China must feel obliged to correct at least the more obvious, elementary, and flagrant errors in that speech.

You will not be read a lengthy lecture on China in the dogmatic, omniscient manner of the gentleman from Washington. Though I have had a lively interest in the subject for many years, and although, unlike the gentleman from Washington, I have at least seen China, I do not pretend to oracular wisdom on so vast a subject. But even in such a complex subject there are a few ascertainable facts, the falsification of which ought not to go unrebuked on the floor of this House. It is with a few such facts that I propose to deal.

First, the gentleman from Washington asserted that in areas where Communist-led troops were strong, the Japs were more quickly disarmed than elsewhere and Mr. Speaker, anyone who will take the trouble to look at a map of China will see that on VJ-day the Japs occupied in China—not counting Manchuria—at least 50 cities of 100,000 population or more. Three months after VJ-day the Chinese Communists had succeeded in taking over from the Japs exactly one of these cities, the city of Chefoo. Meanwhile the Government troops—in some important cases with American help, but in the great majority of cases without any help from us—the Government troops had taken over all the other cities and had disarmed at least two-thirds of all Japanese soldiers in China. If we call the roll of the famous cities of China which were taken over from the Japs without American aid, it would include cities which all of us here have heard of—Canton, Hankow, Foochow, Ningpo, Swatow—not to mention dozens of cities less familiar to our ears such as Tai-yuan, Tsinan, Lao-yang, Kiu-kiang, I-chang, and so on—all taken over with negligible assistance from America, or none whatever.

If the Communist-fed gentleman from Washington has any claims to present on behalf of the Communists as to how many Japs they have disarmed, let him make them. I have as yet heard none. But I can inform the House, that contrary to Communist propaganda minimizing the number of Jap soldiers in China—and in this speech I will throughout exclude Manchuria since that has not been under official American observation—in China after VJ-day there proved to be not less than 1,100,000 Jap soldiers. Of these the Communists have not conceivably disarmed more than 20,000 or 30,000, whereas the total number of Jap soldiers who have been disarmed amount to at least 800,000. American assistance in this task has been essential, but we cannot claim to have done more than a quarter of the work. The rest of the job which we may state arithmetically as 600,000 Jap soldiers disarmed has been done by Chinese Government troops.

The Communists try to gain American sympathy by wild claims such as were made on this floor last week. They have the gall to try to make you believe that the Chinese Communists disarmed more Japs more quickly than the government. The plain fact is that for every Jap disarmed by the Chinese Communists, Chiang Kai-shek's troops, unaided, have accounted for 20. To twist such figures around is, I submit, a form of misrepresentation which ought not to be practiced on the Members of this House.

Now, secondly, just as they are now trying to make you believe that the Chinese Communists have been great Jap-disarmers since VJ-day, so another part of the Communist line is that the Chinese Communists did a better job during the war than Chiang Kai-shek's troops did. This part of the Communist party line can also be punctured with figures—grim figures.

The Japanese never desired to exaggerate the seriousness of their struggle against Chiang, but the Japs did nevertheless keep an audit of their killed and wounded. This audit shows that more than 2,000,000 Japs were killed and wounded in China. Now the Communists never even venture to claim how many Japs they killed and wounded; they know they would be laughed at if they claimed even as many as 200,000 Jap casualties. Well, grant them that. Who killed and wounded the other 1,800,000 Japanese? There is only one answer to that question, Mr. Communist, and that is the grim answer to your—shall we say—unsportsmanlike misrepresentations.

Now let us go on to a third point. The Communists as everyone knows were guerrillas; they never maintained as the Government did over long years, hundreds of miles, at one time 2,000 miles, of organized resistance on a line of battle. The Communists were guerrillas. Guerrillas can do plenty of damage to the enemy by such feats as jumping on a railway guard and tearing up a piece of railroad. And during the war, the Communists—let us give them full credit—did a fair amount of this, just as non-Communist guerrillas did. Now here is an interesting fact: In 2 months after VJ-day the Communists tore up more railroad track in north China and destroyed more railway equipment than in any 2 years before VJ-day. Who were they hurting, who were they assaulting after VJ-day? Not Japan—the Japs had quit. They were assaulting the body of China, and thereby they were assaulting all the United Nations, and especially they were assaulting a vital interest of the United States which is peace and order in China.

Mr. Speaker, I am speaking of facts—the sometimes unpleasant arithmetic of facts. It is a simple fact that the Chinese Communists have done more destructive damage in north China since VJ-day than they did before.

Now, let us make two or three more factual corrections to the encyclopedia of error which was presented to you by the gentleman from Washington. In at least one other case the correction can again be made by cold, arithmetical fact.

Mr. DE LACY's most absurd error is contained in the following fantastic assertion:

> During the war only the brief period of General Stilwell's vigorous efforts at elemental reforms saw even temporary improvement in the general defeatism, inefficiency, downright bad government—

And so forth. Now, that is profoundly unfair to the gallant General Stilwell, since he would be the first to say that he was much too busy on the Burma side of the Hump to devote more than a very small fraction of his time to the reforms of the Government of China. And it is an even more stupid insult to Chiang Kai-shek, and the millions who stood with him not only against "defeatism"—how these Communists love isms—but against the terrible specter of defeat itself. But we will make the correction to this comical or tragic bundle of error by an arithmetical fact. The one great index of defeatism or defeat or inefficiency is inflation. When General Stilwell took his command in China, the Chinese dollar in the black market or free market—whichever you like—was about 40 Chinese dollars to 1 American; when he left it was between 1,000 and 1,500 Chinese dollars to 1 American. That is, in the Stilwell period inflation increased by at least 2,000 percent. The increase in inflation after Stilwell's departure up to VJ-day—nearly 1 year—was about 50

percent. Now, let me be clear. Gallant General Stilwell bears absolutely no blame for this. This was a situation beyond his control, and he was otherwise occupied. I am simply pointing out how you may expect to get from Communists not merely a little distortion but a distortion of 180 degrees. The Communists, trying to make General Stilwell their man, associate with him a period of improvement in the situation in China, whereas the truth is that he was there during China's worst years during which China came almost to collapse. And nothing better indexes the truth than the arithmetical fact that during the period to which the gentleman from Washington [Mr. DE LACY] refers inflation rose 2,000 percent—2,000 percent—whereas after we got ourselves extricated from the Communist saboteurs the rate of inflation fell from 1,000 percent per annum to 50 percent.

Now we have made four basic corrections to basic errors and we have made them with arithmetical fact. Two errors cannot be dealt with by arithmetic, but they are also questions of fact.

These two errors are, first, to assert that the Chinese Communists have established a wonderful democratic regime in the areas they control and, second, to talk as the gentleman did of the Kuomintang's pretensions to one-party dictatorship.

As to the Communist achievement in government, the simple fact is that the Communists in China have never established any form of stable government whatever. The best way, in a word, to dramatize this fact is that until they occupied one small city after VJ-day, the Chinese Communists had never been in control of what could be called even a middle-sized city. Maybe they could do a fine job of government—incidentally Stalin does not think they are capable of governing. The fact to emphasize here, is that to date they have never governed. Therefore all the claims for their so-called reforms are entirely untested if not irresponsible claims. To claim that the Communists have ever governed any tiny part of China with a degree of public responsibility remotely comparable to the Central Government in both domestic and foreign affairs, is the grossest distortion in the whole vocabulary of Communist distortion.

And finally as to the Kuomintang pretensions to one-party rule: If the Kuomintang is making any pretensions, the pretensions it is now making is that next year it will end one-party rule.

As an example of the frightful and frightening ignorance which I hope alone explains why the gentleman from Washington can swallow so much of the Communist Party line—one more word about the Kuomintang and one-party rule in China. The idea of one-party rule may or may not have been a good idea for China. But whose idea was it? It was the idea of the man whom the Communists pretend to revere even more than he is revered by the government; it was the idea of Sun Yat-sen.

Whatever some gullible Americans may think, no responsible Chinese, Communist or other, thinks that Sun Yat-sen's idea was a bad idea for China. And by the same token, today, every responsible Chinese from Chiang Kai-shek down thinks the time has come to end the period of one-party rule. Of course, we never hear in this House from the Moscow-tuned voices any objection whatever to one-party rule in Russia, but we do hear them yell their heads off about one-party rule in China. Let them save their breath and keep their peace. In China one-party rule is no issue; the only difference of opinions are as to the tough, practical problems of how to end it and exactly what methods of government will best serve the interests of 450,000,000 people when, next year, the Kuomintang gives up monopoly of government.

And these hard, practical Chinese questions, Mr. Speaker, we dare hope will be settled tolerably well next year—almost as tolerably well as we shall settle some of our much less difficult problems here—we dare hope.

China will have a better chance to solve them better if we Americans are not distracted by Communist propaganda but hew to the line of honorable, decent cooperation with the people of China as individuals, as law-abiding groups and through the lawful Government of the Republic of China.

Some of you may ask: but who are we to believe concerning Chinese affairs? Well, if someone gets up on this floor and makes a great parade of his love and concern for China, it is not irrelevant to wonder whether, apart from the Communist issue, he ever gave any evidence of having been interested in doing anything to help China or to advance Chinese-American relations. I do not ask that only the ardent friends of China should speak of China on this floor. Far from it. The duty of all of us is to speak first as Americans. We all recognize that it is important to America that she should pursue a right and not a wrong policy in China. But we do not like to see someone pretending to be full of loving concern for the Chinese people when the only thing that provokes him to action is a matter which primarily concerns the Communist Party.

Finally, let me say that I have hopes that our troubles in regard to a true American policy toward China are largely over. I share the belief of the vast majority of Americans that General Marshall would not go to China unless he had a clear policy behind him, and we know he would not go there with a policy which was in any sense contrary to the interests and ideals of our country.

None of us are so foolish as to expect miracles in times such as these. But I, for one, do believe that, with a sound American policy, we shall see China well on her way to becoming a united and progressive nation.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. LUCE. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SABATH. May I inquire whether the gentlewoman has informed the gentleman from Washington she intended to take him to task and criticize him?

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the lady yield?

Mrs. LUCE. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. I wonder when the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] got interested in having the Members of the House called to this floor when they are being attacked. I have been attacked by that left-wing crowd time and time again and I have never been notified yet.

Mrs. LUCE. Furthermore I am not attacking the gentleman from Washington [Mr. DE LACY]. I am rectifying his errors.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. LUCE. I yield gladly.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. In fact, the Chinese Communists are attacking the territorial integrity of China which we had guaranteed by several treaties, are they not?

Mrs. LUCE. The gentleman has made a very true point. I thank him for it.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. LUCE. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. I wonder if the lady has noticed that the statements made in the speeches here attacking the administration, in favor of the Chinese Communists, were verbatim the statements carried on some of these Communist placards now being carried around the State Department to insult Secretary Byrnes?

Mrs. LUCE. I thank the gentleman for the observation. There is not the shadow of a doubt that the statements made on the floor about China in the speech to which I refer followed the Communist Party line in every essential.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. LUCE. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DONDERO. May I call your attention to the fact that when Tung-Pi-Wu came to this country for the San Francisco Conference as the one official Communist delegate representing the north China regime, the first thing he did when he landed in San Francisco was to take a plane for New York where he held a 5-hour conference with Mr. Jaffe and Mr. Browder at which time Jaffe had in his office stolen files from naval intelligence and the State Department giving all the information on Chiang Kai-shek's army.

Mrs. LUCE. I thank the gentleman for contributing that most illuminating fact.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday I was given permission to extend an article in the Appendix of the RECORD. The Public Printer advises me that it will take 4½ pages of the RECORD at a cost of $234. I ask unanimous consent notwithstanding the cost that the extension may be made.

The SPEAKER. Notwithstanding the cost and without objection, the extension may be made.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON].

(Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I was happy to hear the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN] say there would be no opposition on his side to the rule.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I said there was no objection to the rule.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. That is what I said. I therefore take it for granted that the rule will be adopted, and my remarks will be addressed to the bill that will be brought before us under the rule.

I have heard it stated that there is more opposition to UNRRA in the United States than in all the rest of the world combined. If that be true, it must be because we have been farther removed from the unparalleled destruction and suffering of the war-torn countries of the world. Yet we have not escaped. Over a million of our boys have been killed and wounded. I heard a chaplain on Armistice Day in Winchester, Va., say, "No casualty list is light if the name of your boy is on it." I know on December 25 there will be many mothers in this country who will stand before their Christmas trees with tears in their eyes while in their heavy hearts they recall the lament of King David over his son Absalom: "Would to God I might have died for thee."

Mr. Speaker, I am for this bill, because to me it represents a legal obligation on our part. In the spring of 1944 we voted to go into an international organization for relief of war-torn countries and were then joined by 46 other nations.

When it became apparent in London last summer that we did not have enough funds to do the necessary job to which we were committed, our distinguished representative, Mr. Will Clayton, of the State Department, committed us to carry on for another year on the same basis, which was 1 percent of each contributing nation's national income as of 1943. We had an income then of $135,000,000,000, which makes our pro rata contribution for 1946 $1,350,000,000.

I am for this bill, because to me it represents a moral obligation on our part. We are the chosen representatives of a Christian nation, which does not want us to echo in these halls the cynical answer of Cain when asked, "Where is thy brother Abel?" We subscribe to the ethical teachings of the first century, which includes the statement that no man liveth to himself and no man dieth alone. That statement was issued in a small world dominated by the Roman legions. Science has brought the mighty nations of the modern world jostling together, and man's mastery of the air has wiped out boundary lines, and we now know, as Wendell Willkie so truly said, we are living in one world. We know the ethical teachings to which we subscribe.

We talk beautifully about democracy. We know what we should do to live our democracy and to make good our boast that we are a Christian nation.

Writing about a little cemetery in France and about that great teacher buried there named Abelard, an American writer said:

> He who sins in the darkness of a benighted intellect sees not so clearly through the shadows that surround him the countenance of an offended God; but he who sins in the broad noonday of a clear and radiant mind trembles beneath the searching gaze of that all-seeing eye, strong in the strength of a Godlike intellect.

The Nation, the Christian Nation of the United States, looks to us for leadership here and abroad in a new type of world, in a world that is dedicated to friendliness and peace, in a world in which we hope war can be eliminated as the arbitrament of international differences.

I am for this bill, Mr. Speaker, because I believe in voting this appropriation; even if we put it on a charity basis we will be casting our bread upon the waters to be returned, as Billy Sunday once said, "covered with butter and jam." I understand that the Army, on the basis of the relief that we would have friends and international cooperation, is asking for an appropriation of $10,000,000,000 for the next fiscal year, and that the Navy on the same basis is asking for three and one-half billions. When I hear of an appropriation I proceed to translate it into terms of taxes, because that is my primary field. Those appropriations of $13,500,000,000 translated into taxes would mean that the last peacetime rates of 1939 applied to the anticipated income of $130,000,000,000 would not produce enough for our proposed peacetime Military Establishment if $13,500,000,000 be appropriated for that purpose. Who could say if we decided to face the world alone, to have an armament that would enable us to feel secure without a friend or any ally, what the crushing tax burden of this Nation might be?

Mr. Speaker, I am for this bill because there appears no other plan, and without this aid millions in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Albania will die this winter. Among those in charge of this program are Commander Jackson, of Australia, who serves as senior deputy director general, a man of extraordinary ability; General Gale, of the United Kingdom, who was General Eisenhower's chief administrative officer, now heading the London office; Lieutenant General Morgan, also of the United Kingdom, who was General Eisenhower's deputy administrative officer, in charge of UNRRA's displaced persons operations in Germany. Major General Rooks, deputy administrative officer in the Mediterranean theater, has been released by our War Department to serve as deputy director and executive officer of UNRRA headquarters here in Washington. I am informed that many other top-grade civilians and military personnel will join the UNRRA staff and its China mission if and when UNRRA obtains the additional funds it needs to complete its program. The only other agency we might have had was the Army, and General Eisenhower recently testified the Army could not do the job. You know how we have been clamoring to bring our boys home.

As a former football player I enjoyed seeing Doc Blanchard on the Army team perform in Philadelphia last Saturday and I took particular note of the fact that when the Navy tacklers met him head-on he bowled them over. Look at the picture of his first touchdown. I was sitting within 20 yards of him when he made it and I saw the Navy man fall on his back when he hit Blanchard straight from the front. They could only stop him when they made a slicing attack from the side and took him off his feet. Opponents cannot meet the issue face on in the matter of feeding the starving of Europe; it will be the slicing attacks that will take the program off its feet by those who say: "I am for it, but."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield five additional minutes to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I want to tell those who propose to vote against this bill that UNRRA of its own volition has adopted every plan for better administration that has been proposed on this floor with the exception of the so-called free-press amendment which it was powerless to adopt. I have pointed out that 47 nations are now giving relief, not in Russia, not in Germany, but in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Albania.

Next year if we have the funds we hope to extend that relief to Italy, Austria, and China. UNRRA can arrange and has arranged for all of its employees to get all the information that it wants and needs from every country in which it operates. We have no right, legal or moral, to amend an international agreement unilaterally to provide that if this relief, for instance, should be extended to the Ukraine or to White Russia, Russia must give to all private representatives of the press complete freedom to operate in those countries. I say that that amendment is a slicing attack to take this program off its feet by those who would not dare make a head-on tackle.

We have made five international agreements: San Francisco, two at Bretton Woods—the International Bank and the stabilization of currency—one for international food and agriculture, and one for UNRRA. This is the first one we have been called on to actually implement. If we fail on this who will there be in the nations of the world to trust us on the rest of the program?

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SABATH. I hate to interrupt the gentleman in his great speech; nevertheless I feel that the membership of the House and the country should know that the amount we are authorizing here will be used to take care of our surpluses that

we will ship over there and the surpluses that are already over there.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. You cannot spend dollars anywhere else but here. Who can furnish the food? The United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. Already three of those countries have imposed rationing on their citizens. Canada returned to rationing of meat while we took it off. They are living up to their agreement. Russia is living up to her agreement. But UNRRA is now behind in operating funds to the extent of $580,000,000 and we owe of that amount $550,000,000. In estimating the deficit for the current fiscal year, due to war spending, at $30,000,000,000, the items for UNRRA of $550,000,000 for 1945 and $1,350,000,000 for 1946 have been included.

There has been distributed over two and a half million tons of supplies to the needy people over there. They need to spend $270,000,000 this month in our country for food and other supplies and from $270,000,000 to $300,000,000 next month or else many are going to suffer, many are going to die.

The money will be spent here. It will take from our market some surpluses that we can well afford to sell and maybe some other things that we should gladly share with those less fortunate than we.

I hope and believe that this Congress will do the right and honorable thing on this program of international cooperation.

It is the problem of urgency in this matter that concerns me most. I am told, and I do not question it, that if UNRRA is not given funds in addition to the $550,000,000 recently appropriated, it will have to cut by more than two-thirds its shipments in February, and will have no supplies for shipment thereafter. This means that without additional funds UNRRA collapses in the middle of perhaps the worst winter that all of the nations which it is aiding have ever faced. Only by acting immediately to supply UNRRA with the needed funds can this catastrophe be prevented. If there is not to be a great reduction in the flow of UNRRA's relief supplies to Europe during February, and an almost complete stoppage of the flow during March, UNRRA must have in hand additional substantial funds not later than January 10. By that date arrangements for procuring and shipping relief supplies during February must be made or such supplies will not flow.

These are the facts. There is only one conclusion to draw from them.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] such time as he may require.

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it is only through an informed public we can know the benefits contemplated under this legislation are actually given to the starving people of Europe, and it is only through a free press and a free radio the American people can obtain and receive full and complete information as to the operation of this international agency.

Therefore, as provided in this rule, I expect to offer at the preper time and at the proper place, when this measure is before the House tomorrow, an amendment identical to that which was adopted by this House on similar legislation a short time ago.

[Miss SUMNER of Illinois addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 9 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'KONSKI].

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, if all of us want the functions of UNRRA to be successful I think we must first go to the bottom to find out with just what kind of governments and with what kind of men UNRRA is going to deal. I propose to talk about one of those governments and one of those men this afternoon.

Mr. Speaker, the march of quislings to Washington has begun. Before long there will be a section in our Nation's Capitol known as quislings row. The first and foremost quisling of all history has just arrived in Washington. I say he is the first and foremost quisling in all history because he has proved to be a quisling of not only one country, but a quisling of two countries—one of which is our own United States of America.

I refer to Oscar Lange, a would be Ambassador of Poland to the United States of America. He has just arrived in the United States of America with fresh instructions from Moscow—posing as an Ambassador of Poland. For Oscar Lange to pose as an Ambassador of Poland is grossly immoral and in violation of every segment of international law. The fact is, Oscar Lange represents only the group in Poland who rule Poland with Moscow guns pointed at their heads. This present so-called government in Poland has no authority whatever except the force of Moscow. These present rulers of Poland were not selected by any election and are usurpers in every sense of the word.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'KONSKI. No, I will not yield. I have too much to say that is more important than what the gentleman has to say.

Mr. PATRICK. That is too bad.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In the eyes of decency and international law these rulers in Poland are nothing but a conglomeration of gangsters, criminals, forgers, fakers, and quislings. In fact 33 nations of the world still flatly refuse to recognize them and flatly refuse to have anything to do with them.

Oscar Lange is a shining example of the type of quisling who have taken over Poland in typical gangster and quisling fashion. Oscar Lange is a man who even out-quislings Quisling. He is a traitor of the first order.

Let us look at his record. Born a son of German settlers in Poland, the country he betrayed, he received an excellent education at the expense of the government he betrayed. In 1937 the Polish Government he betrayed even offered him a scholarship to go to the United States for further study. At that time Poland was being pressed by Germany to join Hitler. As soon as Oscar came to the United States, while accepting funds from the Polish Government to study in the United States of America, he indulged immediately in propaganda against the government that was feeding him. His quisling traits became known as soon as he hit American shores. Showing typical German ingratitude towards his benefactors, he indulged in anti-Polish activities and was satisfied for Hitler to destroy Poland—in fact it pleased him when Hitler did take over Poland.

But Oscar Lange was in danger. When Hitler attacked Poland, and later when Russia attacked Poland, Lange was still a citizen of Poland. Being a citizen of Poland, he feared the Polish Government might draft him into service to fight for the country that gave him his education and even a scholarship to study in America. The fear that he might be drafted to fight for Poland led Oscar Lange to seek American citizenship. Once he was enjoying the protection of American citizenship—the danger of his being called to fight for his country—Poland—was gone.

Hence, in 1943 he became a citizen of the United States of America. Now he had protection. It was protection he wanted and nothing else. Patriotism has no place in Oscar Lange's heart. Citizenship of a country for Oscar Lange is only a means of getting what he wants. He turns it on and off like water or electricity. One day he is a citizen of one country and the next day he wants to be a citizen of another country.

But now that he was safe as an American citizen in 1943 and after seeing that Hitler no longer could keep Poland—but things started to pick up for Russia and it looked like Russia might now get and keep Poland—Oscar Lange got a change of heart and changed from pro-German to pro-Russian.

So, as soon as he became an American citizen, he joined every pro-Russian organization in the United States, and while enjoying the protection of the Stars and Stripes, he held in his heart the hammer and sickle.

He then became a leading speaker on the speakers bureau of New America. Ten days after he became a citizen of our country he spoke for a new social order in America by saying that our Constitution was of the horse-and-buggy age. This is clear evidence that he took his oath of citizenship in our country under false pretenses. The fact that he criticized our form of government 10 days after he became a citizen ought alone to show Oscar Lange up for the quisling he is.

He became a member of the Chicago Committee of the Russian War Relief.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Instead of giving relief to the Russian people, these funds were spent to lavishly entertain the Soviet delegates to the San Francisco Conference.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Alabama?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I refuse to yield.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state the point of order.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I do not see what point of order the gentleman has to make.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is speaking entirely out of order without any permission.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I submit that I am speaking in order because when we are appropriating or authorizing the appropriation of $1,350,000,000 to help the people of foreign countries, we have to deal with the governments of those countries and the leaders of the governments of those countries. I am talking about the leaders and the governments of those countries we propose to help, and I submit that I am proceeding completely in order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin will proceed in order.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I will withdraw the point of order if it will help any.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I think you should withdraw it.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In May 1943, Glos Ludowy, the Soviet newspaper in Detroit, called Oscar Lange an eminent Polish-American scholar.

Later Oscar Lange was listed as a speaker at a rally in Carnegie Hall, New York, under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. He refused to speak when he learned that one speaker was going to criticize the Soviet Union for executing Alter and Erlich, two prominent Socialist Polish labor leaders. Even if the Russians killed labor leaders, that was agreeable to Lange—as long as those killed were Poles.

Later in 1943, Oscar Lange bitterly attacked General Sikorski for organizing a Polish Army in Africa, England, and Scotland. He was afraid that the organizing of any army outside of Poland might some day be used to restore a free and independent Poland. Poland was under German and Russian control and Lange did not want that condition to be disturbed.

Lange later was instrumental in organizing the Kosciusko Legion, a pro-Communist legion in America who salute only the Russian flag—but never the American flag.

Later Oscar Lange made himself a self-appointed ambassador and got our State Department's approval to fly over to Moscow with Orlemanski. Lange wanted fresh instructions from Moscow. Ordinary communications might be intercepted and decoded. Moscow called Lange to come at once. To cover up, he took a priest with him. Lange came back from Moscow with fresh instructions on how to destroy Poland. He carried out those instructions to the letter.

As soon as Lange returned from his Moscow trip he and his stooges stepped up their activities in the United States of America. He now addressed Communist meetings all over the United States of America and waved the Red flag and completely forgot the American flag whose protection he was now enjoying. Moscow now referred to Lange as the only Pole in the United States of America they could truly trust.

By now Hitler was driven out of Poland, and there was no division of feeling in Lange's heart. Knowing Russian control over Poland was assured and approved at Yalta, Lange now spoke fully and completely in favor of Russian domination over Poland.

But now Oscar Lange did not need the protection of American citizenship any more. The war was over. The Polish Government that might have drafted him was betrayed and abolished. So now Lange renounced his American citizenship and became a citizen of the Soviet Union. He got what he wanted out of his American citizenship. It has no further value to him for the time being. So now he betrayed Poland, and he betrayed the United States of America, the country to which he took an oath of allegiance. He now out-quislinged Quisling and became a quisling of two countries.

The past 3 months Lange spent in Poland commuting constantly to Moscow to get fresh instructions. He has now landed in Washington with credentials from Moscow to be an Ambassador of Poland.

By all rules of morality, just why does our State Department permit such goings on? By what rules of morality does our State Department govern to recognize such a quisling as an ambassador to any country? Is that the kind of people our State Department proposes to deal with? If that is the case, I am ashamed of our State Department. If that is the case, I no longer hold one iota of respect for our State Department.

I thought that we fought a war to hang quislings. But it looks like if a man out-quislings Quisling he gets to be an ambassador. Oscar Lange's appearance in Washington, posing as an Ambassador of Poland, reaches the lowest and rankest performance in all history. If his credentials are accepted by our State Department, I think that Congress ought to find out why.

The present so-called government in Poland is not a legal government in any sense of the word. No true Pole had a voice in that government. It is a government by force—by Russian arms and nothing else. Thirty-three nations refuse to have anything to do with it.

Oscar Lange has no more right to be an Ambassador of the Polish Government than I have a right to be Soviet Ambassador to this country. Oscar Lange is a quisling and a traitor of the first order. He betrayed the United States of America in its strained relations with Russia. Oscar Lange is just another Russian Ambassador period. He would betray his mother if he thought it would promote Oscar Lange.

The height of his betrayal is evidenced by the fact that although he renounced his American citizenship he wanted it clearly understood by the State Department that his wife will keep her American citizenship. Why? Because if anything goes wrong, Lange will claim American citizenship again behind the skirts of his wife and again enjoy the full protection of American citizenship which he has already once betrayed.

Yes, the quislings are beginning their march to Washington. The first and the worst of them is already here to take over the Embassy of 25,000,000 brave and gallant people of Poland who have been betrayed by their allies. Is it any wonder that America is losing its influence the world over? One just cannot deal with a quisling and command respect no how.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

(Mr. O'KONSKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

(Mr. STEFAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include therein several letters.)

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, many people have been interested in the possibility of personally sending a package of food to their relatives and acquaintances in Europe, especially those places which are not serviced by UNRRA. I have been advised that some 22 voluntary agencies in the United States engaged in foreign relief are about to organize a nonprofit corporation to permit the purchase of food packages by individuals and institutions in the United States and have them sent to their relatives and acquaintances. I also am informed that Mr. Donald Nelson, formerly of WPB, may become the active director of this proposed organization and that details will shortly be announced, including the countries where facilities can be granted for the delivery of packages. The corporation, I am informed, is to be known as Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe.

There has been so much interest manifested in this organization by Members of the House of Representatives and many of my constituents that I have made some inquiry as to what form would be used in the shipment of this food. I am told that in September and October of this year UNRRA purchased 7,700,000 cases of surplus 10-in-1 food packages. The Army had purchased these 10-in-1 food packages for the purpose of supplying our troops in the Pacific.

Each of these packages contains 10 breakfasts, 10 dinners, and 10 suppers. They include various kinds of meats and concentrated food and accessory packages containing soap, some chocolate bars, and so forth. These packages are so well wrapped that I have been told they would withstand submerging in water for several days. No repackaging is necessary, and they are ready for delivery. It was stated at one time that 7,700,000 of these packages were in Europe and ready for delivery. That is not the fact. My information develops the information that 4,000,000 of these packages are already in transit and will be distributed by UNRRA and over 3,000,000 additional packages will be available to this new organization by UNRRA, which has informed me it will be glad to turn them over to Mr. Nelson's organization when the organization is

ready for operation. I understand the plan is to sell these packages to individuals and institutions at a cost of approximately $12 each. If this organization is formed, it would then be possible for an individual American to send his contribution to the organization with the name and address of the party to whom he wishes it delivered. This service would be supplementary to the relief work being done by UNRRA, and I understand the Department of State and the President's War Relief Control Board are in favor and giving encouragement to this proposed corporation.

It is my understanding that UNRRA some time during September and October purchased from the United States Army $100,000,000 worth of food, including the 7,700,000 packages of 10-in-1 rations and many millions of packages of C and K rations. This information is for those who have asked during the debate as to what additional efforts are being made to feed hungry people other than through UNRRA.

Regarding the request for new UNRRA authorizations, Mr. Speaker, I reserve my decision until I have heard all of the debate. I include in my remarks a few letters and a telegram from farm organizations indicating their position on this legislation:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 4, 1945.*

Representative KARL STEFAN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

The National Farmers Union, understanding you intend to speak tomorrow on behalf of the new authorization for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, wishes you to know that it strongly urges the passage of the bill without amendments or riders that will in any way hamper effective relief among the hungry and distressed abroad. Our members believe that the leadership of the United States toward a better world will be impaired if it does not generously fulfill its commitments, and that the consciences of the American people will not approve of failure of Congress to meet this obligation. Farmers above all others would deplore seeing people in other lands hungry if there is any step that the United States can take to aid them. Moreover, from a coldly realistic point of view, American farmers wish to see surpluses disposed of so that they will not depress domestic price levels. But our members also feel that passage of the bill should be followed up by stringent administrative action to see to it that every dollar of UNRRA funds buys all possible foods and fibres and that allocations are made to insure these commodities actually getting to the people that need them. Good luck.

JAMES G. PATTON,
President, National Farmers Union.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARMER COOPERATIVES,
Washington, D. C., December 5, 1945.

Hon. KARL STEFAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. STEFAN: The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives has consistently supported the establishing of the United Nations Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization as institutions for the promotion of world peace. Consistent with this policy we recognize the necessity of feeding, clothing, and otherwise caring for the destitute and suffering peoples of liberated and conquered countries.

Toward this end we urge the fulfillment of our commitment to UNRRA. At the same time, in order that the resulting benefits may be as great as possible, we urge that appropriate steps be taken to assure timely, efficient, and effective use of such funds.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN H. DAVIS,
Executive Secretary.

THE NATIONAL GRANGE,
OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,
Washington, D. C., December 4, 1945.

Hon. KARL STEFAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN STEFAN: I have been informed of your interest in the action taken by the National Grange in the seventy-ninth annual session at Kansas City, Mo., last month in regard to the meeting of our relief commitments for Europe.

The resolution adopted represents action taken after careful consideration, including first-hand information from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration urging endorsement of the bill for additional UNRRA appropriations. The resolution follows:

"While military hostilities have ceased, the job of reconstruction lies before us. Hunger, want, and distress in war-torn areas are increasing as the resulting effects of active conflict.

"A program for relief of distressed people has been developed. It has been entered upon in good faith. Our promises have been made. Fear has been allayed and hope restored because of the action taken by all the United Nations.

"Our obligations to suffering humanity must be fulfilled and we urge Congress to meet the commitments made, and to do what may be necessary to aid deserving war-torn nations to become self-supporting."

Sincerely,

FRED BAILEY.

NOVEMBER 21, 1945.

Hon. SOL BLOOM,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN BLOOM: At the last annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation, held in Chicago last December, the voting delegates, elected by the Farm Bureau members, adopted a series of recommendations calling for the United States to play its part in world affairs, and to use its position of world leadership to assist not only in the maintenance of international peace and security, but also in the solution of international economic problems, in order to lay a sound economic foundation for an enduring peace.

In its resolution on international cooperation, the federation stated: "Due to a combination of many factors, this Nation is in a position of world leadership. We cannot shirk our responsibility to future generations."

Among the various measures for postwar reconstruction the federation recognized the necessity for temporary relief assistance to peoples in war-torn areas, and urged that the United States lend a helping hand to weaker nations to meet these needs, but stressed that such assistance should be directed in such a manner as to "effect real rehabilitation and to assist nations to help themselves and lay a sound foundation on which to build world trade"; and that the United States should set an "example for them to follow in the organization of their domestic economy, by sharing our technical skills, and helping them to help themselves create a fuller and more abundant life." We believe that merely "furnishing of vast amounts of relief in the form of goods or money over an extended period of time will aggravate, rather than solve, international problems."

Pursuant to these recommendations, we have supported the appropriation of necessary funds to enable the United States to complete its initial commitment of $1,350,000,000 to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to provide needed relief for the peoples of war-torn nations.

We are informed that the $800,000,000 already appropriated by the United States to UNRRA has been completely exhausted, and that the additional contribution by the United States of $550,000,000, recently approved by the House, which is the final installment on our initial pledge to UNRRA will probably all be used before the end of 1945 because of the extreme distress now prevailing in many of the war-torn nations.

It seems unthinkable that our Nation would be willing to withdraw any further assistance and leave millions of men, women, and children destitute in the middle of winter. I believe the American people want to see our Nation do its part in relieving the suffering and distress in war-ravaged countries and to assist them to get on their own feet as soon as possible.

We, therefore, favor the objective of H. R. 4649, authorizing an additional appropriation of $1,350,000,000 to UNRRA as our contribution to enable this international organization to complete this relief program.

This would be in the nature of an authorization or pledge of funds. The appropriations actually made by our Government would be determined later by the Appropriations Committee and Congress in the light of subsequent needs as they develop. Thus Congress will have the opportunity to determine the actual contributions which may be required from time to time until this program is completed. If conditions should improve unexpectedly and the needs for additional funds should prove less than anticipated at this time, Congress can revise its actual appropriations accordingly.

It is our understanding that the nations participating in the UNRRA organization have agreed that its activities will terminate in Europe not later than December 31, 1946, and in China not later than 1947.

While UNRRA has made many mistakes and there has been much dissatisfaction with its administration, it would appear too late now to attempt to establish a new agency in its place. The present organization was created as a result of the cooperative action of the United Nations, and a total of 47 nations are actively participating in this set-up, and 31 which were invaded are providing supplies and funds for the relief operations. In other words, it is a going concern and is already at work on the job. If this set-up were to be scrapped and a new international agreement had to be negotiated and a new organization had to be set up, much time would be lost and perhaps many thousands of lives of distressed people would be lost in the process, as the winter season is already at hand.

We urge, however, that our Government use its influence in every appropriate manner to bring about improvements in the administration of UNRRA to see to it that relief extended through UNRRA is not used by any government for political purposes; that such relief be extended on a basis of justifiable need without discrimination; that in extending such relief, emphasis be placed upon helping people to help themselves as far as possible; and that each country should assume responsibility for taking care of its own people as soon as possible.

With respect to the contribution of the United States, we believe use should be made, as far as possible, of agricultural commodities which are in surplus supply. Due consideration, of course, must be given to the requirements of a properly balanced diet. We are likely to have surpluses of a number of important food commodities in the United States next year, and it is just common sense to make the maximum use of these surpluses to relieve distress and destitution. We

therefore recommend the inclusion in H. R. 4649 of the same requirement which was included in the UNRRA appropriation in H. J. Res. 266, which reads as follows:

"*Provided further*, That, insofar as possible and practicable, agricultural commodities determined by the Secretary of Agriculture to be in surplus supply shall be utilized in filling United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration requisitions for food and agricultural commodities."

Hoping that these recommendations will meet with the approval of your committee, I am

Sincerely yours,
EDW. A. O'NEAL, *President*.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the remainder of the time to the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, this bill carries a lot of money. It is my opinion that it must. It is America's effort to meet a destitution and need such as through the centuries the world has scarcely ever known before. Out of this war there has come only one important Nation in all the world that was not bombed or invaded. That Nation is our own. Deeply as America has suffered from the loss of the lives of her sons, and willingly as our people have worked to bring victory, we find ourselves today immeasurably better off economically than all the rest of mankind.

Furthermore, the world needs, above all things, to follow American leadership toward a better world of true freedom and hope for all mankind.

Democracy is the child of hope. Dictatorship is the product of despair, hunger, and starvation. No blow that could be struck by this Nation in the cause of democracy and freedom is as important right now as the getting of food to the needy and hungry people of the world.

Not long ago a report was issued by the Postwar Policy and Planning Committee, which I signed and helped to prepare. In that report our committee laid down certain requirements which we said ought to be met by other nations, by Russia, for example, before any money is loaned to those nations by the United States in the future. I do not have time to account what those different stipulations were, but I will say I am in agreement with them as to loans and similar economic measures. But here in this bill we confront a different and far more insistent problem—that of helping to provide the minimum necessary food for people who need it not only today or tomorrow, and through this winter and the coming spring, but who needed it 2 months ago. There is need also in countries which are not served by UNRRA. It should be made possible for private organizations to bring relief to the starving people of Germany. There should be efforts by both our Government and private agencies to help the people of the western European democracies, like France and Holland. But the greatest need of all can be met and must be met by the measure which is before the House today. I do not believe anyone can conscientiously oppose it, and I doubt that more than a handful of Members will do so.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include certain quotations and letters.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, when UNRRA was up for consideration the first time, I made some predictions with reference to the approach to the problem of feeding and clothing the destitute millions of men, women, and children in war-torn Europe and Asia. I realized then as I do now that there already existed and had existed for many generations organizations here and abroad trained in the distribution of food, clothes, medicine, to the victims of war, flood, or famine, wherever any one or all of these afflictions visit mankind. Is it not the money of American citizens which it is proposed to tax from them for the funds called for under the pending legislation? Is it too much to ask that it be administered by the Red Cross which has been operating as an angel of mercy since it was organized by Congress, January 5, 1905? This great humanitarian agency has been carrying on its program of mercy for 41 years, and not once has the integrity of those who have administered the countless millions contributed to it been questioned. For almost half a century it has sent its trained personnel to the field of every major disaster throughout the continental United States. It has distributed trainloads of food, clothing, and shelter without corruption, black markets, thievery, or graft. It is an organization loved, respected, and generously supported by countless millions. It is a member of the International Red Cross, an organization founded at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1864. The absolute confidence of the American people in the National Red Cross is too well known to require further praise or discussion. With the unblemished record of the National Red Cross, of the International Red Cross, why were these ignored as a means of administering relief, and instead UNRRA, a political and corrupt organization, set up to play power politics with human suffering and misery? The Christian church organizations were likewise disregarded as instruments of relief.

It is known that the funds intended to feed the starving men, women, and children have in many instances been used by totalitarian nations to control the votes and even the lives of famine-stricken citizens when called upon to vote where a plebiscite has been held. To be specific, food intended for the starving victims has been sold in the black market by UNRRA agents while babies starved for need of that food. Think of the ghastly disclosure which recently came to light as late as November 29 of this year. Six hundred UNRRA employees purged for selling to black markets. Dismissals, suspensions, and arrests in three Reich zones. This amount of corruption in just two zones where UNRRA is supposed to be feeding and clothing the hungry and naked. Who disclosed this disgraceful corruption? It was Leo J. Margolin of New York, Chief of the UNRRA Information Bureau in Europe. Mr. Margolin was quoted in the Washington Star of November 29, 1945, as saying:

> All were involved in black-market dealings—actually selling or being a party to selling at black-market prices foodstuffs and clothing earmarked for victims of war.

Furthermore, Mr. Margolin, according to the article in the Washington Star, to which I have referred, said that in the last 5 weeks 13 UNRRA workers had been arrested and another had been sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment during investigations in the British zone by military police and UNRRA officials.

Let me say right here that the investigation of the corruption and black-market operations of UNRRA has thus far covered only a small portion of the field in which it is operating. There has been no statement made that UNRRA would be purged of its crooks until the delay occurred in the enactment of this legislation. Something had to be done, so now, to appease public wrath, a joint statement has been issued, according to the press, by Lt. Gen. Sir Frederick A. Morgan, Chief of UNRRA operations in Germany and formerly Assistant Chief of Staff for General Eisenhower, a statement in which Sir Raphael Cilento Brisbane, Australian Director of UNRRA in the British zone, stated as follows:

> We are determined to ferret out from the ranks of honest, sincere UNRRA workers members of teams who put personal profit above their trust of aiding unfortunate victims of war under our care.
>
> There is nothing more low and despicable than stealing from these luckless people, and UNRRA intends to see that the personnel of the organization keeps faith with the 47 nations supporting UNRRA, with the armies which sponsor its work, with displaced persons in Germany, and with other displaced persons who are our charges.

Mr. Speaker, I have some responsibility to those whom I have the honor to represent. They do not expect me, I am sure, to be a party to voting these funds to a corrupt organization, even though the organization is prefaced with the word "charity" or the word "relief." It is not charity, neither is it relief, when funds intended by generous-minded people for distressed and starving victims of war are corruptly used for other purposes. There will be no aid to masses of the suffering while the money appropriated by the United States and the other nations tolerate any agency which in the short time it has been operating already stands convicted of a violation of the sacred trust imposed upon it. At a time when nation after nation is coming here for loans and hand-outs running into billions of dollars, we owe to those whom we represent to be cautious in voting for such huge amounts, especially when we are put on notice of the improper use of the funds so appropriated.

The people I have the good fortune to represent are generous, kind, and charitable. Moreover, they are honest. I was in charge of eight States in the Red Cross campaign for the first $100,000,000 fund in World War I. The communities in my congressional district exceeded their quotas, and they have done so ever since. I was abroad during 1917 and

1918 and I know what a glorious record the National Red Cross made in that war. Both our National Red Cross and the International Red Cross are honored and respected by all nations, and each has an unsullied record in dispensing clothing, food, medicine, and shelter and all kinds of relief. Moreover, the personnel of each of these humanitarian institutions is made up of trained, experienced, and honest men and women. There is nothing that would bring greater confidence and hope to the suffering victims of the battle-torn countries than to know that these two humanitarian agencies were to replace the graft-ridden UNRRA in handling their problems of relief. Failure to insist upon an accounting of the funds and the services rendered by UNRRA, unless insisted upon will foster distrust, ill-feeling at home, and those who are robbed of their food by black-market operations will look upon Americans as grafters and cheats.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of H. R. 4649, with Mr. SPARKMAN in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM] is recognized.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Foreign Affairs has held very lengthy hearings on this resolution and there are just a couple of points I should like to bring to the attention of the Committee at this time because other points that go more into detail concerning UNRRA will be brought up in debate later on.

Let me say at the outset, Mr. Chairman, that the Foreign Affairs Committee has received not one—not one—communication of any kind against this bill; and further, not one request to appear before the committee in opposition to this bill. There was one witness against it who appeared before the committee at the request of one of the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, but that request was not made directly to its chairman.

The one point that has been stressed right along, Mr. Chairman, has been the tremendous amount of money this relief is going to cost this country. It is not as much as we spent after the First World War. I believe the total amount called for in this bill amounts to only the cost of about 4 or 5 days of the war, and is equivalent to the additional amount the war would have cost had it continued for 4 or 5 days longer. The point, however, that I wish to have the Members realize and understand is that the 1 percent called for in this resolution is 1 percent of the income of the United States for the year 1943—1 percent of our income. Now, if the sum is large, $1,350,000,000, we all should be grateful and thankful to our dear God that He made this country so prosperous that we could afford to give 1 percent out of that tremendous sum that this country has made, which equals $1,350,000,000. That is the only way to judge this amount adequately and not talk about what we are giving. We are the only nation in the world that has really made anything substantial, the only nation in the world that has had an income, and because we have been so prosperous, because we have been so successful, Mr. Chairman, we have had this tremendous income; and we are asked to spend only 1 percent to feed and to cloth and to shelter all of the poor unfortunate people throughout the world. One percent. Some of our dear colleagues here think that is a tremendous amount to spend.

Mr. COLE of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. No; I am sorry I cannot yield.

Mr. Chairman, there is no question but that UNRRA has made mistakes. We must, however, take into consideration the things that were happening around the world at that time. The world was upset and, Mr. Chairman, I doubt if there is any way in which one can calculate the tremendous cost to all the nations and all the people of the world, the tremendous cost of this war we have just gone through. It has been estimated by some people who have made a study of the subject that this war has cost the peoples of the world financially, not counting the misery, death, and suffering it has brought, one trillion and a half of dollars—one trillion and a half.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to read what General Eisenhower, who appeared before the committee on Thanksgiving Day, had to say. If you will look on page 281 you will find General Eisenhower's testimony, and on page 290 you will find Monsignor Boland's testimony. Both of those gentlemen testified that the only complaints they had heard in reference to UNRRA were when they came back to this country. Read the testimony of these two gentlemen. You will take the word of General Eisenhower I know, because he certainly has no axe to grind in this matter. The opinion of General Eisenhower is especially valuable here. He said to the committee that he would have thrown up his hands in despair if he had been given the job that UNRRA faced. In answer to a question by a committee member General Eisenhower said:

> If anyone had given me the job of organizing UNRRA under the conditions that existed all during that campaign, I think I would have thrown up my hands in helplessness because at that time we—

That is, the Army—

> demanded everything and we got everything. That UNRRA made any progress at all I consider remarkable.

General Eisenhower summarizes UNRRA's present effort by saying:

> I know from my own observation in Germany that it is operating with steadily increasing effectiveness.

Mr. Chairman, during the course of the debate on this bill I sincerely hope and trust that we will get the facts presented by both sides; and after the facts are presented to the committee, I feel satisfied that the Members will vote favorably on this resolution.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentlewoman from Illinois.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Is it not true that UNRRA's job in Germany only consists in taking care of displaced persons and that Mr. Clayton testified on page 8 of the hearings that the Army did do a phenominal job of taking care of displaced persons at the rate of a million a month?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. That seems inconsistent with General Eisenhower's statement that he could not do it or that he knew anything about UNRRA in Germany.

Mr. BLOOM. He was in Germany. He said from his observations in Germany.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. But UNRRA is not feeding people there.

Mr. BLOOM. I did not say that, General Eisenhower did not say that; the gentlewoman herself said that.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Does the gentleman say that UNRRA does feed people in Germany?

Mr. BLOOM. It takes care of displaced persons in Germany.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. STEFAN. I wanted to ask the gentleman practically the same question. I believe the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs should clarify what UNRRA really is doing in Germany.

Mr. BLOOM. It only handles displaced persons.

Mr. STEFAN. I think that is the answer.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. How long will existing funds that we have already voted last? Will that see them through the winter?

Mr. BLOOM. No. This $550,000,000 that the House appropriated the other day, now before the Senate, will last, if they get the appropriation now, until the first of January. They will have it all spent between now and the first of January, and I refer to the $550,000,000; not the authorization in the present bill. To process that much goods, food, and material and get it over there requires time. Even then, these supplies will last only until around the middle of February. So if the Senate today should approve that appropriation for $550,000,000 and

the bill should become law on Friday, then they will start to spend it. They have to get the merchandise and they have to get it over there. This is most important. If they do not get this authorization for the additional $1,350,000,000 and the appropriation through by the first of the year, UNRRA will have to practically cease operations, because there will be a serious lapse between the amount that they are receiving now, the $550,000,000, and this amount, and they cannot buy any more goods until the appropriation is made. So, therefore, from now until February, and after that, they will have nothing more to feed the people in Europe with.

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, has the job been bigger than we originally contemplated? Have the existing funds lasted as long as we expected them to last?

Mr. BLOOM. When you say "lasted as long as," you must remember that if the war was still on the funds would last longer, for the simple reason that relief could not be made available in many countries; I mean we did not know—that is, UNRRA did not know, and no one knew—when the war was going to be over. They could not operate in the occupied countries of our allies until they were liberated and invited to come in there by the Army or until the Army had gone out. It is only then that they can go in and operate. Now, as to how long the money was going to last, nobody could tell until we knew what the situation was. No one knew what the situation was in any of these countries until we entered them. I will say this: That UNRRA started to operate as soon as they could get in there, and naturally this amount that we are asking for now is to bring them through this coming year of 1946 up to harvest time, so as to put these countries back on their feet and make them self-sustaining, and then, with China, relief is to go on for 3 months in 1947.

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. I understood the gentleman to say that the existing funds would probably last until about the middle of March.

Mr. BLOOM. No; I did not say anything of the kind. Is the gentleman talking about the $550,000,000?

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. Yes.

Mr. BLOOM. That will last about a week from the time they get it, but the material that they buy for that $550,000,000, before it gets over there and is distributed, will be some time around February or March.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. As I understand, the gentleman explained that the $550,000,000 that we have already voted will last, if they get hold of it right away, until about the middle of March.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes; or February.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. How long did the gentleman say the $1,350,000,000 that we are appropriating now will last?

Mr. BLOOM. I said it will last until the beginning of the coming harvest, fall. That is all they expect it to last, and for the first 3 months of 1947 in China.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JARMAN. I think the chairman misunderstood the gentleman's question. As I understood his question it was how long would the $550,000,000 last.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. That was about the middle of March.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. What I want to know is how long the appropriation we are about to make today, the $1,350,000,000, will last.

Mr. BLOOM. Until the coming harvest. We expect to be out of Europe by that time.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. It is my opinion that it would not need as much money in the warm months as in the cold months, if the present amount of $550,000,000 is going to last until the middle of March.

Mr. BLOOM. If they cannot use it they will not use it, but the gentleman sees the position we are in today because we do not have it.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. Does the gentleman expect that further appropriation will be needed?

Mr. BLOOM. No, I do not expect that. Nobody has ever said it.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. How many nations have joined in this agreement to give 1 percent of their incomes as of 1943?

Mr. BLOOM. The full list appears on page 2 of the report of the House Committee on Appropriations on House Joint Resolution 266.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I would like to have that report to study it a little bit.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman is welcome to this copy I have here.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Our income for 1943 was estimated at $135,000,000,000, and this authorization is 1 percent of that amount?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I may have misunderstood the gentleman, but did I correctly understand him to say that no country had an income for that year except our country?

Mr. BLOOM. No, I did not.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. All the countries that signed this agreement had incomes then, did they not, more or less?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes, but the gentleman must remember that many of the countries, such as Holland, were at war and had been invaded.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Yes, I understand that. Have all of the countries taken steps to authorize or appropriate the money they signed up in the first instance, as we did?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes. The gentleman refers to the previous bill?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Yes.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Have they all paid in their contributions?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes. All the countries, even Russia, an invaded country, have contributed to the running expenses and the upkeep of UNRRA.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I have seen reports contrary to that statement, emphasizing that only a few of the countries that signed the agreement have met their obligations.

Mr. BLOOM. I think we are the only one that has not. I am pretty sure that we are the only one up to the present time of those in the 1 percent group that has not met its obligations.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. There is a great deal of question about these funds not getting to Poland and to the Polish people, who are needy, and who are included in our gifts, I suppose they could be called.

Mr. BLOOM. No one has made any complaint to the committee or asked to appear or written a letter to say that anything of the kind has ever happened.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I suppose the gentleman has seen quite a lot in the press to the effect that the Russian soldiers have intercepted the relief and it has not reached the Polish people.

Mr. BLOOM. Things have been intercepted from the Army and have been intercepted from the Navy all over the world. Wherever the Army and Navy and our people have gone things have been intercepted, and the black market has gone along with it. Do not blame it all on UNRRA, and do not blame it on the Army or the Navy

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. If we make this additional gift for relief, have we any means now of controlling that situation so that the needy Polish people will get what is coming to them and what we want them to get?

Mr. BLOOM. That is right. I am for it. My parents were Polish, so I am in favor of giving Poland or any other country what is coming to them.

As to the question the gentleman asked with reference to Poland, on page 9 of the report, in the fourth paragraph, the gentleman will find a full report on Poland and what is going on there and what they are getting.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. I have heard it said that the Russian Armies have a policy of living off the land, and that they are moving very slowly and gradually back and forth from Russia to Germany through Poland and that a lot of the goods we are sending to Poland actually is reaching the Russian Army. Has the gentleman's committee had any word on that?

Mr. BLOOM. If the gentleman wants to investigate or have arguments on all the reports that have been heard, he would not get home for Christmas, or maybe for the Christmas of 1946, either. Why did not someone come before our committee and tell us something he knew, not what he heard? No one even asked to come. Oh, you heard about a

lot of complaints. I heard somebody that heard so-and-so and did so-and-so, but there is no proof; not one word of proof.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Chairman, when this international organization known as UNRRA was first conceived here, I was greatly impressed by it and supported it. It was our first attempt in this new era of the world to enter upon a great enterprise of constructive and united service. We did not understand then, of course, just what terrible abyss the world was falling into of moral and intellectual ruin and confusion.

I worked hard for and voted for the original appropriation for UNRRA. The $550,000,000 that has been appropriated is a moral obligation, in my judgment, from which there is absolutely no possible or honorable escape for this Nation. We are now asking for the authorization of an appropriation of $1,350,000,000 more. Together, these two appropriations would amount to about $100 per family in this Nation or $20 for each man, woman, and child. Now, that is an enormous gift to make under present conditions. When this appropriation was asked for at first, I was confronted, as I know you are and every thoughtful man or woman must be, with the terrific challenge of facts that confront us. We have a debt which will be a millstone around the neck of enterprise and the economic life of this Nation for generations to come. We are in a world of flux and confusion and antagonism out of which we must emerge in time, but that does mean a long time of terrific testing of our moral and intellectual resources.

Thus, I was very troubled as to my duty with reference to this second appropriation. But, perhaps because of certain training that I had in years gone by, I fell back upon my usual approach to every public problem—the moral approach. Here we are the most prosperous Nation the world has ever known. But we are characterized by one aspect of our character that delights me and fills me with pride and gratitude, that is the sense of responsibility among all classes of our people toward suffering wherever it may occur. Down through the years, our people stood out among all the peoples of the world in their philanthropic self-sacrifice to alleviate human suffering either here or abroad. So today I approach this problem from the point of view of the moral attitude that is normal to our people and has been from the very beginning of our history. That moral sense of obligation to suffering is what drives our people at this time to assume this tremendous new burden amidst all the burdens that are being laid upon our backs at this hour.

There is another aspect, from the moral point of view, and that is our responsibility not only to these suffering millions but to ourselves. We did not create this horror abroad. We are not responsible for the existence of these starving millions or these desolated homes or these ruined cities, or a world broken to its foundations. We are not responsible for that. That was the work of a monstrous failure, morally, spiritually, and mentally, on the part of one or two of the great races of this world. We had to go in and win a war against that, and there is the result of it, and it will continue to be there; and we now have the moral responsibility to ourselves, because, if these starving millions are permitted to go over the precipice, are permitted to go on to the inevitable end of starvation, ruin, and revolution, there is no doubt in the world that there will come rolling back upon us waves of unrest, difficulty, and darkness which may lead us immediately into a third world war. So, we have to take our responsibility, in face of this condition, to ourselves. I believe if we are true to ourselves we will have to appropriate this money for these purposes.

Personally, I think this is all that ever ought to be done. I do not now see how we ever ought to try to do any more. If we cannot finish this job with this money, I dislike to prejudice the future, but I would find it very difficult to advocate another such appropriation.

Now, before I sit down, I want to say one word about this freedom-of-the-press thing. I was told with this amendment was offered that we could not hitch freedom of the press with starvation. That did not impress me. I thought it was a rather tricky answer. But I want to have my position absolutely clear. We are putting up 72 percent of this money. It is a free gift out of the toil and sweat and love of our people—140,000,000 of us. We are entitled to know how that money is administered, where it goes, and what it does. But, through our long history we have had one instrument of information upon which we have depended absolutely to lead us into the light concerning these great abstruse problems. That is the public press. Upon that foundation I take my stand, whether you have an amendment or not, that the UNRRA organization as it administers this fund, to the end of the last dollar, ought to have with it the representatives of the American press, to tell us every day what is going on and where the money is going. Our people are entitled to it. It is a moral obligation in this hour that we have that information. You can hitch it into an amendment or any way you like. Personally, I would like to see it in the form of instructions to the UNRRA organization that that be done.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. REED of New York. That is particularly true in light of the black-market operations which have been disclosed.

Mr. EATON. There is no doubt that the black-market operations are one pimple in the general infection of moral decay in the world.

Mr. REED of New York. Apparently there are 600 of those black-market operators who have been rounded up. You could shorten that word "pimple."

Mr. BARRETT of Wyoming. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. BARRETT of Wyoming. Was it originally understood we would contribute 72 percent of all the money?

Mr. EATON. One percent of our total national income in the year 1943.

Mr. BARRETT of Wyoming. I understand that, but, computed on that basis, would that make our contribution 72 percent of the whole.

Mr. EATON. Yes.

Mr. BARRETT of Wyoming. And the other nations that were to contribute the other 28 percent have done so?

Mr. EATON. Yes; up to date. We are a half billion behind, but we will catch up if we do our duty here.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Did your committee make any investigation at all with respect to the setting up of an organization such as they had after the last war? I talked with a representative of that last organization in Russia, and it seemed to me that an organization like that could be set up almost overnight, and employ a lot of American veterans.

Mr. EATON. I do not believe our committee made any very serious study of that question. Having one organization now, to add another one would be like hitching up a horse and an ass together, which is contrary to the Scriptures.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Does it not seem to the gentleman that there should be some system of inspection by some organization other than UNRRA? UNRRA to date has been observing itself according to answers made by Governor Lehman to me. It seems essential that we should have some sort of independent agency or some other section of the State Department inspecting the work of UNRRA. I think some of these things would have been prevented had that been done, that much of the dishonesty would have been prevented. UNRRA is not going to tell on itself.

Mr. EATON. The gentlewoman has in mind something in the nature of an independent auditing organization. I prefer to put the keen-minded newspapermen on the job.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Why not have the newspapermen who aid the intelligence officers and they aid the newspapermen?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. Will the gentleman kindly ask the lady whether she will vote for this resolution if that is done the way she wants it?

Mr. EATON. The gentlelady from Massachusetts has heard the question. Dies she care to answer?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I will vote for the resolution if certain other amendments are adopted.

Mr. BLOOM. A conditional commitment.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, if this intercommittee war is over, I will retire.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN].

(Mr. JARMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, reference has been made to the greatness of this country and its success. It occurred to me as I heard those references that perhaps one of the reasons for its success and greatness is to be found in the fact that it is simply natural for the humane people we are in America to invariably look with favor upon and generously answer the pleas of suffering humanity. The first evidence of that I witnessed was back in my little town of Livingston in Alabama, when some good citizen would commence and circulate a subscription list when there was a widow and orphans who needed food, taking up a collection for them. Or, perhaps some man without this world's goods would fall ill or become injured and they would take up a collection for him. Or perhaps a transient in our midst would suffer some calamity and the same would be done for him. Then came the Community Chest and other similar organizations which did that humanitarian work in a concerted, combined way. Then came World War I and the Hoover relief thereafter, which did a great job, which in its size, however, was small, very small compared to the one which confronts the world today. However, the United States defrayed the entire expense. Incidentally, that relief cost this country approximately $2,600,000,000, which is the total amount which will have been subscribed to UNRRA by this country with the passage of this legislation and an appropriation to cover it.

The difference being that at that time the amount was 4 percent of the national income of our country, whereas now it is 2 percent of that national income because of this success and progress we have had and made in the meantime. In other words, from that angle the contribution will have been just half of what it was last time. A far vaster relief job will have been accomplished but all of the United Nations will have participated in the expense in accordance with their ability. Not only will the United States not foot the entire bill as it did before, but the participation of the other countries can but be quite productive in the realization of their peoples of international responsibility.

Between the wars there was concerted action for relief by the people of America, for Finland, China, Greece, Japan after the earthquake, and for various other peoples of the world who suffered. In other words, it is just natural for the American people to answer these pleas, and I repeat, this fact is one of the reasons for our greatness and our success.

Then came the recent war. The Hoover relief commenced after the last war, or perhaps it entered Belgium before the armistice. But this war came on. The leaders of this country and others foresaw that the relief would be so much greater than before that this organization, UNRRA, was born. It was born by the invitation of this country to all the others of the United Nations to send a delegate or delegates to Washington, and later to Atlantic City, to participate in its organization. But before that invitation was extended the proposal was fully explained to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate. Changes were suggested and made.

On November 9, 1943, the representatives of these 44 nations met and signed this agreement at the White House, then proceeded the next day to Atlantic City, where the details were worked out. Our present Under Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, incidentally, presided over that meeting. It was agreed at that meeting, not by the United States alone, but by those 44 nations, that this organization would commence with a contribution of 1 percent of the national income of those 44 nations for the year ending June 30, 1943.

What has happened since? A gentleman indulged the suggestion a moment ago that only a few of those countries have contributed. The fact is that the entire 1 percent of the national income of those United Nations has been contributed, except, I believe, about $580,000,000. And who owes most of that? This great, prosperous United States of ours, this country we so love and revere, the richest and most prosperous of them all, owes $550,000,000 of the $580,000,000. Of course, that will be remedied, I hope today, in the other body. But that is the situation as of this moment.

UNRRA under that agreement proceeded with its humane work. Having heard all of the testimony at that time, having heard practically all of the testimony relative to the present bill, having visited many parts of the world on two different trips last summer, one of which had for its main purpose ascertaining what we should do about UNRRA, having attended numerous sessions of the Council meeting in London last July; with the information I so gained, I unhesitatingly express to you the opinion, despite the criticism you have heard—and criticism occurs of any great, big undertaking, you know that—but despite that criticism, UNRRA has done a great job, UNRRA has accomplished much, UNRRA has saved thousands, if not millions, of lives.

As an illustration of the magnitude of its work and how it is accelerating now, on March 31 of this year it had only shipped 37,000 long tons of supplies to Europe, whereas in July of this year alone 296,500 tons were shipped, in August, 318,837 tons; in September, 418,167 tons, and we have now reached the period when about a million tons a month are going to suffering humanity in other lands. It has made mistakes. Yes, it has made mistakes. What organization has not made mistakes? I tell you that those mistakes have been just as greatly magnified and exaggerated in my opinion, as any mistakes about which I have ever heard. The Army has made mistakes. All armies make mistakes in the very nature of things. The difference is that the mistakes of our Army cost American lives whereas whatever lives, if any, have been sacrificed by the mistakes of UNRRA were not those of Americans.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. The gentleman has heard practically all of the hearings, of course. Is it the gentleman's opinion that as a matter of self-interest it is to our advantage to invest these funds to take care of the situation in Europe and prevent bloodshed and strife and revolution, and what not, despite the faults that have been pointed out here in Congress and other places?

Mr. JARMAN. There is no shadow of a doubt about that. Furthermore, regardless of our moral obligation, regardless of the obligation resulting from the signing of the UNRRA agreement and the approval thereof by this Congress, regardless of all our other obligations in the premises, if we waive them all aside and forget them for a moment, from a purely selfish business standpoint it is good business for the United States to indulge in this additional contribution to UNRRA. Yes; mistakes were made, but let us not permit the trees to hide the forest. As we refer to those mistakes and criticize them, let us also think at least a few of the many good things UNRRA has done. Time, of course, is not available for me to go into detail about them, but I do want to indulge in one or two quotations from General Eisenhower.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for an observation?

Mr. JARMAN. Gladly.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I want to thank the gentleman for his fine statement, because it agrees with my views after having visited Palestine and a great part of Europe last summer.

Mr. JARMAN. I thank the gentleman for his concurrence. I am not at all surprised that he feels that way, because any conscientious man who is not a professional carping critic constantly in search of faults, who will make the trip the gentleman made, cannot refrain from reaching that conclusion. Unfortunately many have not seen it as the gentleman and I have, and some permit the trees to obscure the forest.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Can the gentleman point to abuses in connection with the administration of relief following World War I in any way comparable to the abuses that have been uncovered in connection with the present relief administration?

Mr. JARMAN. I cannot, because at that time I was a soldier over there, and neither while I was over there nor after I returned did I look for abuses. I have not spent my entire time looking for them now, and therefore I have no comparison.

Quoting from General Eisenhower:

> I know from my own observation in Germany that it—

That is, UNRRA—

> is operating with steadily increasing effectiveness.

Another quote from him to which the chairman has already referred but which I want to emphasize:

I should say this, if anyone had given me the job of organizing UNRRA under the conditions that existed all during that campaign—

That is, the war—

I think I would have thrown up my hands in helplessness because at that time we demanded everything and we got everything. We had to get the job done and it was a discouraging thing. That they made any progress at all I consider remarkable and I guarantee that they are improving steadily.

Just as the Army under the able leadership of that great soldier, General Eisenhower, had to get the job done, it is similarly necessary for someone, and UNRRA is the only feasible organization to do it, to get this aftermath job of the war done. I quote further from General Eisenhower:

Now that the fighting has ceased and the danger is less obvious, it is perhaps difficult for people in this country to visualize the desperate needs of the people of Europe and the necessity, if our military victory is to have lasting significance, of our successfully completing the job of making possible a peaceful world.

I am fully confident that the people of Europe can recover from the grievous blows they have suffered if they can be helped through this period. However * * * we in the United States * * * must be prepared to discharge a very heavy responsibility. We must, now, make our proportionate contribution to the relief of Europe in order to insure the permanence of our military victory.

Of course, the war was not concluded as speedily as we had hoped. There was much more devastation than anybody could conceive of at the time of that UNRRA council meeting back yonder in Atlantic City, because we based our calculations on the last war, which came abruptly to a conclusion with the armistice. So the time when the funds would be exhausted approached. Came the meeting of the UNRRA council in London last July.

The representative of the United States on that council, Assistant Secretary of State Clayton, proposed that another 1 percent of the national income, of the year ending June 30, 1945, be contributed by each nation. The council readily agreed, and it is as a result of that agreement of the council that this legislation is here. I heard Assistant Secretary Clayton make the statement that he could not speak for the Congress and could not guarantee it but would recommend the additional contribution. I heard the United Kingdom member assure the council that his country's second contribution would occur. It has, as has that of Peru. Doubtless those of numerous other nations will be rapidly forthcoming.

Did the United States err up to this point in entering this organization? Have we made a mistake in doing so? Should we have remained out? Or did we have the responsibility that I believe was ours to go into it? Have we any responsibility that has occurred since that time in the premises?

While my dear and charming friend, of whom I am especially fond, the gentleman from New Jersey, Dr. EATON, is eminently correct in stating that in the final analysis those criminals who are being tried in Germany and those who will be tried in Japan are really responsible for all of this destruction, I cannot refrain from calling attention to the fact that directly the German Army did not cause all of the destruction in Normandy, for instance. It was necessary for our Army to destroy many farms, many houses, many roads, and many railroads in order to drive the Germans back across France into Germany.

Similarly, neither the Italian nor the Germany Army is directly responsible for the destruction of Cassino and those farms and orchards thereabouts. On the other hand, their stubborn resistance made it necessary for the Allied army to indulge in much of that destruction. Of course, it was absolutely necessary and unavoidable, but the fact remains that our Army was compelled to do much of it.

That walled city in Manila stands out in my mind as the most tragic illustration of that in the world—that walled city which was one of the famous places of the Orient. There is not a habitable room in it now. By retiring there for their last stand the Japs made General MacArthur do what they knew he hated most to do—destroy that city. As they destroyed that city they necessarily destroyed farms and fruit trees and other possibilities of producing food for the people.

Furthermore, did we not encourage the underground in the Philippines, for instance, and in Italy, and in all the invaded countries? Did we not encourage them to sabotage every effort of the Germans and destroy their roads and railroads as well as their crops? Do we not have some responsibility for the fact that they scorched the earth in such magnificent fashion as to greatly hasten the end of the war? But, as my distinguished friend mentioned a moment ago, waving all of that aside, and considering one who is unable to realize any of those responsibilities, I would say to him as I said to the gentleman from California, that from a strictly business standpoint, it is good policy for us to do our part and not fall down on an organization which we started and urged other countries to join. If for no other reason, let us dwell momentarily on this one, particularly now with the atomic bomb. Every one of you knows as well as I do that civilization simply cannot survive another war. I am one of those who confidently believe that another can be avoided. I am equally confident that this is impossible without international understanding, good will, and cooperation. Yes, I am quite hopeful that the United Nations Organization, to which I believe the other body subscribed without strings yesterday, will succeed in eliminating war in the future. Toward that end it behooves all nations, and certainly this leading one of the world, to contribute everything possible. Therefore, from a psychological standpoint alone the United States simply cannot afford to withdraw support from this first unified activity.

Assuming that I am correct in the opinions that the dire need exists and that meeting it is our responsibility, along with that of the other United Nations, what is the alternative to doing it through UNRRA? While the Army did a magnificent job of relief immediately after it entered conquered countries and is doing so today in Germany, general relief is certainly not the Army's job, nor would the people of the United States stand for its members effecting it. The Red Cross has been suggested, and some have suggested an entirely new organization. When one realizes, however, that speed is of the essence, he understands the ridiculousness of either of these suggestions, particularly if he is familiar with the Red Cross and its functions. With reference to the necessity for immediate action, permit me to quote the director general of UNRRA:

Mr. Acheson and Mr. Clayton have already presented the reasons for the proposed legislation. In simple terms, they are that UNRRA's total financial resources under its first authorization are virtually used up, but its job is only half finished.

I cannot exaggerate the urgency of the situation.

We are completely broke at the present time and we just cannot, out of the funds that are now available, make any additional purchases from American funds.

Even with this $550,000,000 our January and February operations, to say nothing of the period beyond, will be seriously curtailed and shipments will have to stop completely in the very early part of the new year unless we get both the authorization and the appropriation contemplated by this resolution by the end of December. Every day's delay in appropriating this money slows our operations, at the very time when they should be accelerating. It means less value for every dollar spent.

Now, since speed is of the essence, it is difficult to understand the apparent widespread desire to slow up our contribution by retarding, damaging, unnecessary amendments. Of course, I can thoroughly understand the interest of those who are opposed to this legislation in such amendments, who I think should vote against the bill, but it is difficult indeed for me to appreciate the position of one who pretends approval and support of the carrying out of this obligation by our country and at the same time proposes dangerous, delaying amendments. Do not misunderstand me to believe that all of the proponents of these amendments are insincere, because I am sure such is not the case. I simply do not understand the reasoning of those who are really interested in the success of this endeavor.

The displaced Pole, the Chinese coolie, the Philippine guerrilla will suffer just as much and be equally dead if his starvation results from delaying amendments to this legislation, no matter how high sounding may be their purpose, as if he had starved as a result of our failure to participate in this worth-while endeavor at all, or our failure to continue such participation by defeating this legislation. Yes, the Greek peasant who needs a few seed to plant early next spring in order to put himself on a self-sustaining basis next fall will be just as hungry then and just as much a public charge if his failure to receive those seed results from delaying amendments as he would should it result from our failure to pass the bill at all. I might add that none of these can eat freedom of the press, nor do any of them exert great

influence on whether or not it exists in their country.

Every single witness opposed the so-called free press and other amendments except one who largely based his opposition to the bill in its entirety on his conviction that nationals of different countries cannot cooperate and who offered nothing as a substitute. He was neither for nor against amendments because he was against the bill in its entirety.

I wish to heartily congratulate the distinguished gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. ADAMS], who voted for this so-called free-press amendment before and stated on the floor on November 26:

I believe the people of this country today would vote overwhelmingly to provide our share of the funds immediately needed for UNRRA. * * * From reliable information it is clear that right now our failure to provide our share of the funds for this United Nations organization is costing untold human life.

Although I am one of those who voted for the free-press amendment and believe in the principles for which it stood, the result has been delaying.

Of course, every Member of this House agrees with freedom of the press but I repeat, these suffering people, many of whom will probably die because of the delay which will be caused by this amendment if passed, cannot eat freedom of the press.

Pursuant to authority heretofore granted by the House, I quote herewith an editorial from this morning's Washington Post on this subject:

NO TIME FOR POLITICS

Europe's children are unlikely to read the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to learn the loftiness of intent with which some Members of Congress espouse the principle of freedom of the press. But they will know about that espousal all the same. They will know about it, if it should prevail when the House of Representatives acts tomorrow on the UNRRA authorization bill, through the twisting pain of hunger and disease which the great principle will inflict upon their infant bodies. They will know; and we at home will have won the dubious right to read about their agony.

These children of Europe, liberated by our armies and by the armies of our allies, desperately need the $1,350,000,000 contribution from the United States which UNRRA is now asking Congress to authorize. They need this contribution because UNRRA's funds, including even the $550,000,000 appropriation still awaiting final congressional approval, will be exhausted by the end of this year. If UNRRA's flow of supplies to the needy is to continue without interruption, the new contribution must be authorized, and an adequate appropriation of money must be made before the first of the year—indeed, before Congress goes into recess, as it plans, for a Christmas holiday. UNRRA must have these fresh funds if it is to place orders for food and other supplies to be delivered throughout the hard winter that lies ahead.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee has recommended passage of the UNRRA authorization bill—without the attachment of any shackling amendments. But the bloc of Republican Congressmen who tried to tie their so-called free press rider onto the $550,000,000 appropriation now threaten to do the same in connection with the new authorization. This rider would prohibit the use of American funds in any country which maintained any barriers to free reporting by American newspapermen. It is, as we have said before, a provision which is administratively altogether unworkable. And what is worse, it would impose a special condition upon our participation in an international undertaking—a political condition to which the recipient nations could not in self-respect accede and which would invite the 46 other participating nations to impose all sorts of crippling special conditions of their own.

The effect of this amendment, if it prevailed, let us make no mistake about it, would be to prevent the delivery of relief to the people who need it most. Even an unsuccessful attempt to attach this amendment to the bill could have disastrous consequences. For the amendment must be fought; and if it should delay the granting of funds to UNRRA beyond the first of the year, it would be paid for in suffering and in human life. The Republicans who choose to make a party issue out of this spurious defense of press freedom will be engaged in the ugliest form of politics. Democrats who support them will share in the contempt which Americans cannot fail to feel for so heartless an action. None of us, in or out of Congress, will be able to find much cheer in the Christmas season if we default in our responsibilities to our fellow human beings overseas.

One more thought, the passage of this resolution will by no means really cost the United States the amount authorized because of the fact that a large amount of the supplies will be furnished in the form of surplus Army property now in the countries involved. Would it be better for this surplus property to be junked in those countries or sold for practically nothing, for it to be expensively transported back to this country and junked, or sold for a song, or for it to provide a large part of the contribution authorized by this legislation? In this connection I quote Assistant Secretary Clayton:

We expect that a very substantial part of that $550,000,000 (which I hope the other body will appropriate today) and the $1,350,000,000 (authorized by this bill), or a total of $1,900,000,000, will really be the contribution to UNRRA by the United States of surplus materials and property abroad for which we would otherwise get very little real cash.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN], a member of the committee.

(Mr. JONKMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, there was one observation made by the gentleman from Alabama, who preceded me, which I think was very important. He told us after the First World War this relief job cost us $2,600,000,000, and represented 4 percent of our income at that time, while in the present instance it will cost us $2,700,000,000, and will represent only 2 percent of our income. That seems very plausible and a good salesmanship argument. But it must be remembered that after the last war we had a picayune debt of $26,000,000,000, while at the present time we have a debt running all the way from $262,000,000,000 to $300,000,000,000. I do not think anybody knows just how much it is. It must be further borne in mind that in 1921, after the war, that 4 percent of our income was based on real income, while in this instance it is based upon our income in 1943, which was a war year, when half of our production was for war purposes and half of our income was for war purposes and not real income.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I am very glad to yield.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Comparing the needs at the end of the last war and the previous war, the gentleman will admit, will he not, that the damage which was done and the suffering which was inflicted was far greater because so many more countries were involved in this last war?

Mr. JONKMAN. May I say to the gentleman I was not addressing myself to that proposition.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I thought that would be involved.

Mr. JONKMAN. I was speaking with reference to the relative amount of our contribution. I say that you should have both sides of the question in order to have a true picture.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I was calling the attention of the gentleman to the fact that the need is greater now.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is too often the mistake we make. We take one side of the picture and give it to the public, and the public does not get the other side of the picture. I want them to have both sides.

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that it may safely be said that the American people as a whole are in sympathy with the humane, noble, and helpful ideals and objectives which form the basis of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It will cost them only one dollar out of every one hundred dollars of their income per year. Through this contribution it is probable that they will not only save many persons from death by starvation, but also alleviate the pangs of hunger and the undermining influence of malnutrition to literally millions of people.

However, I believe that they also want every dollar they contribute to effect the greatest possible relief among these people of the invaded and liberated nations. They have a right to expect this from UNRRA.

While UNRRA has had a difficult task, I believe that Members of Congress are justified in their dissatisfaction with the disappointment and failures of UNRRA by its sponsors and administrators ever since its inception.

After its organization at Atlantic City, the sponsors of UNRRA in the United States came to Congress with the proposal that this job be done by certain of the United Nations instead by the United States alone. We were told that to do the job would take $2,500,000,000. Assistant Secretary Acheson of the State Department appeared before the Committee on Foreign Affairs and said, on page 262 of the hearings:

As I said before in regard to this subject, I would guess the fund will be between $2,000,000,000 and $2,500,000,000, and probably closer to $2,000,000,000.

Then on page 48, Mr. Acheson said:

It is a fact that it is a very difficult thing to estimate, because we do not have the

figures for other countries outside of our own as of the year ended June 30, but the best estimate we can make at the present time is that our national income will be about $135,000,000,000 for the year just ending and that the income of the whole area, all the areas including our own, would be somewhere in the neighborhood of $230,000,000,000.

In other words, that would make a total contribution of $2,300,000,000, of which our share would be $1,350,000,000. Thus we would be contributing 60 percent of the fund while all the other nations together would be contributing 40 percent of the fund.

Instead of that it has turned out that while we are contributing the full amount of our quota, all the other nations together have contributed only $485,000,000, or just about one-half the amount anticipated, while we, of course, are bound and held for the full $1,350,000,000.

Now, I do not wish to hold Assistant Secretary Acheson responsible for this miscalculation, for I presume it would have to be largely guesswork. But the fact remains that we are now contributing 72 percent as against 28 percent of all other countries. Had this fact been known at the time there are many Congressmen who say we might better have done the job ourselves and alone, and had control of the entire distribution, over which we now have practically no control whatsoever. We could have done a much better job of alleviating human suffering.

Nor is this all. In the same hearings and on page 95, Assistant Secretary Acheson said:

Now the recommendation, as Mr. VORYS pointed out yesterday, is for a contribution of 1 percent of 1 year's income. It is not recommended that you pay 1 percent of every year's income. It is a once-for-all contribution.

In other words, here was a definite statement that our contribution of $1,350,000,000 would do the job. Now, there is an old adage that when you are called to give only once for a purpose, you can afford to be generous and liberal. But when you are called upon for a gift that is to be repeated and be continuous, you must be more judicious. Undoubtedly many Members of Congress had this in mind when they voted for UNRRA at that time.

I want to be perfectly fair and say that there was a slight modification of the above unqualified statement, for Assistant Secretary Acheson was asked, "Mr. Secretary, do you mean you will not be back if you get this full amount?" And the chairman of the committee gratuitously volunteered, "Do not promise that"; and while he did not change his statement as above quoted, Mr. Acheson did say then:

I most certainly could not promise that. * * * We hope very strongly that this emergency can be gotten over under the plan that we now have.

So that while there was some doubt cast, the foregoing positive statement was not changed, and it justified Congress in the belief that the billion three hundred and fifty million would do the job.

Well, here we are; not only are we being asked to bear 72 percent instead of 60 percent of this noble undertaking, but it is now an annual obligation. It is my considered opinion that UNRRA will be back next year for another billion, three hundred and fifty million. This perhaps would not be so bad if the American people felt that they were getting satisfaction for their money and actually reaching the objectives they are seeking to attain. However, I am afraid that such is not the fact, and I know many Members of Congress feel that such is not the fact.

The hearings on the present bill began on November 14 and continued through to the 23d of that month, and never have I attended hearings on a bill in which it was so difficult to get at the facts, even just the fundamental facts. Even UNRRA's bookkeeping is equivocal, and in the absence of a satisfactory explanation is subject to the criticism that it covers up the real facts. When we add this to the gross maladministration of UNRRA abroad, which I shall not discuss, it presents a dismal picture indeed.

Let us take table 8, purporting to give the status of contributions by member governments as of June 30, 1945, and apparently revised as of September 15, 1945. This is contained on page 33 in the Fourth Report of the President to Congress on the United States participation in operation of UNRRA, and was released October 11, 1945.

This table gives the list of contributions by the United Nations for operation purposes and lists 17 nations as having contributed. However, it does not at the head of the column give an unequivocal statement, but reads, "Paid or available on request." Reference to that tabulation will show that the total paid or available on request is $1,268,000,000. Then there is another column labeled and headed, "In process of contribution" totaling $597,000,000, which includes the $550,000,000 recently appropriated by the House of Representatives of the United States in full payment of its subscription. Now this heading on the first column, "paid or available on request," to my mind is very misleading. It smacks a good deal of a previous experience when we were told of what we had for preparedness for war and later found out that it was on hand and on order, mostly on order. It seems to me that if there were moneys that were not paid but available on request, they should be listed in a separate column and the reasons given as to why they were not collected, and why they were only available on request. However, as the column stands, you cannot distinguish between the two, and the United Kingdom is listed in that column for its full subscription, $319,775,000. Now, one would naturally assume that UNRRA has received and collected the full amount or that at least it is available for feeding or rehabilitating the liberated countries at any time.

However, I am satisfied that such is not the case. Such facts as do exist on this had to be gleaned from a paper labeled, "Statement by Director General Herbert H. Lehman on the urgency of the second 1 percent contribution," in which we read that of the $485,000,000 contributed by countries other than the United States, $183,000,000 has been spent for supplies, and so forth, and $122,000,000 obligated for supplies and delivery in November and December. Then it goes on to say, and I quote:

The balance of $180,000,000 consisting chiefly of sterling from the United Kingdom contribution, will be spent for commodities in Great Britain. It will be appreciated, I am sure, that the supply position of the United Kingdom and other countries, with the exception of Canada, which has made available its full contribution, all of which has been spent, is less favorable than that of the United States, and that the range of commodities, particularly in foodstuffs, which can be bought with sterling, is extremely limited.

From this it is apparent that the $319,000,000 from the United Kingdom is not all available; that $180,000,000 of it consists of blocked sterling which is useless to UNRRA. The underfed people in Europe cannot eat blocked sterling. It is true that we cannot ask the United Kingdom to provide supplies for this blocked sterling which it does not have, for as stated in the foregoing quotation, the supply in the United Kingdom is very limited. We know that in food stuffs and such essentials as Europe needs, the United Kingdom was only 40 percent self-supporting before the war. It now claims to have brought this up to 60 percent. So the United Kingdom still has to import for its own survival. It is therefore, in no position to contribute to UNRRA unless it purchases in world markets, which under the charter of UNRRA it is not obliged to do, for 90 percent of its quota may be purchased in the country making the contribution.

As late as September the United Kingdom itself was the recipient of foodstuffs and other supplies from the United States under lend lease, and while it may have then been in some position to make contributions, even if it had to use lend-lease articles, that source, namely lend lease, has now been closed to them both for their own support and for use toward UNRRA if it was so used.

But I ask in all fairness, why should not the report state the facts in this respect and say frankly that while credit for blocked sterling has been made available by the United Kingdom, this does not mean that commodities are available.

Now, I could even swallow that. If the United Kingdom cannot meet the obligations of its contributions to UNRRA, well, that is that. But the State Department juggles its figures and makes them to appear as if my country, the United States, is welching on its obligations and is in default, while on the other hand the figures purport to show that the United Kingdom is meeting its obligations, and that is more than I can swallow. And I claim that this is just what the State Department is doing, as I shall show. Pat Hurley had something when he said that the subordinates in the State Department need investigating.

Upon reference to the hearings on this bill, you will find that I struggled to get a true picture of UNRRA's financial condition.

I told Governor Lehman in effect that UNRRA was a unit, that it had received—assuming that it gets our $550,000,000 contribution approved in the House—$1,835,000,000; that in order to exercise sound judgment on this further contribution of $1,350,000,000 I would like to know how much it had spent of the foregoing amount, how much it had on hand, how long that which they had on hand would last, and what inventories they would have either in the liberated countries or elsewhere after the last shipment had been made; that if UNRRA was a unit, then its funds from all sources should be utilized simultaneously. I noted that their bookkeeping was a heterogeneous muddle, and purported to give two sets of accounts, one for the United States and another for nations other than the United States; that one set showed a deficit and the other a balance, which was not understandable. I even had representatives of the State Department in conference in my office and insisted on such a unified statement. Nevertheless, I have never received it up to this moment. I did receive from members of the State Department, too late to insert or use in the hearings, a more detailed statement or balance sheet, but still consisting of two accounts, one for the United States and the other for nations other than the United States, which are as follows:

United States funds

Funds made available	$800,000,000
Commitments, Oct. 31, 1945	800,000,000
Allocations, Oct. 31, 1945	791,073,029
Obligations, Oct. 31, 1945	690,562,773
Supplies shipped by Oct. 31 paid from funds of the United States	485,000,000
Mission operating expenses, administration and displaced persons operations	15,000,000
Total by Oct. 31, 1945	500,000,000
Obligated but not shipped	190,562,773
Committed but not obligated	109,437,227
Total available for future shipment	300,000,000
Shipments for November 1945	198,000,000
Balance, Nov. 30, 1945	102,000,000
Additional appropriation under consideration	550,000,000
Total	652,000,000
Shipments for December 1945	280,000,000
Balance, Dec. 31, 1945	372,000,000
Shipments for January 1946	280,000,000
Balance, Jan. 31, 1946	92,000,000
Shipments for February 1946	280,000,000
Deficit for February shipments	−188,000,000

Funds of countries other than United States

Total funds made available by other countries by Oct. 31, 1945	$435,000,000
Commitments, Oct. 31, 1945	353,505,357
Obligations, Oct. 31, 1945	315,232,106
Supplies shipped by Oct. 31 paid from other than United States funds	151,000,000
Mission operating expenses, administration and displaced persons operations	$32,000,000
Total by Oct. 31, 1945	183,000,000
Obligated but not shipped	132,232,106
Committed but not obligated	38,273,251
Available but not committed	131,494,643
Total available for future shipment	302,000,000
Shipments for November 1945	52,000,000
Balance Nov. 30, 1945	250,000,000
Shipments for December 1945	70,000,000
Balance Dec. 31, 1945	180,000,000
For supplies taken from Allied military authorities in Greece Yugoslavia, and Albania:	
United Kingdom	44,000,000
Canada	1,500,000
Total	45,500,000
Available for supplies in other countries	134,500,000

At the December rate of $70,000,000, this balance will approximately be sufficient for shipments through February 1946.

These statements do make possible some analysis, and it will be noted that the tabulation shows that up to and including October 1, 1945, shipments from the United States account amounted to $500,000,000 and from countries other than the United States $183,000,000. Now, that is a ratio of about 3 to 1, which is as it should be inasmuch as we are contributing 72 percent. But let us say roughly for convenience 75 percent of the fund is contributed by us and 25 percent by other nations, which, as I said before, makes a ratio of 3 to 1.

From that point on, however, they throw the ratio into a 4 to 1 proposition, as shipments for the United States for November 1945 run to $198,000,000, while the shipments for the other United Nations are listed as $52,000,000. There is, of course, no justification for changing this ratio of 3 to 1 into 4 to 1.

Then for December they propose shipments for $280,000,000 on account of the United States and only $70,000,000 for countries other than the United States, which again is a ratio of 4 to 1. Then for January 1946 and February 1946 they propose $280,000,000 each month on account of the United States, while they propose no corresponding quota for countries other than the United States, but merely say that at the December rate of $70,000,000, the balance of $180,000,000 with certain deductions which I do not understand will approximately be sufficient for shipments through February 1946.

But they say while the account of countries other than the United States will balance at the end of February, that of the United States will show a deficit of $188,000,000.

Now in the first place, this is the first time I have seen bookkeeping of a joint contribution to a fund for expenditure in which one contributor's money is spent faster than that of the other. Certainly if any of you contribute 75 percent to a fund and I contribute 25 percent, every dollar that is spent—yes, every cent, even to the very last cent—contains three-fourths of your money and one-fourth of mine, so that our capital vanishes simultaneously. But UNRRA has a different system which pretends to show that United States contributions go faster than the others by one hundred and eighty million, just the amount of the British blocked sterling.

But that is not all. If you will total up the amounts in the United States column, five hundred million shipped by October 31, one hundred and ninety-eight million shipped in November, and two hundred and eighty million for December 1945 and January and February of 1946, this totals not $1,350,000,000, the amount of our subscription, but $1,538,000,000, an excess of one hundred and eighty-eight millions. Again I say that is just the amount of the United Kingdom blocked sterling. In other words, what they were unable to get from the United Kingdom, they have blandly shipped on our account and the United States shows a deficit of one hundred and eighty millions.

Or, if you want to double check this analysis let us approach it from another angle. I said a moment ago that these figures up to October 31 show shipments on United States account of $500,000,000, and on account of countries other than the United States $183,000,000. That totals $683,000,000. Now, their total contributions—including the $550,000,000 appropriated by the House—are $1,835,000,000. Subtracting $683,000,000 shipped up to October 31 from the total of $1,835,000,000, leaves $1,152,000,000 available. Now if they proposed to spread and make that last over a period of 4 months, November, December, January, and February, it would average $288,000,000 for each month. Let us for clarity figure $280,000,000. On a three-to-one ratio, that would mean shipping each month on account of the United States $210,000,000 and for the countries other than the United States, $70,000,000. But instead of shipping $210,000,000 a month on account of the United States, they have 1 month of $198,000,000 and 3 months of $280,000,000. In other words, they are shipping on our account the $180,000,000 tied up in United Kingdom blocked sterling, which will be unavailable until doomsday. With this kind of cover-up bookkeeping it is no wonder the United States account shows a deficit. It is my honest judgment from these juggled figures that except for and because of the United Kingdom blocked sterling, the contributions of countries other than the United States have, on a ratio basis, all been dissipated, and that for the months of December, January, and February the United States is bearing the burden of foreign relief all alone.

Then I tried to find out from the witnesses: Assuming that these large shipments are made up to end of February, how long will those supplies last the liberated countries? It surely is not to be assumed that if commodities in the amount of $280,000,000 are shipped up to the end of February, they will all be consumed by that date. But on this, namely the inventory of foodstuffs and other commodities in the liberated countries or elsewhere at the end of February

28, 1946, I could gain absolutely no intelligence or information. For all UNRRA knows, according to its bookkeeping, there may be enough to last into the middle of the summer. How, then, can Congress authorize or appropriate intelligently?

While we are talking about cover-up bookkeeping, I also want to say a word about covering up and keeping information from the American people. We have been spending a great deal of time on the question of freedom of the press, and freedom of information in the liberated countries, either as an abstract principle or with reference to information on distribution of UNRRA supplies. Instead of discussing that situation, it is far more important that we consider the right of the people of the United States to have freedom of information about the operation of UNRRA which reaches this country.

At the hearings there appeared a witness, Raymond E. Lindgren, from Chicago, who had for a short time been a member of the UNRRA organization in Europe, and who made what the chairman called very serious charges against UNRRA. Now, he was only giving direct evidence of things which many members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and others knew in a general way to be the facts. I believe I know something about judging the fairness, credibility, and value of the testimony of the witness, and I thought he made a very fine, fair, and intelligent witness, and was well able to present his facts. But in the newspapers which I read of his appearance, and this included the New York Times, I saw nothing of the character of his testimony, but only a belittling of his status as a witness.

And again, on November 29, there appeared in the Washington Evening Star, a news item stating that more than 600 of UNRRA's workers had been suspended or arrested for diverting relief supplies into the black market. This purported to be an official statement by Leo J. Margolin, of New York, Chief of the UNRRA Information Bureau in Europe. And the substance of the news was in quotation from Mr. Margolin. It seems almost incredible that a reliable and reputable newspaper such as the Star should be wrong about news from such a source, and in quotes. Nevertheless, that was immediately cut from the next issue of that paper, and an alleged correction came out that the 600 employees had been dismissed for incompetence, and newspapers all over the country carried an alleged correction of the first statement.

Now, it does not make much difference to me, in judging the efficiency of UNRRA, whether a wholesale dismissal of personnel such as this is based upon black-market operations or just general incompetence. In fact, the first might be less reflection upon the efficiency of the management of UNRRA, because an employer can only with difficulty protect himself from dishonesty of employees originating in a new kind of work. Be that as it may, this wholesale discharge of personnel showed the same woeful disorganization and inefficiency that Mr. Lindgren had made reference to, and yet UNRRA seems to have the influence to suppress information of this kind from the public.

Other instances could probably be cited, but this covering up of UNRRA's woeful inefficiencies from the American public does not inspire confidence in alleged reform.

The foregoing remarks force the irresistible conclusion that I hold no brief for UNRRA. On the contrary, I harbor the opinion that with intelligent and judicious administration, our job in rehabilitating Europe could probably have been accomplished without further authorizations and appropriations.

Nevertheless, I feel constrained to support this bill for two reasons.

First, having set out to succor the suffering people of Europe, I do not believe the American people will abandon them to their fate merely because UNRRA may have lost and squandered most of the first consignment of supplies sent for European or even world relief. They would not want it said next summer that even a few thousand in remote places had starved, or that millions perhaps had suffered the pangs of hunger and cold through the winter, and were in ill health from malnutrition for want of one dollar out of every hundred dollars of American income.

Secondly, I do not think that from a practical viewpoint we could, with winter upon us, form or find a new organization; even if we could, article X of the Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration precludes such action, for it provides as follows:

Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of 6 months from the entry into force of the Agreement for that government. Such notice shall take effect 12 months after the date of its communication to the Director General subject to the member government having met by that time all financial, supply, or other material obligations accepted or undertaken by it."

However, I think we should immediately take steps to insure that UNRRA is wound up within a year as now contemplated. If further relief is needed in the Far East it can be effected under a new organization or even the United Nations Organization. As now constituted, UNRRA is governed entirely by the Council of UNRRA, over which the Director General and the UNRRA administration has no control. We have only one vote on that Council, and they can saddle on the United States relief for any country they see fit. The UNRRA Council now has an ambitious program, which is secret, but in all probability contains such amounts as two hundred and fifty millions for Russia, two hundred millions for Austria, four hundred and fifty millions for Italy, eight hundred millions for China, etc., and all the United States can do about it is pay. We should have the courage right now to take the honorable way out.

The only honorable way out is an amendment or something similar, which I shall propose when the bill is read, and which is as follows:

Amendment to H. R. 4669 offered by Mr. JONKMAN: Page 1, after line 11, insert the following:

"SEC. 2. Immediately after the enactment of this act notice shall be given, and communicated to the Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, of the withdrawal of the United States from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Such notice shall be given and communicated by the President of the United States or by such other official of the Government as the President may designate, in conformity with the provisions of article X of the agreement concluded by the United States and associated governments on November 9, 1943."

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. May I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that the total amount contributed to UNRRA was $1,878,000,000, of which we contributed $1,350,000,000 and the other countries reneged and still owe $47,000,000.

Mr. JONKMAN. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield.

Mr. BUFFETT. Some months ago I inquired of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress about Russia's contribution to this fund and was advised by the Legislative Reference Service that their quota to the fund was $400,000,000, but that no money had been placed in the fund by the Russian Government. Can the gentleman bring me up to date on that? Has that contribution been made, or any contribution of that type?

Mr. JONKMAN. I am not sure that the gentleman is right about the amount, $400,000,000, but, of course, Russia, as an invaded country, is not asked to contribute to the fund. However, they do contribute to the administration fund. That is the fund that is used for administering the operating fund, to which alone I shall address myself. It may be that is $400,000,000, but I would not think it is as much as that.

Mr. BLOOM. No. It is $100,000,000.

Mr. BUFFETT. They were making some contribution to the administrative fund, but in the original discussion on the UNRRA bill I went over the proceedings with some care and mention was made of the fact that occupied countries would not contribute, but there was no statement I have been able to find that invaded countries would not contribute. The Library of Congress had the very definite opinion—where they got it I do not know—that Russia was supposed to contribute to the fund itself, and they supplied me with the figure $400,000,000.

Mr. JONKMAN. I think that is erroneous. I do not believe Russia has been asked to contribute. Countries that have been invaded have not been asked to contribute.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield.

Mr. O'HARA. I wonder how many more of these appropriation bills for UNRRA we may anticipate? Can the gentleman enlighten the House upon that subject?

Mr. JONKMAN. It is my considered judgment that they will be back next year for another $1,350,000,000. These habits are hard to get out of.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. I do not think the gentleman wants to give out the impression that the "available on request" is anything suspicious. The gentleman can explain what "available on request" means.

Mr. JONKMAN. The gentleman will explain it.

Mr. BLOOM. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. JONKMAN. That has been covered in my remarks.

(Mr. JONKMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as she may desire to the gentlewoman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS].

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of UNRRA.

In 5 countries of Europe today there are 30,000,000 children under 14 years of age who have never known what it felt like to have enough to eat.

They cannot remember anything but brutality, fear, hate. Hundreds of thousands of them are orphans. Their earliest memories are of their fathers being hunted like wild animals, their mothers dragged off to concentration camps from which they never came back. These are the children of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece.

Tomorrow those children—those of them who do not starve—will be adults.

Our children here in America will be adults, too. And together those children of war-torn countries and ours must run a world in an atomic age. Through UNRRA we insure our children's safety by helping a little to give those children a decent start. We are the richest people on earth—and nobody has ever called us stingy. Americans are not the kind of people who can be indifferent to hungry children. Our GI's could not. Time and time again war correspondents writing the story of the GI's march across Europe sent home stories about American soldiers giving away their chocolate bars to half-starved youngsters along the way, filling their tin hats with water to wash away tears and grime from thin little faces.

But even if we were so inhuman as not to care what happens to the world's starving children, we cannot afford to ignore them.

We cannot let them grow up, desperate and embittered, with diseased bodies and warped minds.

We cannot afford it in this atomic age, remembering what just one crazy man did to the world in our generation when that world was ripe to be picked. There appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee of this House a woman who did relief work in Europe following the First World War. Listen to what she said:

> Those of us who did this relief work, after a year or two, kept saying to each other, "If you starve bodies, the thing that is really going to happen is that it is going to affect their sense of security, their minds, and their emotions." All of us felt that.
>
> Then it was confirmed for me in 1937. I went back to Vienna. I had been in charge in Vienna, where we fed about 186,000 babies in 1920 and 1921. One couldn't know all the families, of course, but one came to know some of them. Some of the mothers of those youngsters came to me in 1937 and said: "We wish you would talk to our sons. They have joined a secret Hitler youth movement, and we would like to see what you can do to persuade them to get out of it."
>
> I talked to those youngsters—lovely kids, really, but neurotic—and they turned on me fiercely, taking the position that a person such as I should know that the only memory they had in the world was a memory of starvation when they were children.

I would like to point out to the Members of this House that UNRRA is the first operating international organization that goes beyond a mere negotiation level. In UNRRA 44 nations are sitting down together and, not only planning methods of doing a job on which they can all agree, but actually doing the job together. In a sense this is a testing ground for the United Nations Organization itself—a pilot plant to test out world cooperation.

The American people are not being asked for much money. In terms of the amount we have put into the war—into destruction—it is "peanuts." Think what could be done toward rebuilding the world with the amount of money we put into just 6 months of war without ever questioning the cost.

To win the peace it will take the same kind of imagination, the same kind of daring it took to win the war.

We are willing to go on spending vast sums of money for armaments—and to enlist highly trained people to handle those arms.

The money we pay into UNRRA is insurance money against the future use of those arms.

When we talk about insuring ourselves against another war, remember, another war will be the last war. And remember, it won't make any difference, if we pull the world down around our heads, whether our Budget is balanced or not. You cannot build peace in a world that is starving, freezing, disease-ridden.

The time is now. This next year will tell the story.

The job UNRRA has started must be continued. Welfare is not a side issue in UNRRA's program of rehabilitation. The women, the children, the aged, the sick, and the disabled millions who survived enemy occupation and the devastation of war in Europe and the Far East need something more than food to ward off starvation and clothing to cover their nakedness. They require a great deal of help, extra help, beyond these obvious necessities. Millions of war orphans need homes and care and guidance if they are to have a chance to grow up into sane, responsible citizens of the world of tomorrow. Young people of both sexes need professional guidance and training for useful occupations if they are to forget the horrors they have seen and even taken part in. They will need this guidance if they are to be prepared for useful, honorable lives.

When UNRRA was organized, the United Nations made specific provision for welfare services for victims of war—in particular for children, expectant and nursing mothers, the aged, and the disabled.

The governments in their planning at Atlantic City did not assume that UNRRA would do the whole job. On the contrary, they expected to do as much of it themselves as they could. They anticipated, however, that the structure for administering welfare services which had been in existence before the war upon liberation would be found destroyed, and the skilled and experienced welfare staffs killed or scattered. They knew also that the tremendous problems that would face the staff that remained would overwhelm them unless some assistance were forthcoming from the resources of the United Nations.

To meet these problems, UNRRA created within its organization in Washington a Welfare Division staffed with some of the outstanding persons in the relief and welfare field in the United States and other United Nations. The Federal Security Agency and the Children's Bureau, two of the outstanding public social agencies in the United States, lent UNRRA some of its key people. Two of the largest private welfare organizations in the country did likewise. The small group that was assembled began to bring together a hard-hitting, experienced staff which was available to any of the liberated areas that found its own welfare staff inadequate to do the job.

Today there are approximately 100 trained, experienced welfare specialists, exclusive of Displaced Persons Operations, recruited from many of the United Nations, working as part of the UNRRA missions in the areas in Europe and the Far East in which UNRRA is providing assistance to the governments. When one thinks of the size of the areas covered by UNRRA's operations in Greece, Italy, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, and China—when one thinks of the tremendous need of the populations in those areas, particularly of the children, the aged, and the disabled—one wonders how such a small group can carry out the responsibilities placed upon the Administration by the United Nations to "make specific provision for the welfare services." The answer lies in the fact that UNRRA has scrupulously refrained from building up its mission personnel beyond the actual needs of the governments which it is assisting, and, secondly, that the specific needs of the vulnerable sections of the populations are just beginning to emerge from the general sufferings of the populations as a whole.

The UNRRA welfare technicians who have been assisting the governments did not enter the countries with any preconceived plan of operations, no program for overhauling the country's social welfare administrative machinery to make it conform to established or accepted patterns. They entered the country armed with as much information as the government could give them concerning the structure of prewar welfare services and the needs they were likely to encounter. And also with the knowledge that they were needed to help the governments restore their social-welfare machinery to get the urgently needed

food and clothing to the people without resources as rapidly as it was humanly possible to do so.

To accomplish this, UNRRA's welfare staff has been working along three lines:

First. Helping the governments determine the extent of the need and the size of the problem and then assisting in organizing the administrative machinery for distributing the necessary supplies.

Second. Helping organize special programs for the care of children and other special groups such as the disabled.

Third. Helping the governments organize special training programs for their nationals who are needed to carry out the welfare job, and bringing to the governments the latest information and knowledge developed in the welfare field in other countries.

Let me illustrate these points with specific examples of what this staff has been doing and why. First, that of helping the governments build the machinery to bring food and clothing to the people.

Recently a message from Italy was received which reported:

> Food in position to feed 1,500,000 mothers and children by end of November. School-lunch program now in full swing Naples and Rome to be extended in the fall throughout the schools of Italy.

Behind these simple statements lies the story of the hard and difficult task performed by the UNRRA Welfare Division of the Italian mission. These statements also testify to the accomplishments achieved in a few short months in a nation held in the grip of Fascism for over 20 years and battered by war five more years. With the transportation system almost completely destroyed, Italian welfare agencies completely disorganized, and with the economy practically bankrupt, the UNRRA mission faced the challenge of helping the Italian people to help themselves. It was not only a question of providing supplies and transportation to establish a feeding program for children and nursing and expectant mothers, but perhaps more important to get the Italian agencies and organizations organized so that they could carry out the program themselves.

In addition to the usual problems brought about by lack of transportation in Italy, the first problem which faced the welfare staff was how to circumvent the notorious black market. Such items as sugar, milk, white flour, which we were importing for child-feeding programs, were likely to land in the black market unless we found a new and different method of distribution. The second problem was overcoming the attitudes and methods with which the Fascist regime has indoctrinated the people of Italy. This could not be accomplished by statements and assurances. This had to be accomplished by deeds and by establishing working relations with Italian Government officials from the ministers down to the Syndaco—Mayor—of the tiniest comuna. UNRRA had to prove to the Italian people that it was different from the Nazis and Fascists. It had to prove that it had no ulterior motives in its work in Italy. It had to prove that it was genuinely concerned as representatives of the United Nations with the welfare of the women and children it wished to serve.

Prior to March 8, 1945, when the Italian Government-UNRRA agreement was signed, it was not possible to establish official contacts with the Italian agencies, but, in spite of this, UNRRA's welfare personnel was able to do the groundwork and set the stage for our program of care and welfare services for children and expectant mothers. UNRRA representatives were able to visit the areas in greatest need and to survey these areas in terms of resources and facilities. They were able to secure information from Allied Military Government and Allied Commission officers. They were able to meet "unofficially" with representatives of the governmental ministries and agencies which would be involved in its program to discuss and exchange ideas on how operations would take place.

On the basis of this groundwork, the first supplies that arrived were allocated to feed the women and children in the badly devastated provinces of Frosinone, Latina, Aquila, Pescara and Chieti. These provinces span the peninsula and were the scene of the bitter Liri Valley campaign from Cassino to Rome. The cities of Rome and Naples were also selected as areas of greatest need because they depended upon other agricultural provinces for their food.

The blueprint of the organization for distribution was worked out jointly by the UNRRA welfare staff and the responsible Italian Government officials. However, to make this a living, working thing required tremendous organizational activity on the part of UNRRA.

Since it was decided not to use the ordinary channels for food distribution, UNRRA had to work out an alternative. The only way it could guarantee that precious food would not get into the black market was by establishing working committees made up of the most responsible people in the provinces and in the communes. Emphasis on the need for local organization stemmed from the fact that the national government was weak and liable to fall. In the event that this happened, providing there were strong local organizations, the program could continue in operation until a new cabinet was formed. The provincial committee included the following: Governor, the public health officer, the superintendent of schools, a representative of OMMI—the National Organization for Maternal and Child Welfare—a representative of the church, a representative of the governmental food agency, a representative of the Italian assistance agency and other persons engaged in child and maternal welfare work. The communal committees were composed of the local counterparts of the organizations represented on the provincial level. The organization of these committees provided an opportunity for the Italian people to work together in a democratic fashion. For the first time in Italy, women were represented on committees and participating in community affairs.

Committees were first organized in the cities of Rome and Naples and the devastated provinces. By the end of May committees were organized in 27 southern Italian provinces then liberated. The high food commissioner was designated as the person in the Government responsible for the child-feeding program. While a representative of the office of the commissioner of food was always present at the first meeting of the provincial committees, the UNRRA district welfare representative has to provide the major portion of leadership in getting the committee work under way. It was necessary for the UNRRA field staff to assume responsibility for details of operation that had not been anticipated when local organization plans were developed. Gradually, however, the provincial committees assumed and discharged more of the responsibility expected of them.

To illustrate this point, the committee in Latina is a good example. Latina Province, which was formerly named Littoria, was one of Mussolini's pet projects. It was a completely modern province built on reclaimed land which was formerly the Pontine marshes. This province had been a Fascist stronghold. This province had also been subject to severe war damage. At the first meeting of the committee, because of the political differences, feeling ran so high that it was necessary to call the police to prevent a riot. The Government officials were floundering around because they had been used to operating by Fascist or directive from Rome. They were not accustomed to making decisions through democratic discussion. Committees had been merely used to rubber-stamp decisions already arrived at by the Fascist Party. Now they were required to act on their own initiative. A measure of UNRRA's service is a comparison of this first meeting with one that took place 4 months later. At this meeting there was an orderly agenda, and reports by the various members of the committee indicated that they had learned to make decisions and carry them out in a democratic fashion. This is something that UNRRA has contributed to the Italian people; which cannot be counted in dollars or tons, but which, we trust, will continue long after UNRRA's job in Italy is completed.

In the first distribution, over 200 000 children and nursing and expectant mothers received UNRRA's supplementary food. Where cooking facilities were available, communal feeding operations were set up. Where there were no cooking facilities, food was distributed in small packages. The standard distribution comprised milk, lard, sugar, peas, beans, flour, and fish, which went to make up an additional daily meal for each child of 750 calories.

Parallel with the development of the feeding program were other developments. The democratic Italian agencies participating in this program were strengthened. School lunch programs developed in Rome and Naples were instrumental in attracting children back to school. Conferences were organized by

specialists on the UNRRA staff, providing the Italians with the latest nutritional information. Recreational projects for children were initiated to reduce delinquency. A committee was organized by a member of the UNRRA welfare staff relating to the care of children in institutions.

With the liberation of the northern provinces, and the end of the war, and the easing of the shipping situation, which permitted the continuous flow of UNRRA supplies to Italy, our program developed and expanded. Each succeeding month brings a strengthening of the UNRRA-Italian operation and an increase in the number of children and nursing and expectant mothers fed. By the time winter arrives, the most needy of the Italian women and children will be receiving UNRRA supplementary food.

In Greece UNRRA's problems of helping to organize governmental machinery for relief purposes were, in the main, similar to those faced in Italy. As in Italy, the UNRRA staff set out to stimulate the development of the democratic committee structure to help decide which communities were to receive the supplies and which individuals in these communities were to receive supplies free. After 6 months of long and arduous work with the welfare officials in the Greek Government, a law was passed by the Government, which established in Greece a nation-wide public-assistance program. Welfare centers are being established by the Government in each of the 39 provinces. As a result of the legislation passed by the Greek Government, the people know the conditions which make them eligible for free supplies, they know where to go for them, and they know what to do and where to go if they believe that their case has not been handled justly.

The UNRRA welfare staff is working closely with the Greek officials responsible for organizing the centers and are advising them in the details of staffing the centers, organizing appeal boards which are part of the plan, and observing carefully the daily operations of the centers to insure that the basic necessities are given to those who are in greatest need. For the first time, Greece has a nation-wide program for administering relief to the needy so that they can be assured of equitable and speedy relief. As in Italy, UNRRA has been able, by the presence of a few skilled specialists experienced in dealing with relief, to help the Government get the supplies to its people at a time when speed was of the essence.

In Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, on the other hand, central and local leadership has been more dynamic. The Government and people quickly took the initiative in organizing machinery to handle emergency relief needs or reestablishing prewar social welfare agencies and institutions through which basic supplies are being distributed, and crucial needs of special groups are being met. In these countries, therefore, the UNRRA staff has not been called upon to carry the same kind of responsibilities as in the case of Italy and Greece.

Another major area of our activities has been in helping the governments restore their child-welfare programs. I do not think it necessary to recount the sufferings of the children of Europe, particularly those in the countries being assisted by UNRRA. There are approximately 100,000,000 people in these areas, and roughly, a fourth, or 25,000,000, are under 14 years of age. Not all of these children, of course, are in need. But the numbers reported orphaned, homeless, and in need of special care are staggering. Although this is an age of large totals, where millions and billions have become commonplace, I, for one, feel overwhelmed when I am told that 50,000 children in Greece are orphaned—that of the 5,000,000 children left in Yugoslavia, about 3,500,000 are in dire need and 500,000 have been left homeless and orphaned—that special feeding must be organized for the 4,000,000 children in Poland—and that in China the total of needy children runs into the tens of millions. Of all the services which UNRRA has been called upon to give to the governments, the demands for aid in meeting the needs of the children have been most insistent. Not only are the governments requesting food and clothing, but also help in organizing the facilities and programs through which specialized care can be brought to these children.

UNRRA's welfare staff helping the governments include skilled technicians with many years of experience in developing programs for the care of children. These specialists have been called upon by the governments, in every country in which UNRRA is operating, to aid children along three lines: (a) to help restore the institutions and other facilities caring for the homeless and orphaned; (b) to develop feeding programs; and, (c) to develop special programs for care for the undernourished and sick.

In the main, the work of the welfare staff has been that of helping the Government survey the problem, advising on the kinds of supplies and equipment that are needed to restore or institute the necessary programs, and then as the supplies arrive in the country, to help the local welfare people establish the facilities.

In Greece the UNRRA staff has helped organize care for 30,000 orphaned and homeless children by restoring the institutions, and has helped the Government register about 20,000 others in order to try to get as many as possible back to the homes of relatives. In Yugoslavia, its people are working out plans for caring for almost 500,000 children, and special supplies to establish 200 homes to provide for about 20,000 are already on the way. Because of the relative inexperience of most of the local Yugoslav welfare workers, UNRRA is being called on by the Government to work with the National Ministry of Welfare in going out into the provinces to help in surveying the problem and working out programs to meet the situation. In Czechoslovakia, the story is the same. As a result of UNRRA's help in evaluating the situation and counselling the Government's welfare officials, supplies are on the way to establish 100 child-welfare centers and missions for 20,000 children.

One of the first concerns of the Governments, after their return to the liberated areas, has been to provide the maximum possible assurance that at least the children would be fed. They knew well the consequences on the future of their countries if the malnutrition of the children remained uncorrected. For Greece, UNRRA has worked out a program for feeding 900,000 children through school lunches and child-feeding centers. Poland, where its mission has just begun to work, has already reported that 4,000,000 children in the cities would need to be provided with a special feeding program. I have already described the program in Italy where a million and a half children and mothers are receiving supplementary foods. In all of this work of establishing the pipe line through which the food reaches the needy children, UNRRA welfare technicians have helped blueprint the program, organize the facilities and local staff needed to carry it out, and have helped iron out the inevitable difficulties that arise in any new operation.

Some of the governments have already been able to go further than organizing their child-care programs simply to meet the elementary needs of shelter and food. Greece with the aid of an UNRRA staff has been able to establish summer rest camps for 45,000 undernourished city children. The story of the establishment of these camps is a story of improvisation, requisitioning, and borrowing tents from the British Army, and emergency shipments of supplies from the United Kingdom and the Middle East. With this experience behind them, the plans of the Greek Government for caring for 100,000 city children next summer should materialize without the struggle that was experienced this year. Czechoslovakia, like Greece, has already progressed with establishing youth hostels for about 30,000 undernourished young people who are being given special treatment to restore them to health and fit them for new responsibilities in their communities.

The battle to save the children of Europe will be a long one. The energy with which the governments are tackling the problem, and the progress they are making gives much more hope than anyone would have dared to express a year ago. The governments now know their problems. They know what to do.

I indicated earlier that in organizing UNRRA, the Governments hoped to be able to use their own people to carry out the task of bringing relief to the needy. I am glad to say that, in the main, they have been able to find the necessary numbers of people. It has remained for UNRRA to help the governments organize short training courses to orient the new workers to the job they were to do. Thus when Greece began to establish its nation-wide program for public assistance, it became necessary to man the 39 welfare centers established under the law. The UNRRA Welfare technicians working with the local people are helping to train these new workers to carry out their tasks efficiently and understandingly.

The story of the activities of the seven UNRRA welfare specialists now in China illustrates best perhaps how this interna-

tional Organization is helping the governments organize themselves to bring relief to their people. UNRRA Welfare people have been in China only about 4 months, some only about a month. Nevertheless, in that short time UNRRA has helped the Government organize a program for relief in one of the most devastated provinces of China, and through this Organization to begin the training of the thousands of Chinese workers who ultimately will be needed to administer the Chinese relief program. Early in May, the United States Army headquarters appealed to UNRRA for relief for refugees in Kweichow and Western Hunan provinces. The Japanese offensive south of the Yangtze River in 1944 had forced hundreds of thousands to flee from their homes and to march in the dead of winter across the high plateau land of Kweichow. Many were refugees for the fourth or fifth time.

As soon as the request for aid was received from the United States Army, UNRRA dispatched several of its staff to the area to determine what should be done. One of the most obvious needs that was reported was to organize shelter and feeding for thousands of the refugees who were living in half destroyed shacks and hovels, all showing evident malnutrition and about a third ill with dysentery, malaria, and typhus. One of the UNRRA welfare staff and four Chinese agricultural students were sent down—the four students to receive training while helping the UNRRA staff member. This is what they did in 1 week: They took over two refugee camps housing several hundred refugees, chiefly war widows and aged persons; they obtained local help to clean up some of the most habitable of the ruined buildings and moved the refugees into them; they set up a feeding station to feed not only those in the camp but refugees living outside the camp; they obtained the services of a local doctor to care for the sick. Five died during the week, but those that are left have a chance. The UNRRA worker returned to his headquarters when the week was over. The four Chinese agricultural students who were being trained are carrying on the job. Soon they will be training other and newer Chinese workers, who, in turn, will transmit their experience to others. The organizational and administrative experience of the UNRRA staff is being used by the Chinese Government to bring actual relief to the Chinese people in such a way as to enable the small UNRRA staff to exert its maximum influence.

The Chinese Government has been planning its relief operation for months, and included in its plans is an ambitious plan for training thousands of Chinese workers who are to be used in the relief operation. Many will be trained on the job as described above. Others will necessarily need to be trained off the job. For this group training centers are being established by the Chinese Government. The UNRRA welfare staff are acting as advisors to the Chinese in developing the content of the training designed to last 1 to 4 weeks. During this brief period the Chinese workers are being taught the methods of establishing and managing mass feeding stations, methods of distributing relief supplies, and methods of remodeling salvaged army clothes. The first of the centers, organized in Chungking a month ago, is turning out about 100 trained workers a month. Other centers are in process of being organized.

I have tried briefly to sketch the activities of the relatively small group of UNRRA people, participating as part of the UNRRA missions in the work of helping the governments channel the UNRRA supplies they are receiving to their people. It is a long jump from the warehouse at the port to the needy individual in the interior of a country. We who are accustomed to our efficient commercial distribution system of our country, and to our smooth working relief agencies, perhaps cannot visualize the enormous task that has faced the governments which are receiving UNRRA supplies. But, day by day, the machinery for getting supplies and social services to the people is growing stronger. It is gathering strength from this great work in fostering the organization of the country's social services—services designed to meet the needs of these people who cannot provide for themselves, and to meet them in a sympathetic and democratic way.

(Mrs. DOUGLAS of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, the task which the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has assumed—the task of saving millions of war victims in the invaded lands of our allies from starvation or death from disease or exposure—will make UNRRA the greatest single customer of the American farmer.

UNRRA's purchases of foodstuffs alone—providing she has the funds to make these purchases—will probably be more than $600,000,000 during the coming year. While she is engaged in the great humanitarian work of helping the unfortunate peoples of the liberated areas of Europe and China to survive, UNRRA will, at the same time, be playing a leading part in maintaining a strong economy for our own citizens. Her relief purchases will benefit the grain grower, the stock raiser, the dairy farmer, the poultryman, the cotton planter.

Procurement for the armed forces, already sharply curtailed with the end of hostilities, will dwindle still further as millions of our veterans are discharged from the service and return to their homes. But while the purchases of the services grow smaller, UNRRA's demands, on the other hand, must increase if the tide of famine in the devastated areas of Europe and the Far East is to be stemmed.

Included in UNRRA's essential relief needs are not only those foodstuffs for which there will be wide demand, but other food items which are certain to be in surplus supply. Unless these foods are disposed of to UNRRA, they will have to be held until they have spoiled or else be dumped on the market at prices so low as to disrupt the entire farm price structure.

The end of the war found the Army with large surpluses of foods which had been procured when it seemed probable that the war would last longer than it did. Were these goods to be placed in the open market here the surplus situation, always a threat to the prosperity of the American farmer, would be further aggravated. Fortunately, however, UNRRA can make use of these surpluses. She has negotiated for the purchase at a price of $100,000,000 for huge quantities of canned meats, Army rations, peanut butter, fruit spreads, juices, and so forth. These supplies represent most of the known Army surpluses in continental United States.

UNRRA recently agreed to accept from the Department of Agriculture 100,000,000 pounds of meat hashes and stews in 6-pound cans—all other claimants on United States food supplies refused to accept these products.

UNRRA recently agreed to contribute $3,000,000 and $5,000,000, respectively, to assist in the solution of the surplus sweet and surplus white potato problems.

UNRRA recently helped to underwrite the Department of Agriculture's canning program by committing funds to procure 200,000 bags of dry wrinkled peas.

UNRRA recently bought 30,000,000 pounds of soya flour and 15,000,000 pounds of soya grits that threatened to go out of condition.

UNRRA recently bought some 50,000,000 pounds of dried soup more than half of which consisted of reconditioned soup which had to be reprocessed by UNRRA to render it palatable.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RABAUT. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Texas.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Did I correctly understand the gentleman to say a moment ago that UNRRA had purchased sweetpotatoes to send abroad?

Mr. RABAUT. Yes.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. The reason I ask that is that a Member said to me this afternoon on the floor that he understood UNRRA would accept only Irish potatoes and would not use sweetpotatoes.

Mr. RABAUT. No; both types of potatoes are being purchased, and this action relieved the surplus market.

UNRRA recently bought 15,000,000 pounds of chick peas, which had to be reprocessed to make them into palatable food.

UNRRA is in a position to help the American farmer in the disposition, through new uses or the continuation of wartime uses, of various products, the present or prospective supply of which is in excess of effective demand. For example, few of our people in peacetime will accept dried eggs when shell eggs are available. Now, with dried eggs in surplus UNRRA has signed up to take 50,000,000 pounds of surplus dried eggs as soon as funds become available, thereby affording assistance to America's poultry industry.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield five additional minutes to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RABAUT. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Will any of this food make the recipients of UNRRA ill? It does not sound like very attractive and palatable food to send to poor people who are starving.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, I hardly think that the gentlewoman would feel that anything done by this country would be for any other purpose than to help and to improve the health of the unfortunate people of the world.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I agree with the gentleman, but UNRRA is not this country alone.

Mr. RABAUT. The items I am referring to now are, concerning the relief of America and at the same time assisting those who come under the mantle of UNRRA.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I see.

Mr. RABAUT. "To whom much is given, much is expected in return." That is the point I am trying to make; that even as we do all these things for the people of the world we are being helped ourselves through the gracious hand of Almighty God.

Dairy products were in extremely tight supply until after VJ-day. Now they are in surplus. For fourth-quarter shipments of 1945 UNRRA has procured, or is procuring, almost 200,000,000 pounds of evaporated milk, over 20,000,000 pounds of dried whole milk and 68,000,000 pounds of dried skim milk. These large purchases have been of significance in removing what otherwise would have been surplus dairy products. UNRRA's demands for dairy products will be even greater in 1946. They may be as high as $150,000,000.

Wheat will continue to be the principal staple in UNRRA's feeding program. Up to the first of October, UNRRA had sent from the United States approximately 150,000 metric tons, more than five and a half million bushels of wheat, and 50,000 metric tons of wheat flour. If the wheat is available, UNRRA—providing also that funds are available—will be in the market for 2,500,000 metric tons nearly 100,000,000 bushels—of wheat and for nearly 1,000,000 tons of wheat flour.

The cotton planter of the South can look to UNRRA as one of its greatest customers in 1946. If funds are available, UNRRA is prepared to take approximately 120,000 long tons—more than half a million bales of United States cotton.

The desperate needs of the helpless victims of Nazi and Japanese aggression is the compelling reason for the American Congress to grant UNRRA's appeal for funds to carry on the work of mercy. It is gratifying to know that our humanitarianism will also directly benefit a great sector of our own citizenship—the American farmer.

Again I say to whom much is given, much is expected in return.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RABAUT. I yield.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. The gentleman has made a very fine and informative statement. It presents facts and figures that some people have not thought about. As I understand, under this authorization, 90 percent of all the funds appropriated for UNRRA will be spent here rather than be spent abroad. As the gentleman has said, it will take care of some of the surplus cotton and other agricultural products which we have in superabundance.

Mr. RABAUT. I will say to my friend that had I not made a trip this year to Europe and seen conditions at firts hand, I do not believe I would have the tremendous interest which agitated me to the point of gathering these statistics.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

COLONEL SCHWARZKOPF, IRAN

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, during the initial part of my remarks, I ask unanimous consent to speak out of order.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, on Monday, December 3, I addressed the House in connection with some rather startling and disturbing conditions which prevail in Iran at the present time. My remarks in that connection will be found beginning on page 11541 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

In reply to that portion of my speech of Monday, in which I stated that the salary of Col. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, of the United States Army, was being paid out of funds of the United States War Department, and that he was acting as commander of the gendarmerie of Iran, Mr. Michael J. McDermott, a State Department official, today issued a press statement stating that Colonel Schwarzkopf is serving in an advisory capacity only.

I do not know with what authority Mr. McDermott speaks for the State Department, but I do know that he speaks with very little information to support his statement.

Here are the facts concerning Colonel Schwarzkopf:

First. He is on the pay roll of the United States Army today, although serving with the Iran gendarmerie under contract with the Iranian Government. This contract was asked for by the Government of Iran and American action favorable to its conclusion was instigated by our Department of State, not by our War Department.

Mr. Chairman, yesterday a high State Department official told me that Colonel Schwarzkopf's salary was being paid by the Iranian Government, and that he was not on the pay roll of the United States Army. However, that same high State Department official later in the day corrected himself and admitted my statement to be correct.

Second. Colonel Schwarzkopf's reference to himself as the commander of the gendarmerie. In a conference in Tehran, attended by the lady from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON], who I am pleased to see on the floor attending to duty as usual, the American Ambassador, Wallace Murray, and several others, along with myself, Colonel Schwarzkopf told us in September that he was acting in the capacity of commander of the gendarmerie.

Third. In a letter over his signature, dated September 5, 1945, Colonel Schwartzkopf states specifically:

> The mission was sent to Iran for the purpose of reorganizing the Imperial Iranian Gendarmerie. It consists of eight officers and two enlisted men. The chief of mission has been vested with full administrative authority and is in effect the chief and commander of the gendarmerie.

He signs his letter, Mr. Chairman, "H. Norman Schwartzkopf, Colonel, Infantry, United States Army, Chief, Imperial Iranian Gendarmerie."

I am a little disturbed, Mr. Chairman, that under prevailing conditions and at a time when foreign secretary Ernest Bevin of Great Britain tells us that the gendarmerie of Iran are clashing with troops of the Soviet Republics, we should have a condition existing in which an American Army officer in American Army uniform, in the pay of the War Department, under a contract inspired and instigated by the State Department, can sign a letter in which two lines, in juxtaposition, say, one, "Colonel, Infantry, United States Army," and, secondly, "Chief, Imperial Iranian Gendarmerie."

Small wonder, in my opinion, that the Russian Government, in response to the Secretary of State's request, under date of November 26, sent back the reply that it does not propose to take its troops out of Iran.

As I said in my initial statement of December 3, to which Mr. McDermott's statement to the press today pretends to be an answer, we must enter the court of world opinion with clean hands. No place in the letter sent by Mr. Byrnes to the Soviet Government was there any indication or intimation that we were expecting to remove our officials from the Iranian Army and the Iranian Gendarmerie.

Fourth. Since this letter was addressed to a representative of our State Department, it is reasonable to suppose Mr. McDermott could have had access to it if his zeal for accuracy was as great as his zest for publicity. Certainly, it is reasonable to suppose that an American Army officer who writes, "The Chief of mission has been vested with full administrative authority and is in effect the chief and commander of the gendarmerie" and signs himself "Chief" is doing far more than "serving in a strictly advisory capacity" as stated by Mr. McDermott.

The questions in my letter to Secretary of State Byrnes dated December 3rd. were put in good faith. My speech as recorded in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for December 3rd was made in the interests of bettering our foreign relations with our most important allies and for the purpose of bringing into the open activities which I believe helped impel Russia to reject the requests contained

in the State Department's note to Russia released November 26. I am sure I shall receive a direct, factual, and considered reply from Secretary of State Byrnes. In the meantime, I suggest Mr. McDermott get all the facts before attempting to discuss through the newspapers a situation which I would reasonably suppose the State Department would want to consider carefully before replying to the five direct questions I asked of it in my letter of December 3rd.

Mr. Chairman, I am afraid that Mr. McDermott is long on volubility and short on verisimilitude.

I am sending a copy of this statement to the press gallery so that the newspapers may be fully advised and forewarned concerning the type of information that Mr. McDermott puts out while signing himself as Chief Information Officer of the State Department.

I am in favor of getting information out of the State Department, but I think it should be accurate, complete, and official. I do not think there should be an effort to disguise the facts. I think we shall have a reply direct from the Secretary of State which Mr. McDermott might well then release to the press stating officially the justification of the State Department for the activities which it is undertaking in foreign areas at this troubled period in world history.

UNRRA

Mr. Chairman, I wish to say a word or two about UNRRA. When I first voted for UNRRA it was with considerable enthusiasm, and I then took the floor and delivered myself of quite a speech in support of UNRRA for I recognized the great need of Europe, I recognized the responsibility that America had as the greatest of all nations to help the stricken. I thought it would be a fine experiment through international cooperation to bring together to work many men of many nations in a great humanitarian and charitable cause.

The next time I voted for UNRRA it was with less enthusiasm, but I voted for it again. After seeing it in operation in Europe and especially in the far eastern sections of Europe this summer and hearing the testimony before our committee I shall vote for it this time with the least enthusiasm of all.

Some people may ask: Why do you vote for it at all if you feel that way about it? I will answer that question first. I am going to vote for it in the first place because I recognize the great and overwhelming need which exists in Europe today for foodstuffs, for clothing, for shelter, for medicine, and for certain rudimentary transportation facilities. I recognize that America desires to help and is responsible for helping, and I recognize that this $1,350,000,000 we are authorizing today and the $550,000,000 which the Senate approved in its appropriation act a few hours ago and which this House will certainly concur in, that that approximately $2,000,000,000 will help somewhat to relieve the situation. It is not going to help anywhere near the degree that its enthusiastic advocates suppose it will who came to us in good faith and said, "Pass UNRRA as it is." I wish it were as good as they think it is. But it is going to help some and because I am unwilling by any vote of mine to do anything which would deprive those starving, hungry, suffering people of what little aid we can string out to them through UNRRA, I shall vote for it as it is, with amendments to make it better or without amendments, because it seems to be the only possible, conceivable opportunity we are going to have as Americans to do something officially to help those suffering peoples in the unfortunate war-stricken areas of the world.

I regret that there has been such a complete bankruptcy of leadership on the part of this administration, that it cannot propose a more workable system for enabling Americans to give to Europe the relief they would like to see be made available through official action of this Government. I regret there is such a bull-headed attitude on the part of the administration of UNRRA, at least, that it resists any attempts by anybody to offer any corrective amendments of any kind. It assumes it cannot be made better, so it urges us to go along with it as it is.

Consequently it seems to me that this administration certainly must assume full and complete responsibility for the activities of UNRRA. For its success it should be commended if it does the job that they claim it will with this new $2,000,000,000. For its failure it should be held responsible because of its reluctance even to accept amendments which Secretary of State Byrnes himself proposes as being acceptable. I refer you to the five amendments he proposed on page 270 of the appropriation hearings on UNRRA. If the majority refuses to accept amendments and UNRRA does not give relief to the people it should, theirs is the responsibility.

What are the kinds of amendments that should help? I think the amendment which was called the "free press" amendment and which I think should be called the "full information" amendment if written into this bill will be helpful, because it would mean then that the spotlight of public opinion focused by impartial observance of the radio and press would concentrate itself on UNRRA to the point that there would not be a miscarriage of funds and misuse of supplies but, on the other hand, there would have to be a very careful adherence to the primary objectives of UNRRA. I am convinced from my experiences in Europe and from the observations I have made and from all the testimony before us, and I am speaking now about this new authorization and not the appropriation bill just approved by the Senate, that if we put some kind of full-information amendment in it will give more relief to more needy people in Europe more speedily delivered.

The second amendment that I think would be helpful is the one that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER], offered in the consideration of the appropriation of $550,000,000, a simple, direct, effective amendment, which states that the title and control of the trucks which UNRRA delivers to these countries shall be kept in the hands of UNRRA and the petroleum supplies directed by UNRRA, so that the use of the trucks would be limited to the purposes intended by UNRRA. Certainly that is going to mean more relief; certainly that is going to mean fewer politicians running around European highways in UNRRA trucks; it is going to mean fewer attempts on the part of foreign groups to misuse UNRRA trucks. In other words, the truck is going to be used to haul medicine, shelter, clothes, and food to the needy areas of those stricken lands. It will be interesting to note the arguments advanced to offset that amendment, but they will be advanced just the same.

The third amendment which I think is tremendously helpful would be one providing for impartial administrators of UNRRA missions. If you would like to find some pretty good support for that amendment, as I suggested it in committee, you can turn to the hearings on UNRRA and read pages 31, 32, and 33, of my interrogation of Mr. Clayton.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I proposed a policy which I think would be helpful, and Mr. Clayton agreed with it but said it should not be done by Congress, it ought to be done in some other way. Maybe next year after UNRRA is over with they might experiment with it, but it should not be done by Congress now. Surprisingly enough, every representative of the State Department as well as the Governor of New York, every time the suggestion was made for the correction of an UNRRA fault—and they admitted it had many—said it should not be done by Congress. They do not feel that Congress should be in the picture except as it comes to opening up the spigot to the extent of $2,000,000,000; that should be done by Congress. But none of the corrective measures, none of the experience gained by Members of Congress who observed UNRRA in action in Europe this summer, should be reflected in the bill. So Mr. Clayton said it should not be done by Congress. Poor Congress passes the bill but UNRRA writes the ticket. That is their creed.

I think that some such amendment like this should be included though this would not be the exact language, which would say that "no head of an UNRRA mission shall be selected from among the nationals of the country in which that particular mission is operating or from a country adjacent thereto."

This would increase the efficiency of UNRRA in Poland and Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia 200 percent. I think it is a good amendment. I am afraid it will not be adopted, and I am going to have to vote for UNRRA anyhow because it is the only chance we have to do something for those people, so I am going to string along. But I want the country to know that the responsibility for the failure of Congress to exercise its judgment and put in corrective legislation rests squarely with the administration of UNRRA which has stubbornly refused to permit the approval of a single corrective amendment in committee. There are other corrections which should also be

written in. I hope this House will make the effort.

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. SADOWSKI. In order not to confuse the membership, since Poland has been mentioned, some may believe that a Russian is heading the UNRRA delegation in Poland. I want to say to the gentleman that the delegation in Poland is headed by a Canadian gentleman.

Mr. MUNDT. I would suggest that the gentleman be sure to date his remarks, because in August the head of the Polish delegation was a Russian. I asked one of the State Department officials this question, "Are you sure it is not going to be a Russian after Congress approves this bill?" and he said, "No; I am not sure." You will find that in the hearings. So I hope the distinguished gentleman will date his remarks. Today it is a Canadian, but he does not have a permanent assignment in Warsaw.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. I would just like to say to my distinguished colleague that he asked Governor Lehman whether he would make a promise that a certain thing would not happen in the future. Does the gentleman not think that he was trying to put him on the spot, as it were?

Mr. MUNDT. I was trying to.

Mr. BLOOM. And he was smart enough to not let you.

Mr. MUNDT. And I was worried about the reason back of his sagacious evasion.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman asked him to do something in the future. Of course, he could not do that. It might be necessary for the benefit of UNRRA to put someone in there, so do not blame Governor Lehman.

Mr. MUNDT. I am not blaming Governor Lehman. I am just quoting him. I want to say too that I do not object to Russians in charge of UNRRA missions. I think they certainly have a right to have their relative position and their relative responsibility, but it is not good policy to have them in charge in their own country and their own districts any more than it would be good policy in any other country to have nationals operating in countries adjacent to it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has again expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be given an additional minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Is it the gentleman's understanding that Governor Lehman has control of the personnel in the different countries, or is it voted upon by the Council?

Mr. MUNDT. It is my understanding, subject to correction by my chairman, that in a matter of that kind Governor Lehman would have control and that he would not have to take it up with the Council.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I think it is more up to the Council than to the governor. I think the gentlewoman from Massachusetts will agree with me that Governor Lehman, who is the head of UNRRA, is trying to do a very, very good job. He is just as eager to have UNRRA be successful as anyone.

Mr. MUNDT. I certainly think he is trying to do a good job. I am sorry that the good job is not being achieved to a greater degree.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. But my contention is that he is controlled by the Council.

Mr. MUNDT. To that the chairman appears to agree with you.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentlewoman from Illinois [Mrs. DOUGLAS].

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, sitting here well fed, well clothed and shod, warm and comfortable, it is hard for us to realize that the lives of millions depend upon our action tomorrow. It is hard for us to face the fact that men are dying of starvation and exposure, even as we debate this issue and make our neat points about the best ways of carrying out relief. If we postpone our decision, we shall increase the toll of death.

The weather is cold abroad and there are few homes with any heat. There are few people with adequate clothing and shoes and a comparatively small number with enough to eat. In a leisurely way we are considering the issue and proposing that if we bring bread, we could also demand that our newspaper men have the freedoms which we pride ourselves on in our mature democracy. In a way, however, to suggest that we would not give bread unless our newsmen received such freedoms, would be like saying that we would shoot the children of a town if its mayor is a tyrant. As Senator VANDENBERG put it:

> I am unable to make mercy an arbitrary hostage to the lifting of the iron curtain at this tragic moment in human history. * * * The iron curtain is in the control of governments. It is the people in these areas who die for want of bread.

There is urgency about UNRRA. The delay which has held up $550,000,000 of our previous commitment has already created unnecessary hardships in the reorganization of UNRRA allocations. Procurement was suspended on more than $49,000,000 of desperately needed supplies so that the bare essentials of food could be provided. Among the supplies which had to be dropped were vaccines for typhus and the plague, drugs, chemicals, and surgical dressings, amounting to more than $6,000,000. Roofing material, corrugated steel for emergency shelters, shoes, clothing, repair equipment for farm machinery, and veterinary supplies. These were to have played an important part in equipping people against the rigors of winter and in preparing them to make the most of the spring crops. It was our slowness of action which forced the tragic reorganization and the cut in these supplies for UNRRA.

When the $550,000,000 of our first authorization is finally available, more than half of it will be immediately committed for goods which should have been shipped weeks back. Before the end of December the total amount should be committed. Those shipments will carry UNRRA through January. That is as far as the funds will stretch. Unless we act favorably on the second assessment, UNRRA will have to fold up early in 1946. We must not delay our decision, moreover, or the pipe line will run dry. The average interval between the placing of an order against available funds and the delivery of the supplies to those for whom they are intended ranges from 2 months in the case of available foodstuffs to some 8 or 9 months in the case of supplies which must be processed or manufactured. There are some who criticize UNRRA for this delay, but justice should point out that there are shortages everywhere today and that UNRRA has no magic wand for overcoming these hurdles. If therefore we let the pipe line run dry, or decide never to fill it again, we are delivering a cruel Christmas present to those peoples of the United Nations who have suffered every conceivable anguish in the last 4 years.

No one has been hungry in America because of the war. We continue to be the best fed people in the world and we eat from 3,000 to 4,000 calories of food a day while in Europe men are lucky if they receive one-half that amount. Shall we cut off even the niggardly rations which UNRRA insures to these hungry millions?

The new appropriation would be less than what we spent on 5 days of the war effort. This sum would carry the peoples through this grim winter and help them to help themselves through 1946. In the Far East the aid would extend through the first quarter of 1947.

As the only major power which was neither bombed nor invaded, we must bear the chief burden of relief. Where the war was fought, there is ruin, hunger, and desperation. On top of the disruption of 4 years of war, Europe suffered this year from the worst drought which it has known for a generation. Nature seemed to conspire against the feverish efforts to produce and the crops were shriveled from southern France through Italy and Greece. It is hard to measure the debt of the United Nations to those countries which made the supreme sacrifice in resisting the enemy and buying time for the rest of us to prepare. Little Greece held back the Fascist forces and then heroically took on the Nazi juggernaut of mechanized might. Similarly, Jugoslavia, spurning the safety of a compact with Hitler, which its rulers had secured, battled against impossible odds and with the most tragic losses. Again, we can never forget that Poland took the first stand against the enemy and was martyred in its fight, while Czechoslovakia was betrayed and turned over as the first spoils of Nazi victory. These countries have suffered excruciatingly. It would not only be inhuman to leave

them today in their great need, but it would be a tragic mistake in statesmanship. It would mean abandoning these people to leaders who preach violent and totalitarian solutions to their problems. Certainly the Communists could then rightly claim that the democratic nations were a heartless, mercenary lot.

Some people argue that while relief is essential, the job should be carried out by another agency. There is no other agency to do the job. The International Red Cross, often suggested, refers to a group of agencies, one of which is the League of Red Cross Societies, which coordinates the activities of the national societies, but does not itself engage in relief operations. There is no International Red Cross organization to do the job, and if one of the conference agencies were asked to undertake it, it would have to recruit a new staff, reorganize its whole function, and in short, start to build an entirely new set-up. Moreover, it would have to negotiate with all the member nations of the Red Cross and of UNRRA. This would involve the added expenditure of further millions in organizing a vast new international agency.

It has been suggested by some that the Army could be given UNRRA's functions. General Eisenhower, rising from a sick bed on Thanksgiving Day to give his unqualified support to the continuance of UNRRA, made his answer on this. When hostilities are over, he declared, administrative work should be turned over to civilian agencies as rapidly as possible Besides, he pointed out, in those very countries where UNRRA carries its major programs, Greece, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Poland, our troops have no excuse for appearing. One might ask, moreover, even if these countries were persuaded to allow our troops to enter, would the American public tolerate our boys being detained overseas to do this relief job? Even in Germany where our troops are performing administrative tasks, General Eisenhower explained that they were not equipped to carry out UNRRA's functions with the displaced persons. In one camp which he had visited, five babies had just been born, and he commented that his men were not trained for baby caring.

Having visited several of the displaced persons camps in both Germany and Italy, I saw his point. The UNRRA team which takes over the work of a DP camp is equipped with doctor, nurses, and welfare workers. Their functions range from screening the DP, which is essential since thousands of former Nazis are trying to turn into DP's and escape from Germany, carrying out the epidemic-control program, which includes delousing, vaccinations, and medical help, and caring for orphaned youngsters and rehabilitation of persons who have been demoralized through persecution and uprooting. There are young children who were torn from their homes, branded with a number and delivered to some German as farm hands or household laborers. They have forgotten their native language, and have known no kindness nor constructive help. The rehabilitation of such children and the tracing of surviving members of their families are among the human problems which the Army should not be asked to tackle.

Then there are those who say we should do all the relief work ourselves and should not cooperate with other nations in an international organization such as UNRRA. I am doubtful, however, whether these gentlemen would have the same enthusiasm for this plan when it came to paying the bills. For if we went it alone, then we would not get the $533,000,000 which is the contribution of the other nations on each assessment. If we were to do the full job, our appropriations would have to be that much heavier and one can imagine the shrieks of indignation which would be leveled at the British Empire and the South American countries for not carrying their share. Of course, it is sometimes difficult to work with other countries, but during the war we found that we could cooperate with the British, the Dominions, and the Russians. In these days of the atom bomb, we certainly should show that we can work together to save lives. This is a goal for all men and women of good will, without regard to politics or ideology.

UNRRA is the first peacetime venture of the United Nations and for that reason alone, we must see that it succeeds. It would be a dismal omen for all future cooperation on more controversial and permanent projects if the United States pulled out of this humanitarian project even before the United Nations Organization is launched.

Today there is no agency but UNRRA to do the job. We have General Eisenhower's word moreover that from the administrative angle UNRRA is steadily improving. At first it had every disadvantage for it could get only the scrapings of the barrel after the Army was satisfied in supplies, shipping, and personnel. The conditions were so chaotic that General Eisenhower assured our committee that if he had been asked to do the job, he would have "thrown up his hands in helplessness." He said that under the handicaps UNRRA was given at the start, he considered it remarkable that they could make any progress. Since VJ-day the situation has changed completely. There are now surpluses, plenty of shipping and a chance to get the best personnel. For this reason there has been a general tightening up of the organization in the past 3 months and the services of some 600 of the European staff have been terminated. An erroneous press report recently spread the story that this reorganization was due to black-market manipulations. This, of course, was false and related to one Czech who is in prison for selling coffee on the black market and the arrest of another dozen who may be tried for similar manipulations. The discharge of the 600, however, was due rather to their lack of ability, illness, incompetence, and such less newsworthy causes. With the opportunity to get an improved staff, UNRRA cleaned house.

To quote General Eisenhower once more:

> UNRRA has been infused with new and vigorous leadership in whom I have the fullest confidence. The British have made available to UNRRA my former Deputy Chief of Staff, General Morgan, and my former Chief Administrative Officer, General Gale, who are now in active charge of UNRRA operations in the field. These men, typical of the new leadership, are experienced administrators of unquestionable competence and I should like to add, of unquestionable integrity .

Even if we could speedily devise another mechanism, it would be doubtful if this new mechanism could show a lower administrative cost, for the administrative costs of UNRRA have run to only 2⅙ percent of the total expenditures. This is an extraordinarily low figure. The Director General takes no salary and even pays his own expenses, except for actual transportation costs. Other administrative costs are cut to the bone because the actual distribution of materials is turned over to the various local governments and agencies. For UNRRA itself to conduct the actual distribution would of course involve a colossal budget and an enormous bureaucracy. While at times the functioning of these local agencies is imperfect due to the chaotic conditions which come in the wake of war, yet that very functioning has often had a beneficial byproduct in building up again the local agencies which must carry on.

I have myself visited a number of these local institutions which use UNRRA supplies, such as schools and orphanages in Italy, where meals are provided by UNRRA, factories where supplementary foods are available to nursing and expectant mothers and undernourished children, a preventorium out of Athens, run by a benevolent society, and so forth.

There are those who are ready to attack UNRRA on the ground that the amount which is expected to be allotted to China is too small in comparison with its own needs and with the allotments to Europe. May I remind these gentlemen that the Chinese Government is planning to spend an amount approximately equal to the part UNRRA provides. The total will be somewhere between eight hundred million and one billion dollars. If these gentlemen still do not think this is enough, which is probably correct, then there is an easy way for them to show their concern. Let them prepare an amendment to increase the total authorization by two hundred millions or more and earmark it for the Chinese. I, for one, would support such an amendment.

But the real trouble lies deeper. Nearly everyone gives lip service to the principle that we should help to feed the starving and care for the sick. But the instant we start to do it, then the brickbats begin to fly. We hear incessant and carping criticism on petty details of administration and attempts to discredit the work of saving the lives of tens of millions because out of the 8,000 UNRRA employees there have been some incompetents and a few rogues. Worst of all, there has been a constant attempt to delay action by trying to spin out the hearings to an interminable length and to keep the issue from being considered by the House and Senate. Although Congress convened 3 months ago, it has not yet passed upon the final appropriation under our first authorization. When this new authorization is passed, we shall have to repeat the process to

secure a new appropriation. In the meantime, tens of thousands may die of starvation and exposure. The gentlemen who are delaying action, of course, all subscribe to the Ten Commandments, one of which says "Thou shalt not kill." Some of their actions, however, fit that cynical version of the commandments by Arthur Clough which advises:

Thou shalt not kill, but needst not strive
Officiously to keep alive.

In the Christmas season above all others let us make haste with our help. Let us not dawdle while men, women, and children die.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. STEFAN].

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, considerable has been said on the floor this afternoon that UNRRA is perhaps the only agency that can do the job. I have a message that may bring a great deal of disappointment to many of you who heard our colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] speak of another organization encouraged by UNRRA and by the Department of State, an organization which was endeavoring to supplement UNRRA in caring for some of the badly needed relief in Europe. I refer to the organization known as CARE, an organization set up to handle remittances and shipments to Europe. It was hoped that Mr. Donald Nelson, former Director of the War Production Board, would head this organization, but I am very sorry to report that following considerable research on my part I am afraid that organization is doomed to failure because of the many obstacles that have been placed in its path.

About September or October of this year UNRRA purchased from the United States Army about $100,000,000 worth of surplus food. That surplus included 7,700,000 cases of what is known as 10-in-1 rations. This package is so well sealed, I have been informed, that it will withstand water for many days, even though submerged. It contains 10 breakfasts, 10 dinners, and 10 suppers, all well-balanced meals. We were first informed that UNRRA was willing to transfer these 7,700,000 cases of 10-in-1 rations to this proposed organization in which over 32 nonprofit agencies of the United States were interested. It was intended that those of you who were anxious to send a package of food to relatives, to loved ones, or to friends in Central Europe not serviced by UNRRA would be able to do so by merely furnishing this organization the name and address of those people you wanted to help, and a package would be delivered by this organization.

Mr. BLOOM. Would the money have to go with it?

Mr. STEFAN. Absolutely This would have to be paid for. I do not know whether the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs knows anything about this organization or not.

Mr. BLOOM. I do.

Mr. STEFAN. All right. Has UNRRA paid the Army $100,000,000 for this food as yet?

Mr. BLOOM. I just wanted to let the gentleman give the committee the benefit of the facts. He said all they have to do is to give the name and address. They would have to pay money.

Mr. STEFAN. Yes; certainly. Hundreds, thousands, or millions of Americans would be willing to pay for a package of that food to feed some starving human beings somewhere in the world. As I understand it, UNRRA approved this organization, and the President's board approved it. The fact of the matter is, I have a letter from the President's board indicating that Donald Nelson had accepted the directorship of this organization and had already begun to work on it; but today I am informed that because this organization is unable to get these packages, in spite of the fact they were promised the packages, according to the information I have received, it will be unable to operate. I am very sorry to report that to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEFAN. I am glad to yield to the gentleman who knows more about the matter than I do.

Mr. HERTER. Is it not true that Mr. Donald Nelson came all the way from the Pacific coast to Washington yesterday in the hope of starting this organization, then found the situation very different from the way it was presented to him a few days ago

Mr. STEFAN. The gentleman is correct. Donald Nelson was promised 7,700,000 case of these rations.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, when he arrived in Washington he was told he could have only 1,000,000 of these cases of 10-in-1 rations. To be fair to UNRRA, I understand that 4,000,000 of those cases are somewhere in transit, that 1,000,000 cases or 2,000,000 cases are on the way; but if at one time they had given Mr. Donald Nelson encouragement to come to Washington to head this organization they certainly should have carried out their promise.

Mr. HERTER. Does not the gentleman feel that the millions of Americans who have heard about this through the press should be advised just what has happened in this situation, and the fact that even the gentleman and myself cannot ascertain how those packages came to be shipped, where they are now and why they are no longer available?

Mr. STEFAN. The gentleman is absolutely correct and he is saying something which really caused me to take the floor to talk to you today about this matter. I have received hundreds of letters from my constituents who had heard about these packages, who had heard about this organization, who are willing to send their checks and their money to this organization in order that they might participate and help supplement UNRRA relief.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEFAN. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Does not that confirm my statement and belief that there should be some check-up of this organization called UNRRA, some sort of intelligence used as to what is being done and where these packages have gone?

Mr. STEFAN. The gentlewoman from Massachusetts is absolutely right. We all want to help, but we want information and the American people want information. They are anxious to help and certainly we should have more information about this organization in which so many charitable, nonprofit organizations of the United States are interested, and I take the floor at this time to advise the membership of the House that I cannot intelligently reply to letters I have received from my constituents because I cannot secure dependable information. Certainly Donald Nelson, who has endeavored to head this organization, who has had some encouragement, should get more encouragement from the House of Representatives.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Has the State Department or Mr. Lehman or anyone in the State Department given the gentleman any information?

Mr. STEFAN. Yes. Colonel Wood came to me today.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. What did he tell the gentleman?

Mr. STEFAN. He indicated that these packages are not in Europe at this time.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusett. Why not?

Mr. STEFAN. However, 4,000,000 are on the way, he indicates, and 2,000,000 additional are somewhere on the way, but he could not give me the information as to where they are located.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. It is a situation that is inexcusable to me.

Mr. HERTER. The gentleman, I am sure, is familiar with the fact that the State Department has done everything it could to further this scheme and that they have encouraged it in every way possible.

Mr. STEFAN. That was confirmed in my conference with Colonel Wood. They are doing everything they possibly can to encourage this.

Mr. HERTER. Is it not also true that the State Department secured permission from some 12 foreign countries to admit these packages free of duty in anticipation of this service being inaugurated.

Mr. STEFAN. That is absolutely the case.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may require to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GORDON].

UNRRA IN POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, I am going to vote for the passage of the UNRRA bill. My recent official visit to Europe as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, gave me an opportunity to observe personally the great need for relief, which can only be met by this organization. I concur fully in the

statements made to our committee on last Thanksgiving Day by General Eisenhower, and by other witnesses who appeared before us, and I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The plight of the people in Poland and Czechoslovakia today is one that cries out to every person in the civilized world, who is in a position to send them help. Poland was the first country to suffer the ravages of total warfare. It was the battleground for almost 6 years. The armies surged back and forth across it with all the horrors of modern warfare. In my visit to Poland last summer, I found that 90 percent of the country, particularly the capital city, Warsaw, was demolished. The only building that stood out in fairly good condition was the Polonia Hotel, where we made our quarters. This building was saved because it was used as the Gestapo headquarters.

The Czechoslovak Republic was one of the first to be overrun by the Nazis and, by bitter coincidence, was the last country in Europe to be liberated. This fact, which resulted from the country's geographical position in central Europe, made it hard for the liberated allies to reach and has made it equally difficult for the relief and rehabilitation supplies of UNRRA to reach the stricken people.

The United States has always been a generous nation. Time and again we have proved it after war, famine, and disaster. There is no reason why we should change now. These countries are our allies; they need our help.

This country has joined with 46 others of the Ailled Nations to see that the starved and homeless destitute millions of Poland and Czechoslovakia are saved. I had an opportunity to actually see the beginning of this great deliverance campaign in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Admittedly the physical destruction of transportation and supply lines made confusion and waste in the initial stages of this operation. Reports reaching me now indicate that drastic changes in personnel and the opening of the ports of Danzig and Gdynia to replace the cumbersome and inefficient overland transportation from Constanta have greatly improved the picture.

What is the situation in Poland today? First and most important is the food shortage. By December 1, 1945, shipments have reached a total of 307,000 tons, costing nearly $164,000,000. The need is still far from being met. Reliable persons who have surveyed the situation agree that, left to itself, Poland would have only half enough food for bare existence for its population, at least until the harvest of vegetables and fruits next summer. Even this pitifully small amount cannot be distributed equitably over the country. In some of the agricultural sections the populace will not be too badly off. In the large industrial centers the situation is desperate.

The estimates of food needs are predicted on restoration of agricultural production next crop year. But merely anticipating a crop is one thing, and planting and harvesting it is a far different problem.

Not only was Poland's internal transport ruined but also its tools and capacity for food production were ruined by the invader. Draft animals for use on farms and for hauling produce to market were taken away by the thousands. Farm establishments were systematically dynamited and burned with all the tools, clothing, and bedding they contained. Dairy cattle were confiscated or killed. Poultry is virtually completely gone. Feed grain and seeds were ruthlessly requisitioned. Along the main roads farm tools and equipment were seized by the invading settlers whom the Germans picked to occupy the conquered land.

So, if Poland is to produce next year any substantial supplies of food for itself, as many as possible of these operating tools and equipment must be replaced now.

There are other needs in addition to food production, and just as urgent, but not as large. Supplies of new clothing in the country have been nonexistent for 6 years. The same is true of shoes and bedding.

The health situation is extremely bad. Tuberculosis, malnutrition, the ailments of war and exposure, and venereal disease are common, particularly among the displaced-persons group. There have been outbreaks of typhus. As part of the work of its mission, UNRRA experts are helping the Polish Government to fight these health menaces and the fight is backed with the ammunition of hundreds of tons of medical and sanitation supplies.

An UNRRA staff is in Europe now to acquire Army surplus materials for building, trucks, and fuel to restore 45 hospitals and 45 convalescent homes in Poland.

Czechoslovakia's main prewar route for imports was the Elbe-Vitava River system. This will not be usable until next summer. The railroad from German seaports into the Republic has just been opened and it brings only a trickle of supplies. In the meantime food, clothing, and medical supplies so badly needed have had to take a long sea voyage to the Rumanian Black Sea port of Constanta and a long haul over a single-track railroad to their destination.

The country's 8,000-mile railroad network is largely out of commission. Seven hundred and forty railroad bridges were destroyed and only 12,000 freight cars remain out of the prewar total of 97,000. Prewar truck ownership of 110,000 vehicles averaging 2 tons capacity was reduced to 13,000, with little fuel being available for them.

To meet the crisis in distribution of both home-grown and UNRRA food, UNRRA is sending in thousands of trucks. Most of these trucks are derived from military surplus obtainable in Europe. They will make possible the distribution of great quantities of food in remote sections of the country this fall before winter closes the damaged roads.

Before the war the Republic raised about 70 percent of its own food, the main imports being animal fats and wheat. The vampire economy practiced by the Nazis resulted in a grave deficiency of most of its foodstuffs and fodder. Furthermore, 1945 harvests are down 25 to 50 percent from normal. Resources of cattle and hogs are estimated at only 50 percent. For 6 years there has been no fertilizer. Tractors and farm manpower alike were driven out by the Germans and Russians for their own uses. Trucks and other forms of transport, including railroad rolling stock, were confiscated.

Among the foods being sent in are wheat, flour, canned fish, lard, dried peas and beans, and sugar, as well as a variety of other commodities in lesser amounts. Raw cotton and textiles are flowing in and will be used in Czech factories producing cloth and clothing.

That the Czechoslovak people are grateful for all this assistance is unquestioned. Jan Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Czechoslovakia, voiced the gratitude of the nation. He said:

> We in Czechoslovakia are very, very grateful to UNRRA. UNRRA came in time; even a little sooner than we expected. There was still fighting in the eastern part of our country, and victory was moving toward Prague when the people of UNRRA arrived. In eastern Slovakia there was definite starvation. For about 10 days the people were getting nothing except a bit of very inferior bread. UNRRA came with meat, fats, prunes, and also even coffee. Then medical supplies have been mentioned. We were at the threshold of a typhus and typhoid epidemic. We got penicillin and other drugs in time, and a disastrous situation was averted.

My concern for the suffering people in these war-torn countries urges me to ask for immediate passage of the total authorization provided in this bill without any hampering amendments. Delay means untold prolongation of human misery, disease, and death.

(Mr. GORDON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Illinois [Mrs. DOUGLAS].

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, since there has been an attack today on the character of Oscar Lange, one-time resident of Chicago and now Polish Ambassador, I think in fairness one statement should be nailed at once. There could be no question of military service for Mr. Lange since he is clubfooted.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD].

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, the time has come to indicate to the committee at this late hour in today's debate that this is not an appropriation bill. This is merely an authorization bill and all of the procedure incident to appearance and hearings before the fiscal committee are yet to be made. I think the committee, and later the House, should keep that fact in mind. I do not see the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN]. I would like to point out that the British Government has already appropriated 1 percent of its national income for 1943 and was the first government

of the United Nations to make the appropriation for this second contribution to UNRRA. The British Government has appropriated $300,000,000 and they had already paid in sixty million of that three hundred million. It was indicated by the Council in London that as soon as the United States took action it would rapidly be followed by all of the other member nations, because they have shown a policy and a tendency in all matters, with rare exception, to follow the precedent and leadership set by the United States at Council meetings and generally this has been indicated by the voting, as I have been advised. In further reply to the gentleman from Michigan, I would like to indicate that it is true that the balance of $180,000,000 remaining unpaid in the first contribution consists chiefly of sterling from the United Kingdom contribution, but there is very clear reason why. On page 106 of the hearings it is fully explained in reply to Mr. JONKMAN's question in committee by Governor Lehman. I now read from Mr. Lehman's statement:

Status of funds received from other countries: You will recall that in addition to the $800,000,000 already made available by the United States, there has been made available from other contributing countries the sum of $485,000,000. The status of those funds is—

1. Spent for supplies, mission operating expenses, displaced persons operations, and administration management, $183,000,000.

2. Obligated for supplies for delivery in November and December, $122,000,000.

3. The balance of $180,000,000 consisting chiefly of sterling from the United Kingdom contribution will be spent for commodities in Great Britain. It will be appreciated, I am sure, that the supply position of the United Kingdom and other countries, with the exception of Canada which has made available its full contribution, all of which has been spent, is less favorable than that of the United States and that the range of commodities, particularly in foodstuffs, which can be bought with sterling, is extremely limited.

Therefore, if UNRRA is to do the job for which it was created and not suspend its work at the time when the very lives of millions of men, women, and children depend upon it, an additional 1-percent conribution from the member governments will be imperative before the end of 1945.

I hold no brief for the British Government—my great, great grandparents on both sides of my family would probably turn over in their graves if they heard me defend Great Britain here. The fact remains, however, that I have great admiration for the job done by the brave British people and the British Empire during this war, and certainly it is difficult, if not impossible, for Great Britain to supply the food and use that sterling silver to supply those foodstuffs of which she is so gravely short herself.

I cannot think of a better reason for the United States of America to accelerate at this time our assurance to Great Britain and the other allies of the United Nations that because of the conditions that exist in those countries, even if they have not paid the last blood dollar they agreed to contribute, that the United States of America should indicate her willingness to make our additional contribution and at once. This is not the time for Uncle Sam to become Uncle Shylock and demand the last pound of flesh as a condition precedent to our taking action on this bill at this time. If my friend from Michigan is merely stating for the RECORD his objections to the bookkeeping methods of UNRRA and to the manner in which their statistical division sets up charts then, of course, I have no quarrel with him, but I must insist, however, that I most venemently disagree with him if his remarks are intended as an argument against the passage of this legislation.

I say further that I gathered the impression from the gentleman from Wisconsin that he was casting an aspersion upon the loyalty and the integrity of the Foreign Service of our State Department and the fiscal office of UNRRA. May I say in reply to that that if the gentleman meant there was any deep-dyed conspiracy that existed in the Fiscal or Budget Departments of the State Department and UNRRA deliberately to draw a picture beneficial to Great Britain, if he implied dishonesty or disloyalty by anybody in those departments, that was ungracious, unfounded, and as an understatement, I can say unkind indeed.

I have the honor of being a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and I sat through those hearings for 3 weeks. No place at any time did any witness indicate even remotely or indirectly that possibility. That is nothing but a creature of the gentleman's imagination. I am afraid the General Hurley incident is causing a lot of people to look with apprehension under a lot of beds.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HERTER. Will the gentleman identify the gentleman from Wisconsin to whom he refers.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. JONKMAN. Did I say Wisconsin?

Mr. HERTER. Mr. JONKMAN is from Michigan.

Mr. FLOOD. I beg the gentleman's pardon. Mr. JONKMAN of course is a credit to either State. I regret that time will not permit me to reply to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT]. Many of his remarks I was most anxious to rebut but neither his nor my time allotment will permit. This is most lamentable because of his attack on certain phases of UNRRA.

I rise in support of the bill now before the House, H. R. 4649, to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. This calls for the additional contribution by this Nation of $1,350,000,000, on the same basis as the other members are to contribute 1 percent of the estimated 1943 income. At this point I would like to emphasize that UNRRA is not an American organization; it is not an agency set up by the United States alone. UNRRA is a vast international organization in which the United States participates in direct ratio to its national income and with the fact ever in mind that the United States was not a nation suffering enemy invasion.

I shall support the bill as it was reported to the House without amendment and respectfully and most earnestly urge the House to do likewise. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I sat through three long weeks of daily hearings on this most important legislation, and listened to an array of informed and impressive and distinguished witnesses earnestly advocating the passage of this bill with all possible dispatch in order that the purpose of UNRRA, with which no one disagrees, be served.

Many harsh things have been said against the manner in which UNRRA has been operating. And undoubtedly many additional will be added. I hold no brief for badly selected personnel or whatever inefficiency may have existed or for whatever other well-founded criticisms have been and will be presented here. My wonder is not that some fault can be found, but rather that under all of the seemingly unsurmountable obstacles so much good was accomplished. Again it can be said, "Never have so many been indebted to so few."

I do not propose to argue and debate with any of my colleagues their views on this or that incident of fault, fact, or fiction. Let me say that many of the same utterly fantastic rumors and deliberate falsehoods that were whispered and shouted about lend-lease are being now bandied about with reference to UNRRA—and of course by the same people and I suppose for the same unpleasant purposes. Of each of these evil ones I say in paraphrase, "And still the wonder grew how a mind so small could contain all he knew." It is a great compliment to all men that the number of these is inconsequential—quantitatively and qualitatively.

But, by the same tcken, I listen with attention and respect to those who have at heart the great humanitarian purpose of UNRRA, but offer honest and sincere criticism to the end that the desired purpose be best served.

But I hope, as well, that the interesting, academic, and administrative problems that, of necessity, must develop in considering a plan such as this, will not be so inviting as to forget that time is of the essence in the authorization of this additional sum. People the world over are starving. Already it is too late to save some—many more can never be saved if this bill were to become law in the next 2 minutes instead of the next 2 months. This House just passed the legislation necessary to meet the United States obligation to which we stood committed on the initial contribution $500,000,000—to fail to finish this task would be the world's outstanding example of bad management if nothing else. And let it never be forgotten by my practical-minded friends who claim they are not their brother's keeper, that the UNRRA appropriations from their point of view are the cheapest possible premiums this Nation can get on an insurance policy to help in the struggle for United States and world peace and security. This is my answer to those who think they devastate the proponents of this bill with the platitude smugly mouthed, "You cannot buy friendship." Well, my counting-house companions, you surely can have

no objections to buying a little insurance. There is more than one way to look at Napoleon's famous remark that "An army marches on its stomach."

Never before in the history of mankind have men been called upon to solve a relief problem of greater magnitude and complexity than that resulting from the present war. Even if UNRRA had functioned in absolute perfection from its inception, a condition no sane person would impose, under the circumstances of its birth, the problem as of today, and the prospective problem, in the same field, for the next year and one-half, at least, would still remain to be met and concluded with some degree of completeness. UNRRA's financial crisis has snowballed as a result of ever-increasing demands that far exceed original expectations. China alone has requested $900,000,000 and a big request forthcoming from deserving Poland. Much of this difficulty is due to the fact that the original program was laid out before the liberation of the countries now in need of most aid and no accurate measure of the devastation in those areas was possible. For the same reasons, administrative costs have been greater than anticipated. This is just as good a point as any to dwell further on the matter of administrative expenses for UNRRA. Too little answer has been given to the too unfounded criticism of this phase of UNRRA. Here, as is always the case, with rare exceptions, an examination of the facts will disclose that UNRRA is to be praised rather than abused for its record. And I refer to the hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee, pages 81 and 82. At that point in the hearings Governor Lehman, the Director General of UNRRA, testified under examination that less than 2½ percent of the expenditures of UNRRA went to administrative expenses and at no time, regardless of whether the percentage was figured on the amount paid in or the amount authorized, did the figure exceed 3 percent. That is a commendable record and compares favorably with any like governmental program, even excepting the herculean problems confronting UNRRA from its beginning up to this moment.

I would like at this time, Mr. Chairman, to insert in my remarks that portion of the record of the hearings dealing with the matter of administrative expenses:

Chairman BLOOM. Mr. EATON.

Mr. EATON. Governor, I was going to raise another question that was raised in your early testimony before this committee with respect to one movement, at least, and that was helping people to help themselves, but I am not going to raise that question now.

I do want to raise one other question: I have no doubt in the world that the desire of the people to help these distressed people through this terrible winter season is absolutely normal among the American people. It is not a question of legal obligation. Our people traditionally have had that spirit of brotherhood and help in times of need regardless of race or creed; that has always been a part of the spirit of the American people. That is the basis upon which we face this situation and facing it we have got to answer a very practical question. We are now face to face with this winter. There are other people who propose finishing the program at the end of 146 in Europe, and people will and are raising this question in and out of Congress, and we have got to consider it seriously. UNRRA has had a billion dollars or more since the time it was created and now actually finds itself having no money, and to use your classic expression, finds itself broke.

The question our people will raise is, What has happened to all these billions of dollars that have been raised; what proportion of that has been spent for administration and salaries and expenditures of that sort, and how much of that could have been saved and used now before we go on to make further demands upon our resources? That may sound somewhat materialistic, but it is a question that must be answered in the minds of the general population of this country.

Mr. LEHMAN. I think that is a very practical question, of course. My figures are based on the assumption that we will get the $550,000,000.

Mr. EATON. We are morally obligated for that, and of course, we must keep our agreement.

Mr. LEHMAN. My figures are based on the receipt and expenditure of the entire $1,883,000,000. That includes the contributions of this country, the United Kingdom, Canada, and other countries.

Chairman BLOOM. The amounts that have been allocated or authorized, not the amount appropriated.

Mr. LEHMAN. No.

Mr. EATON. It includes the $550,000,000.

Mr. LEHMAN. From November 1943, when UNRRA was organized, through the end of 1945, our administrative expenses are estimated to be $16,600,000; our mission operating expenses—that is, the expenses of the missions in the field—are estimated at $24,300,000 for the same period of time.

Mr. EATON. That is $40,000,000 plus.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is $41,000,000, which, on the basis of $1,883,000,000, would be less than 2½ percent.

Mr. MUNDT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. What would the percentage of expenditures for administrative expenses be if you use the base—the money which has actually been expended—rather than the base of the total amount, some of which has never been paid into UNRRA as yet?

Mr. LEHMAN. On the basis of the $1,300,000,000 that has actually been paid in, the expenses would be the same, of course, but the percentage would be different.

Mr. MUNDT. The percentage would be different?

Mr. LEHMAN. The percentage would be about 3 percent.

Mr. MUNDT. Has the $1,300,000,000 all been spent?

Mr. LEHMAN. All of the American portion has been spent or committed. We have some balances in some of the other countries which are rapidly being spent.

Mr. MUNDT. The point I am trying to make, Governor, is that in order to determine the percentage of administrative expenses you should use the basis, not the amount that has been authorized in the program but the money that has been paid in—the money that has actually been utilized in relation to operation. Would not that give us a better percentage then for judging the efficiency of UNRRA's administrative operations?

Mr. LEHMAN. Well, Congressman, I am not going to argue the question very long because there is not a sufficient difference between 2½ and 3 percent, but I would like to point out that I do not agree with your reasoning, if I may. After all, we are operating on the assumption, and have been operating on the assumption that we are going to have $1,880,000,000, and we have had to make our preparations on that basis. We have to have the operating division; we have to have the accounting division; we have to have the field missions; we have to have them just the same for $1,300,000,000 as for $1,880,000,000, particularly when you consider that $550,000,000 of it is to come from the United States, and, of course, we have been counting on that amount.

So the figures I have given you are through the calendar year 1945, and certainly, in my opinion, any calculation should be based on the amount which we will have spent by the end of this year.

Mr. MUNDT. I still think, although that is the practical answer to Mr. EATON's pending question, that you should utilize a percentage figure based on the actual expenditures in relieving the needs for Europe.

If you utilize this suppositious basis, you might as well include in the administrative percentage cost, the amount that would be involved in the anticipated amount.

Mr. LEHMAN. The percentage would be about the same with respect to the $1,880,000,000. But as I say, I do not want to take up the time of the committee arguing the question, because so far as I am concerned, 3 percent is mighty good, and it makes little difference whether it is 2½ or 3 percent. But I do want to state that we have gone into China, Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Czechoslovakia, and other countries, and we have set up our various organizations on the assumption we would get all the funds pledged. We could not wait until the situation was right on top of us to make our plans.

Some of the Four Horsemen still ride. UNRRA is fighting hunger, cold, and disease. The best argument for UNRRA is the humanitarian one. We do not want to live in a world in which the innocent are allowed to starve, freeze, and lie unattended when they are ill. Some Members of the House oppose UNRRA because they think it inefficiently managed. Others, sad to relate, but, oh, so few, thank the good Lord watching over this honorable body, make the the hard-hearted argument that it is not our business to "feed the world." UNRRA at best will not "feed the world." Putting in the $500,000 we were honor bound to do means that some people who might have died will stay alive. Some of them will stay alive on horse meat, whale meat, blood sausage, and herring, about half the fats and dairy products they need, about one-fifth the sugar they need. This great Democratic forum is not the mart to trade in human suffering. If we put another $1,350,000 into it—1 percent of our estimated 1943 income—the saving in life will be greater.

Despite its slowness in getting started, its difficulties in finding ships and cargoes, the political obstacles placed in its path in some countries, and some weaknesses in personnel now corrected by a hard-hitting, efficient personnel section, UNRRA has rescued perishing human beings in half a dozen countries, and in recent months its bulk achievements have grown rapidly.

Remember that 35 countries, spread over Europe and Asia and containing more than half a billion people, have passed under the Axis spoke. They have been robbed of their wealth, their economies have been destroyed, and their peoples today are in semistarvation. But even UNRRA does not intend to distribute to these sufferers "the fat of he land." The specified food tonnage will not restore diets to prewar levels but would provide only 2,000 to 2,650 calories per day. The 2,000-calorie level is con-

sidered the minimum for life without real hardship, disease, and want. The American standard for office workers is 3,000 and for physical workers 3,500. And millions upon millions of persons are now living in these distressed areas on 1,400 to 1,700 calories per day.

The older generation is ravaged by disease and hunger; typhus and tuberculosis are spreading; malnutrition threatens to maim the younger generation for life. Tons of food, medicine, and clothes and other materials will have to be channeled to liberated Europe and the Far East where alone a population in China greater than the entire population of the United States are now desperately in need of relief. This is the relief part of UNRRA.

Who will take the responsibility for the continuation of this tremendous task? Who will see to it that a hope for freedom from want and fear is given people, so that instead of desperate social conflict, there will be the normal living and thinking that makes a stable world, a hope of establishing the production of foods and other goods, acceptable community and political organizations and governments to provide for the reconstruction of their own countries? Who will pay for the seeds, the wool, the cotton, the plows, the flour, and the serum to prevent epidemics that are no respecters of national or geographic boundaries and might be expected to spread to other nations and consequently represent a hazard to the entire world. This is the rehabilitation part of UNRRA.

Yesterday, there was passed in the Senate of the United States, certain phases of the great Charter of international security signed by the United States at San Francisco. But that Charter, as yet, is only a promise. If any of the member nations fall prey to famine and pestilence, there can be no security for any of us. Our responsibility is clear. We of the United Nations who have suffered least from the cataclysm of war must continue our efforts to provide out of our resources the means to meet the continuing crisis. This requires supplies and equipment. Kindly expressions will not feed empty stomachs, nor grow food nor cure and prevent sickness. Relief means food, clothes, medicine. Rehabilitation means supplies and equipment, and they all mean money.

The words of President Truman on October 11, 1945, in his letter of transmittal to Congress of the fourth report of UNRRA defines the United States' position on this world significant program:

> Through UNRRA the United States is making and will make its contribution for relief to the liberated peoples. In order that these people may move ahead toward the tremendous task of reconstruction, they must have the basic materials to regain their strength. Where we at home have shortages and inconveniences, millions in other lands lack even the bare necessities of life. Life abroad in the coming winter will depend upon the outside assistance which this country and other countries can render to the liberated peoples.
>
> UNRRA, struggling as it has in the face of world deficits of critical supplies and of shipping, has made a substantial beginning in the immense task of relief and rehabilitation. The more this task can be speeded up through the early delivery of vitally needed supplies, the sooner it will be possible for UNRRA to withdraw, leaving the liberated peoples on a firm footing to carry on their own life. The Government of the United States and the other members of UNRRA are meeting this common problem as the United Nations are attempting to meet other world problems—together and to the best of their respective abilities.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

(Mr. FLOOD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. KEE].

Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, the issue before us today may be in some respects controversial, but it is certainly not complicated. The sole question for our determination is whether or not the United States Government will continue to act with the other members of United Nations in prosecuting the task of relieving the distressed and starving peoples of the devastated countries of the world, or whether we will cease all further effort and leave these distressed peoples to their fate.

Not one of us is unaware of the widespread suffering now extant in every land subjected to the ravages of the recently terminated war. Not one of us has not for months, and time and time again, had presented to him vivid stories of the terrible condition now existing throughout Europe from the English Channel to the Dardanelles, in both near and far eastern Asia and in all lands, the soils of which were marked by the marching feet of a ruthless invader. That these unfortunate conditions exist is an undisputed fact. The situation has been shown by the testimony of witnesses who have but recently returned from the various countries affected and who testified from a knowledge gained through observation and personal contact with the suffering peoples.

The proposal before us is not for the appropriation of an initial contribution of the United States to UNRRA, the international organization for relief of the devastated countries, but it proposes a duplication of this country's former contribution of $1,350,000,000 for a continuation of the work already in progress and not yet completed.

The United States is not the only government called upon for this additional contribution. On the contrary, each and every one of the other 46 members of United Nations will again give 1 percent of its national income to this great cause—the relief of human suffering.

The resolution under consideration was referred, on its introduction in the House, to the Foreign Affairs Committee. That committee has held extensive hearings, beginning on November 14 and ending on November 23 last. The committee gave an opportunity to be heard to every individual who desired to speak upon the subject, either as favoring or in opposition to the proposal. It is indeed significant that out of all of the witnesses appearing before the committee there was but one who offered any opposition whatever to the resolution. It is also significant that this one opposing witness neither questions the immediate and pressing need for relief nor offered objection to an appropriation by Congress for that purpose, but his opposition stemmed solely from his personal objection to the international character of UNRRA, the organization in responsible charge of carrying on the work. The one and only suggestion of this opposing witness was that this work of relief to all of the suffering peoples of the world should be done by the United States alone, and not through the agency of any other organization.

Mrs. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KEE. I yield.

Mrs. LUCE. Like so many Members of the House, I am heartily in favor of the purposes of this bill, and will support it. But I would like to ask the gentleman if he could give me a piece of information. Can he explain how and why the Chinese appropriation under UNRRA is so small per capita compared with the appropriation made to other beneficiary countries. I am told, for example, that Albania is getting $22.42 per capita; Yugoslavia, $27.84 per capita; and Greece, $52.45 per capita; but that the Chinese people, of whose need and suffering the gentleman has just spoken so eloquently and who have been longest in the war, are getting only $1.25 per capita. Will the gentleman tell me how that per capita decision was reached?

Mr. KEE. I believe if the gentlewoman will read the hearings and the testimony, I think, of Governor Lehman, that is fully explained. Possibly, and I am making this as a personal observation, it is explained by the tremendous population of China. It would be the same, perhaps, if it were in India due to the tremendous population and the difficulty of making an allocation equal to the population of the entire country.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from West Virginia has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield five additional minutes to the gentleman.

Mrs. LUCE. Is it then the gentleman's conception that our purpose under UNRRA is to feed people on a strictly mathematical, or population basis, and not according to need?

Mr. KEE. No, indeed. It is my understanding that authorities who know and who are well advised were taken into consultation regarding this allocation and that the allocation was fixed on an equitable basis.

Mrs. LUCE. But the gentleman himself has just said the decision was reached upon the population basis.

Mr. KEE. Oh, no; I beg the gentlewoman's pardon.

Mrs. LUCE. Then it was reached on the question of need?

Mr. KEE. I beg the gentlewoman's pardon. She is mistaken. I did not make that statement. I said that was a personal view of my own that perhaps population had something to do with it.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEE. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. Before VJ-day, the ports of China were not open at all, so we could not get anything in there. But if the

gentlewoman will read on page 9 the report on China, I think she will get the information she wants. But this new authorization, of course, will call for a redesignation of funds for China.

Mrs. LUCE. Can the gentleman tell me how much still remains not allocated, which might still go to China?

Mr. BLOOM. That, I cannot say.

Mrs. LUCE. The figures given me are $179,000,000 still unallocated under the tentative program of UNRRA operations. Would that be substantially correct?

Mr. BLOOM. It may be, if that is the figure that was given to the gentlewoman by UNRRA. It might be correct. But I would want to say when you refer to India that India has contributed to UNRRA.

Mrs. LUCE. I did not refer to India. I referred to Albania as getting $22.42 per capita and Greece the largest allocation of all, $52.45 per capita, and Yugoslavia $27.84 per capita.

Mr. BLOOM. When this new authorization is appropriated, I am sure you will find the largest amount of this appropriation of $1,350,000,000 will go to China and Italy.

Mrs. LUCE. So it is, indeed, because I have the figures; but per person, per empty stomach, the Chinese get less than anybody else, although they have been in the war longest, and suffered so very greatly.

Mr. KEE. May I call the gentlewoman's attention to the fact that the figures as to the allocation of the funds we are asking to be appropriated now are purely tentative and subject to revision.

Mrs. LUCE. Then, it is the gentleman's opinion that the allocation for China can still be increased and will not be decreased?

Mr. KEE. In my opinion, it can be increased or decreased, but in my opinion it will be increased.

Mrs. LUCE. Who, finally, will make that decision?

Mr. BLOOM. If the gentleman will yield, that goes to the Council. The Council does that, as far as increasing or decreasing the amount is concerned.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEE. I yield.

Mr. HERTER. I have before me the allocations that have been made to date, assuming that the $1,350,000,000 is appropriated. The allocation for China is $562,500,000, excluding shipping costs. These figures are not final, but these are the last tentative allocations.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEE. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. I will say that those figures which you say are the figures you got for the allocation of the $1,350,000,000 have not been given out. They have not been allocated yet by anyone.

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEE. I yield.

Mr. FOLGER. I would like to call the gentleman's attention in this connection to the testimony of Dean Acheson in very intelligent explanation of why there may be differences on a pro rata basis, in the allocations of UNRRA, which explains the matter very fully, showing us why it is necessary.

Mr. KEE. I recall that, and I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from West Virginia has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman two additional minutes.

Mr. KEE. If there is any method through which public sentiment can be accurately determined, the array of witnesses appearing before the Foreign Affairs Commitee in support of this resolution certainly indicates that it is the overwhelming sentiment of the American people that the work of UNRRA should be continued and that the necessary funds to carry it on should be made immediately available. Many of these witnesses did not speak for themselves alone, but came before the committee as the authorized representatives of great organizations of the country. Before us, earnestly urging this appropriation, appeared representatives of the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Farmers Union, National Education Association, American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Grange, National League of Women Voters, National Women's Trade Union, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, National Catholic Welfare Council, National Council of Jewish Women, and many others of strength and influence. Not a single organization of any character whatsoever sent a representative before this committee in opposition to the proposal.

It has been urged that the relief of the distressed peoples of the world is a moral obligation upon the United States and its citizens. That this is true will probably not be denied, but in my humble judgment there is a greater obligation, imposed upon us as the victor in the greatest war of all time, to establish and forever maintain a just and permanent peace. There can be no peace anywhere, in any land or country where the people are hungry. Peace must be founded upon reason, and you cannot reason with the naked, the freezing, and the starving.

It does not require the gift of prophecy to say that today there is a spirit of unrest in practically every land that was visited by the horrors of war. Is there any wonder that the people grow restless day by day and month by month when they are without food, without clothing, and without homes? Is it any wonder that in many of the devastated countries of the world the spirit of unrest has grown to the proportion of a resolution? Can we hope for anything better until these people are fed, clothed, and housed Can we hope to establish even a temporary peace until the immediate needs of these people are satisfied? Therefore it is not only a moral obligation we have resting upon us, it is an obligation we owe not alone to those who are hungry and unclothed but also one that we owe to all the rest of the world—to all peoples and all countries everywhere who are looking to us for the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

One more comment and I am through. It is not only my hope and prayer that this resolution be adopted by an overwhelming vote of this House but I also sincerely trust that it will be adopted without any restrictions or inhibitions. We cannot use human suffering in a trade for political advantage. We cannot offer relief conditioned upon changes in the policy of other governments. We cannot deny bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, and homes to the homeless because some official or officials of another government decline to modify their views in conformity with our demands. I plead today that we do not use our charity as a club with which to compel a needy people to conform to our policies.

If you are opposed to our taking any action for relief of the peoples of the world, then vote against the resolution. But in the name of justice, of right, and in all fairness to those who suffer, let us make this contribution freely and cheerfully, and with no hampering restrictions.

(Mr. KEE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CHIPERFIELD].

(Mr. CHIPERFIELD asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks.)

[Mr. CHIPERFIELD addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 12 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 12 minutes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I would like to ask the gentleman where he received the information regarding the allocation to China and other countries, because our committee did not receive that information from UNRRA.

Mr. HERTER. The figure that I quoted a moment ago I received from two independent sources. The first source was from UNRRA itself. The second source was from the head of the Chinese Mission, who is here in Washington and who had been given the figure by UNRRA, and who in turn wrote me a letter giving me that figure as being the one that he had been told was the allocation for China.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Our committee felt we should be given very much more information than we were. When we asked about future allocations they were said to be too secret to be given out.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order that all of this information was given executive session and it is not to be quoted here by any member of the committee or anyone else.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. The gentleman from Massachusetts did not

secure it from the UNRRA witnesses before the committee.

Mr. BLOOM. I insist upon my point of order.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, I should like to know what there is in this bill that the Honorable Chairman cannot let be divulged to the public when we are giving away billions of dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts will proceed.

Mr. HERTER. I can sympathize with the chairman of the committee with regard to giving out these figures. On the other hand, as the figures were given to me with no restrictions whatever by the head of the Chinese Government organization which is going to receive the money I do not see that I am under any compulsion to keep the information confidential.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. There was no restriction from UNRRA as to the gentleman's making it public, was there?

Mr. HERTER. There was no restriction from UNRRA.

Mr. Chairman, I rise at this time to support the bill before us. I am supporting it for two principal reasons: First, because I feel that the need has been very clearly shown to exist; and second, because I feel that UNRRA is not only the single organization equipped to meet this need, but it has in recent weeks shown a very marked improvement in its administrative skills and in the personnel which is heading the most important sections of its various component parts. As an example of the latter fact, I might point out that Major General Rooks, from the State of Washington, who was a member of Eisenhower's staff, has now been appointed in charge of the Washington office. You have General Gale in London; you have General Morgan in charge of displaced persons; you have General Drewry in Poland. You are getting today very much better executive personnel throughout the whole of UNRRA than UNRRA had in its early stages. I am not suggesting that UNRRA was responsible for the caliber of some of its early personnel.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. Is not the simple reason for that the fact that these men available today were not available in the early stages when UNRRA was organized? At that time we were scraping the bottom of the barrel and could not get the type of men we needed.

Mr. HERTER. The gentleman is quite correct. That has altered the situation very materially. I have been told, for instance, that insofar as operations in China are concerned we are developing a very much stronger personnel than that which was at first anticipated.

The question of need, it seems to me, as far as this discussion is concerned, can well be boiled down to the needs of the two principal countries which will be the recipients under this additional appropriation. It is a strange procedure for us to have an appropriation of $550,000,000 not yet voted upon by the Congress, although I hope it will be very shortly, and at the same time to be authorizing an additional $1,300,000,000 concurrently. The reason for that, I think, has not been sufficiently brought out. It is because the UNRRA program is now being expanded to take in at least three new areas that we never contemplated under the original appropriation. Those are China, Italy, and Austria.

The Italian situation is very little understood. From the moment that the American and British armies invaded Sicily the entire question of caring for the needs of the civilians of Italy was financed under the disease-and-unrest formula of the War Department and was administered by the Army supplemented by the British Army and the Canadian Army.

The amounts that have already gone into taking care of the civilian population of Italy total very close to $1,000,000,000. They have come out of the military appropriations. The most fertile northern agricultural areas of Italy were being fought over during the planting season, and the balance suffered a very severe drought which decimated the cereal crops. Italy today is living from hand to mouth on shipments of foreign grain that are going into the ports of Italy.

On the 1st of October all military appropriations ceased and Italy is being fed today and can be fed until about the 1st of January by a transfer of $100,000,000 that was made from lend-lease appropriations to FEA; so that today FEA—and in turn, the State Department, which took over the functions of FEA—is feeding Italy. Italy's situation became so severe, partly as a result of the very thing that some of us predicted when we were there last summer, namely that the Italian Government would be unable to amass through its governmental organization for collecting grain known as the Amassi sufficient grain from its own farmers in the northern area to take care of even a small percentage of the Italian people. Now it is finding itself very seriously pinched and for the month of December emergency methods have had to be used in order to get sufficient grain into Italy in order to prevent a recurrence and a very great spread of the hunger strikes that have already taken place in Naples and other cities in that country.

Unless and until this second amount of money is made available, the $1,300,000,000, there is going to be no way to take care of that Italian problem after the 1st of January. It is for that reason, to my mind, that we have an emergency before us from the point of view of acting quickly on this particular appropriation.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Does the gentleman have the figures on how much is going to be spent in Italy out of this additional amount?

Mr. HERTER. The exact amount is not stated, but the estimates that were made at the time this was discussed by the UNRRA council meeting in London and with UNRRA officials in Rome, are available, and there is nothing secret about the estimates. They run between $400,000,000 and $450,000,000 to carry Italy through from the 1st of January to its next harvest.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Does the gentleman have the estimates for the various countries where aid is going to be given by UNRRA?

Mr. HERTER. I have them but I do not feel at liberty to make them public at this time.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Did the Italians ask for small tools in order to make things with their hands? They were asking for them a year ago and that was promised them. It was promised they would be sent from this country and also grain would be sent. There was great suffering then, and even more now.

Mr. HERTER. I think there are a good many things to be sent to Italy, as well as to other countries over there, and those things are included in the industrial rehabilitation figures of UNRRA.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Has the gentleman any information or figures regarding the proposed barter, tokens or payment from Italy to the United States?

Mr. HERTER. No; I have heard that discussed very frequently. There is this question which arises in connection with that: In the case of the rehabilitation program for Italy there was the question of shipping raw cotton into northern Italy so that the spindles could be put to work there for the production of clothing. The urgency for clothing in Italy itself is tremendous. There has been an assumption—I think a correct one—that any UNRRA cotton which is spun in Italy would be retained in Italy for the people of Italy and not go into international trade. In addition to that, there have been some commercial negotiations on behalf of cotton brokers to finance the shipment of cotton in exchange for the return of the finished products.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. So that they would come back to this country and compete with our finished products?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. Is it not a fact that all of the raw material that is sent to any of these countries that UNRRA is supplying aid to is made up into material by the factories or mills there for home consumption? Is it not to be considered, and never has been considered, to be a matter of exporting any of this stuff?

Mr. HERTER. That is only an assumption.

Mr. BLOOM. Does the gentleman know of any place where UNRRA has been operating where a country being in desperate need of goods manufactured it and exported it to any other place?

Mr. HERTER. No; I do not. On the other hand, I favor doing that very thing

in certain areas; for instance as between northeastern Yugoslavia and northwestern Italy. I think it might be perfectly possible to have a barter arrangement, where an exchange of badly needed commodities for cotton textiles would be desirable.

Mr. BLOOM. If they need it in some other place, then we would not send it to Yugoslavia.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Do they plan sending Czechoslovakian shoes to this country?

Mr. HERTER. No. As far as I know there is no intent to send leather to Czechoslovakia and return the finished shoes to this country.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mrs. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentlewoman from Connecticut.

Mrs. LUCE. Where a sum is allocated to one of these countries, does the sum allocated include the shipping expenses?

Mr. HERTER. It depends on how you figure it. The figure that was given me in connection with China did not include the shipping expense.

Mrs. LUCE. That is to say, the figure which the gentleman hazarded a guess upon, the five-hundred-and-sixty-odd million dollars, does not include the shipping expense?

Mr. HERTER. No. I am very glad that the gentlewoman raised that question, because I think there is one thing that all of us who are favorable to UNRRA ought to examine very carefully, and that is the hideously high shipping costs that are being charged by the United States Shipping Administration today for relief goods being shipped all over the world. It is costing UNRRA over 20 percent of its entire appropriation to pay shipping costs to the United States Government, and also to some British shipping interests when shipments go out of Canada. But today the freight rates, it seems to me, are out of all proportion, and certainly under a competitive system such as we had before they would never continue at the terrifically high rates. Every dollar going into shipping costs is coming out of the relief supply.

Mrs. LUCE. In the case of a country like China, which is the most remote country to come under UNRRA relief, the shipping costs over so vast an area, if included in the sum, might very well consume a great deal of the actual allocation of funds, might it not?

Mr. HERTER. That is correct.

Mrs. LUCE. Then in the final analysis a good deal of the sum could go into shipping expenses, so that in the end very little relief food and other relief items would actually be put into the mouths of hungry people, compared to what we thought we were appropriating?

Mr. HERTER. That is true. As I understand, the figure quoted was a figure minus shipping costs. It was not inclusive of shipping costs.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman must admit that UNRRA has nothing to do with the cost of shipping. That is a matter of record. They have to pay that cost nevertheless.

Mr. HERTER. I am merely recording a fact.

Mr. BLOOM. I agree with the gentleman, but I mean he does not want to blame UNRRA because UNRRA is being blamed enough. The gentleman does not want to blame UNRRA because of paying shipping costs on long hauls to China, for instance.

Mr. HERTER. I am not blaming UNRRA; in fact, it is the other way around. I am trying to point out that this shipping item is such a large item and that additional funds are badly needed, because the supplies UNRRA gets to individuals in the needy countries are cut down by that amount.

During the course of the discussion today I think it was the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] who made the first statement on behalf of the Committee on Rules and stated that Mr. Clayton in London, at the UNRRA conference, had made what amounted to a commitment by this country for this additional sum of money. I think in fairness to Mr. Clayton it ought to be made perfectly clear that Mr. Clayton made no such commitment. Mr. Clayton made it just as clear as he knew how to every government concerned that he would make a recommendation; that he was in no position to make a commitment; that only the Congress of the United States was in a position to make a commitment.

In that connection, I would like to read section 6 of the act which we are now being asked to extend, which reads as follows:

SEC. 6. In adopting this joint resolution, the Congress does so with the following reservation: That in the case of the United States the appropriate constitutional body to determine the amount and character and time of the contributions of the United States is the Congress of the United States.

Certainly nothing can be clearer than that from the point of view of the enabling act which created UNRRA and made us a party to UNRRA. I mention that at this time because in the report that has been presented by the Committee on Foreign Affairs there appears on the first page a summary of the Enabling Act containing only sections 1 and 9, which are the only two sections that are amended. There is no reference whatever to sections 2 through 8. I think it is well worth while for every Member of Congress to read those sections, because every one of those sections was a restriction by the Congress of the United States upon its adherence to the UNRRA Convention and upon the authorization of the initial money that was appropriated. Every one of those restrictions is renewed in the bill that is now before us.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 2½ additional minutes.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HERTER. I mention that fact because there has been a great deal of agitation with respect to so-called crippling amendments. I want to address myself to that subject for a moment because I am going to put in the RECORD now, so that it may be read by anyone who is interested, the text of an amendment which I shall offer tomorrow when the bill is read for amendment.

The amendment I am proposing in no way restricts the additional authorization. It will in no way retard the operation of relief. It cannot be charged that this amendment is keeping food out of the starving babies' mouths, as has been the case with other amendments offered here. The amendment is offered for the sole purpose of trying to strengthen this organization so that it can do an effective job.

The amendment reads as follows:

After line 11 insert a new paragraph, as follows:

"(3) Add a new section 8 (a):

"'8 (a). In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following recommendations:

"'A. That the United States member of the control committee of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is hereby directed to endeavor, by appropriate resolutions, agreements, or otherwise, to secure favorable action by that committee or by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council to attain the following objectives:

"'(1) That all trade agreements and all barter agreements of a recipient country with other nations, together with satisfactory information on all exports from, and imports into, such country, whether for governmental or private account, will be made available to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

"'(2) That each recipient country shall supply accredited United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel with all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement, including all necessary inspections and investigations.

"'(3) That the Administration, if it determines such a course to be desirable, will be permitted, during the period of its operations in a recipient country, to retain title to all motor-transport equipment supplied by the Administration and will also be permitted to route such equipment and to direct the use of the fuel and lubricants supplied by the Administration.

"'B. The President is hereby requested to endeavor, through appropriate channels, to facilitate the admission to recipient countries of properly accredited members of the American press and radio in order that they may be permitted to report without censorship on the utilization and distribution of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration supplies and services.'"

I should like to address myself to that amendment for a moment. I checked only yesterday to find out whether since our earlier debate on the subject of

UNRRA in Yugoslavia, for instance, either our Government, the British Government, any other government or UNRRA has been able to obtain the text of the secret trade agreements between Yugoslavia and her neighbors. They have not been able to do so.

What is happening here today is that relief is being put into a country—and I am sorry to be singling out Yugoslavia for I have no particular quarrel with Yugoslavia, but I am merely using it as an example—which has secret agreements with Russia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Albania, all dealing with the export and the import of the very types of things which the relief organization is supposed to bring into that country. To my mind, no one can defend an intelligent application for relief supplies unless they know what is coming in or going out of the country. All my amendment does is to suggest that the American member of the council do his best to get full information on imports and exports adopted as a principle of UNRRA. It does not say it is a condition.

Mrs. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mrs. LUCE. According to the figures supplied to me, Yugoslavia was the second highest country, Greece being first, to receive allocations on a per capita basis. Whereas it is not possible to starve people into accepting American ideas or ideology, it may be possible to feed them into accepting alien ideologies, if we do not watch just such things as the gentleman has tried to cover in his amendment, that is, secret trade treaties. Is that not so?

Mr. HERTER. Yes. I am confining my argument principally to the relief end of this thing and am trying my best to get out of the political end of it. I am talking only about an efficient and intelligent relief operation.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Has the gentleman read the report presented to the Committee on Appropriations submitted by the Secretary of State, in which he says:

> That all trade agreements and all barter agreements of such country with other nations, together with satisfactory information on all exports from and imports into such countries, whether for governmental or private account, will be made available to UNRRA.

The Secretary of State said they would have not too much objection to that.

Mr. HERTER. Each one of these suggested amendments I am saying should be made an objective of our representative on the Council has already been included on the list of the amendments that Secretary Byrnes said they would have no objection to.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mrs. BOLTON. The same principles would hold good in regard to the final decision as to whether White Russia and the Ukraine would benefit from UNRRA, would it not?

Mr. HERTER. Yes; some would.

Mrs. BOLTON. There would be some balance there as to the capacity of the Soviet to do that itself, would there not?

Mr. HERTER. Yes; but I am pointing out that my amendment would not in any way stop anyone from giving anybody any relief. It merely instructs the American delegation.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. In other words, the amendment which the gentleman has read here is merely a suggested amendment to try to do those things and not to make it mandatory?

Mr. HERTER. The gentleman is quite correct. It will in no way slow up the operation of relief in any sense whatsoever.

The second amendment is the one that deals with the so-called freedom of the press. That amendment very clearly merely requires the President to use his best offices to facilitate the entry of members of the press into the countries that are recipient countries in order that they may report on the distribution and services of the UNRRA organization. I am hoping very much, in view of the attitude shown toward these amendments by the chairman of the committee, that they will be acceptable. I think that the objective of every one of these amendments has been admitted to be desirable on the part of the State Department, on the part of UNRRA itself, and on the part of many Members of the House. Therefore, I hope they will be accepted.

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington.

Mr. CLARENCE CANNON,
Chairman, Appropriations Committee,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CANNON: In the course of our recent telephone conversation, you asked me to give you the views of the Department concerning a number of amendments which have been suggested for inclusion in the requested appropriation legislation for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

During the hearings on the appropriation, Assistant Secretary Clayton explained that the Department felt that any amendments of the kind proposed would be inappropriate in connection with the legislation under discussion.

As you know, the $550,000,000, which has been requested, is the remaining amount already authorized for the participation by the United States in the work of UNRRA. It is presently contemplated that the $550,000,000 will be required for relief expenditures during the next few months—probably by January 1, 1946. The proposed amendments, on the other hand, are directed toward the expenditure of funds after January 1, 1946, and therefore it would appear far more useful to discuss their inclusion in legislation for a further authorization when such legislation is submitted.

Aside from the appropriateness of the legislation as a vehicle for the amendments suggested, we believe it is unwise for the United States to begin a process which may lead to the imposition of restrictive and undesirable conditions on UNRRA's operations by other countries.

It is my hope that the appropriation can be made subject to no conditions other than those already included by the Congress in the authorization act. I recognize, however, that there is considerable sentiment in favor of the suggested amendments, and I should not want the Department's opposition to all amendments to prevent the prompt appropriation of the funds. The need for additional procurement of supplies in the United States is desperately urgent if relief is to continue uninterrupted during the coming winter, and it will be impossible for UNRRA to continue its programs without further funds.

For these reasons, I am enclosing a draft of provisions which the Department believes could be included in the appropriation bill without imposing upon UNRRA impossible administrative burdens or responsibilities inappropriate to an international organization.

I greatly appreciate the opportunity you have given me to comment on the amendments which have been proposed. I know you recognize the importance of our full participation in international organizations of which we are members. I therefore hope that the remaining amount authorized for our participation in UNRRA can be made available free of any unduly restrictive conditions.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES F. BYRNES.

[Enclosure: Draft.]

DRAFT

At the proper place in the provisions making appropriations for UNRRA insert:

"No part of the appropriation herein for carrying out the provisions of the joint resolution of March 24, 1944, entitled 'Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization,' shall be available for that purpose for the relief and rehabilitation of a country subsequent to December 31, 1945, unless and until the President has received from the Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration a certification to the effect that the furnishing by such Administration of relief and rehabilitation supplies and services to the government of such country for the nationals of such country will be made only under agreements between the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and such country or other suitable arrangements providing—

"(1) That all trade agreements and all barter agreements of such country with other nations, together with satisfactory information on all exports from, and imports into, such country, whether for governmental or private account, will be made available to UNRRA.

"(2) That markings on supplies furnished by the Administration which indicate the national source of such supplies will not be changed.

"(3) That at regular periods such country will make available to UNRRA statements of its current financial position, which statements shall set forth in detail all receipts of such country from the sale and from the rental of supplies furnished by the Administration.

"(4) That the Administration, if it determines such a course to be desirable, will be permitted, during the period of its operations in such country, to retain title to all motor transport equipment supplied by the Administration, and will also be permitted to route such equipment and to direct the use of the fuel and lubricants supplied by the Administration.

"(5) That the press of such country will be permitted to publish all statements, relating to the operations of the Administration in such country, made by the administrative head of the Administration's mission in such country;

and, furthermore, that no part of the appropriation shall be used to provide any relief and rehabilitation supplies to be shipped to the receiving countries in Europe later than December 1, 1946, or to the receiving countries in the Far East later than March 1, 1947."

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SADOWSKI].

(Mr. SADOWSKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, I want to use this time particularly to answer some of the false and untrue statements that have been made about UNRRA and its aid to Poland. About 2 weeks ago Senator JAMES MEAD, of New York, and I spent several hours with the Vice Premier of Poland, Mr. Mikolajczyk, who was here in Washington en route to Poland after attending the Food Conference in Canada. Undoubtedly the Polish Nation and the Polish people have suffered more terribly, I believe, than any other nation or people on the face of the earth. The information that we received was so appalling, so disheartening, so distressing that it is hard to repeat. Amongst other things, he said to us this: "If you walk along the streets of Poland and ask a person whom you meet on the street, 'Have you lost anyone in your immediate family, a brother or father, sister or mother?' they say, 'Yes; one, two, three.' Ninety-nine out of a hundred people you meet on the streets of Poland will give you that answer. That is, ninety-nine out of a hundred people you meet on the streets have suffered the loss of someone in their immediate family."

Another thing which was hard for me to understand and realize about the terrible situation there was that here in America we know that our Nation is built upon the family life. We have the head of the family, the mother and the father, to look after the children, to see that the family is taken care of. The family responsibility is headed by a mother and father. We know that the foundation of our Nation is built upon that. I think we are accustomed to thinking in those terms for the world.

He said to us this: "Congressman, one-third of the families of Poland have no head at all. That is, both father and mother are dead." Both father and mother. "One-third of all the families, the children, are left without a father or mother, to shift for themselves."

There is no one to look after these children; no one to be the head of the family; no one to look out after all those family responsibilities.

He said to us further: "Another one-third of all the families in Poland have only one head of the family. That is, either the father or the mother is dead."

In other words, two-thirds of all the families in Poland do not have the proper leadership at the head of the family unit to take care and look after the problems of the family.

He said: "Under those conditions, you see what we are faced with in this plan of reorganizing our Nation, and what terrible problems we have before us."

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SADOWSKI. I yield.

Mr. McCORMACK. I have here a very interesting news item which appeared in the New York Times of December 1, where Miss Katharine Lenroot, Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, a very efficient public official—her late father was a Member of the United States Senate—in relation to Poland says this:

> About 1,000,000 people, half of them in Warsaw, reported homeless. Although food and clothing are scarce, the lack of protection against cold is the greatest threat.

Now, mark what I read now. It is amazing.

> Confining it to the children—

There we come to the little youngsters, the future citizens—

> Little children, 1 child in 9 of Poland's 7,000,000 children, under 14 years of age, has lost both parents, and another one million have only one parent living.

Mr. SADOWSKI. That bears out substantially what we were told.

Six years of war have left Poland economically prostrate, with only the will and determination of her population and aid from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to start her back on the long road to rehabilitation.

Today thousands of Poland's 23,000,000 people are alive because of UNRRA. More thousands who will live to rebuild Poland—or die from hunger and starvation—are waiting breathlessly to hear that the United States Congress has made it possible for the life-giving supply line to continue to flow the long distances from the farms and factories of America to broken and war-torn Poland.

There has never been any doubt of Poland's desperate need for UNRRA supplies. An appeal for aid—and UNRRA preparations to meet it—occurred months before January 17, 1945, the day Warsaw was liberated. Because of UNRRA's preparations to meet this appeal, the first ship carrying UNRRA supplies to Poland actually left New York Harbor months before the UNRRA-Polish agreement was signed.

The UNRRA-Polish agreement, similar to UNRRA agreements with other countries, and the basis under which UNRRA operations in Poland are carried on, was signed by UNRRA and the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in September 1945. Consequently UNRRA's major operations in Poland have really just begun.

From March 12, however, the day when the first UNRRA supplies for Poland left New York Harbor for Constanza, until December 1, 1945, UNRRA supplies shipped to Poland had reached a total of more than 307,000 gross long tons costing around $164,000,000. Much of this represents tonnage shipped under all the difficulties of wartime operations and is only the beginning of a rapidly accelerating pipe line. Three hundred and seven thousands tons of UNRRA supplies already shipped to Poland represent a magnificent achievement in overcoming war and post-liberation difficulties. Until very recently—in fact, it was September 5 when the first UNRRA ship reached the Polish port of Gdansk—all supplies destined for Poland had to go via the Rumanian port of Constanza and to be transshipped by rail. Poland was liberated from the east, and the Polish ports of Gdynia and Gdansk on the Baltic were not freed until the very last days of the war. The mines that infested the North and Baltic Seas were so plentiful that no shipping of any kind via Baltic ports was permitted by the military until the waters had been mine-swept and certified as safe. Then the urgency of military needs for the ports prevented nonmilitary shipments for a time. Not until August 14 could the first UNRRA cargo leave New York Harbor for a Polish port. It reached Gdansk on September 5.

Food supplies for Poland's hungry millions stand high in UNRRA's shipments. The German Army, not content simply to loot Poland's food supply, destroyed her capacity for food production, and food is the No. 1 need that UNRRA is seeking to supply. More than half of the 307,000 tons that UNRRA has shipped is food—flour, canned fish, lard, dried peas and beans, and sugar.

For Poland's ravaged agricultural plant that is beginning to run again in the face of insurmountable difficulties, UNRRA has shipped more than 33,000 gross tons of agricultural rehabilitation materials, such as farm machinery, fertilizers, seed, and veterinarian supplies. By mid-October 3,300 tractors had arrived. Regular shipments of livestock are being made to help Poland replenish the herds so vital to an agricultural country. By early November Poland had received from UNRRA 300 horses and 700 head of horned cattle. The task of full rehabilitation of Poland's agriculture will take at least a generation of patient labor and care by the farmers of Poland, but the task has been well started with UNRRA supplies.

Tons of clothing are regularly going to Poland for a population that at best has only 20 percent of its minimum clothing needs. More than 75 percent of the adults and 85 percent of the children of Poland are without shoes. By the end of October UNRRA had shipped to Poland more than 27,000 tons of clothing, textiles, and hides in an effort to meet at least partially the desperate needs of the population before the coming winter. It had also shipped 3,030 tons of yarns and textiles, 16,000 tons of raw cotton, and 1,888 tons of raw wool. In addition to providing urgently needed garments, these raw materials will make it possible for the mills to start working once more.

One of the most terrifying problems facing Poland, and consequently facing all of Europe, is the health problem. Thousands of Polish people are dying monthly from tuberculosis, typhoid, malnutrition, and dysentery. These diseases are widespread and are taking rapid toll of a population already exhausted by 6 years of war. Malnutrition, lack of clothing, lack of shelter, and dead bodies still buried in the ruins of the cities are not helping the health problem. To meet these problems, UNRRA has been able to ship some 4,300 tons of medical supplies, and technical medical personnel with the UNRRA mission in Warsaw are working closely with the Polish Government. Ninety hospitals and convalescent institutions are promised by UNRRA for Poland. Quite aside from the fact

that the American people, because of humanitarian reasons, are unwilling to continue to let thousands of people in Poland die, the threat of epidemics beginning in Poland and spreading throughout Europe must give us pause. Epidemics raging throughout Europe may well reach the United States in spite of all possible precautions.

As important as any other item in the UNRRA supply program are the trucks which UNRRA is racing into Poland for the distribution of supplies throughout the country; trucks, just as much as the food and medical supplies they carry, mean the difference between life and death to a war-ravaged population. Poland will have to have about 60,000 trucks in order to get some sort of effective internal transportation since railway transportation was completely destroyed by the invading armies. UNRRA expects to be able to make available to Poland about 20,000 trucks and 3,000 trailers. From the western hemisphere alone more than 6,500 motor vehicles have been shipped to Poland and by mid-October, 4,000 trucks had arrived. UNRRA is rushing into Poland hundreds of trucks every week. Many of these are from Allied army surpluses.

Seventy-five locomotives from United States military surpluses in Belgium have already been delivered to Poland and 59 new ones are being produced in the United Kingdom. UNRRA is also attempting to procure 4,000 freight cars.

As in other receiving countries, the major job of distribution of hundreds of thousands of tons of supplies in Poland is the responsibility of the Polish Government, not of UNRRA. The Polish Government normally takes title to UNRRA supplies at the port. It would be impossible for UNRRA to undertake large-scale distribution of relief supplies in any country except by employing thousands of people. Furthermore, by using normal trade channels, the economic structure of the country and its regular channels of distribution remain unchanged.

In Poland actual distribution of consumers' goods supplied by UNRRA is undertaken by the Central Cooperative Federation "Spolem", acting as an agent of the Ministry of Supplies. The Ministry of Supplies, however, establishes consumers' rations, prices, and other techniques of equitable distribution. Medical supplies are distributed through the Ministry of Health and other special supplies, not going immediately to the final consumer, through other appropriate ministries. In all instances, UNRRA staff are free to travel and to observe distribution throughout the country to see that supplies are distributed without discrimination. After touring Radom, Krakow, Gliwice, Wroclaw, and Lodz, UNRRA staff reported that distribution was in complete conformity with the UNRRA Council resolutions pertaining to nondiscrimination. Priority in distribution is given to welfare and health institutions and to heavy workers. Furthermore, UNRRA staff in Poland also reports that there is widespread knowledge of UNRRA among the Polish people. All Polish papers give UNRRA frequent and favorable publicity. Packages shipped from UNRRA bear UNRRA markings and frequently the national labels of their country of origin.

There has been much loose talk about the composition of the UNRRA mission in Poland, with charges that the mission was under the domination of outside forces. I should like to clear the misunderstandings that exist in this area. As of November 29, the UNRRA mission in Poland actually consisted of 16 persons. The chief of that mission is Brig. Charles Mills Drury, a Canadian; the deputy chief for supply and requirements is an American, Clifford Wilson. He was the acting chief of the mission until Brigadier Drury's arrival. As of November 29, the chief agricultural specialist, chief medical officer, chief observer for distribution and head of the industrial rehabilitation unit of the mission were all American citizens. As a matter of fact, out of the 16 persons on the UNRRA staff, 8 were American, 2 Canadian, 5 were British, and there was 1 Soviet citizen appointed in charge of the transportation function in the mission.

As of the same day there were en route to the mission in Poland an additional 6 persons, 5 of whom were American and 1 of whom was a Britisher. Again as of the same day there were in process of appointment to the Polish Mission in Washington 10 additional American citizens, most of whom will depart within the next week or two and who will act as distribution observers. Some of these are Detroiters, well known and prominent citizens of our city. Moreover, UNRRA has appointed an American as chief public relations officer.

The major functions of the mission will be to help the Polish Government develop its requirements for supplies, to advise on specialized health and welfare problems, and to observe the distribution of UNRRA supplies in order to insure the United States and other contributing governments that international supplies are being distributed without regard to racial or political discrimination. I have personal knowledge of the conscientious effort that UNRRA is making to secure competent observers for its Polish mission. Several of the United States members of the staff, who will act in this capacity, are members of Polish-American families with a deep and lasting understanding of Poland's needs and of the desire of all Polish-Americans to keep flowing a pipe line of supplies so vital to the rehabilitation of a brave and courageous people. Every one of the observers, American citizens, are veterans of World War I or World War II, or both. They are fine Americans, anxious to do a good job and promote better understanding between America and Poland.

I should like to conclude by saying a few words about the status of private American agencies in Poland. Here, too, there has been much misinformation. All Americans interested in Poland will be happy to know that on Saturday the Polish War Relief Association's mission, headed by Bishop Stephen Woznicki, of Detroit, left for Poland, where it will discuss with Polish Government officials arrangements for immediate operations in that country. UNRRA has done everything possible to facilitate the departure of this mission and to assure it success. At the present moment Fathers Swanstrom and Wycislo, representatives of the National Catholic Welfare Council are in Warsaw for the same purpose and for some time the joint distribution committee has a representation in the country. These organizations will retain their identity and operate according to plans mutually agreed upon by the societies and the Polish Government, with UNRRA acting as a coordinating unit in order to prevent waste of supplies, manpower, or money.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SADOWSKI. I yield.

Mrs. BOLTON. The gentleman spoke of shipments to Constanza. Does the gentleman know whether those shipments have been delivered in Poland? I may have missed it in the gentleman's statement. Have they reached Poland from Constanza?

Mr. SADOWSKI. Yes; Poland did receive them. I have verified that because I have been very deeply interested in knowing the true facts about it. Poland has received those supplies.

Mrs. BOLTON. I know Yugoslavia has had very great difficulty in getting supplies from Constanza up to Yugoslavia and I was interested in knowing whether Poland was experiencing the same difficulty.

Mr. SADOWSKI. The supplies that came through Constanza were very small indeed. Poland received very little in tonnage from Constanza. Most of the 307,000 tons so far received have come through the Baltic ports.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HUBER].

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Chairman, we have heard a great deal about the desire of the American people to share their abundance with the ragged and starving millions in Europe and Asia. I have received many letters from constituents offering to contribute ration points or to continue rationing, if that would release more food.

The recent Gallup poll revealed that 85 percent of the American people answered "Yes" to the question, "Should we help feed Europe and Asia?" What outlets have we given this generous American impulse?

Private organizations are characteristic of our national life. The great bulk of our citizens belong to at least one religious institution or agency concerned with the welfare of others. Everyone in this House has probably contributed to overseas relief through one of these organizations. Yet, the physical devastation and human suffering left in the wake of this war is so vast that no one voluntary agency or group of agencies has sufficient resources to do more than peck at the outer fringes of the problem. They have a special contribution to make, however, inside the framework of an over-all intergovernmental organization which is prepared to make use of various abilities and resources. UNRRA is that intergovernmental agency.

From its inception, UNRRA has recognized the importance of these private relief groups to supplement large-scale relief with additional and specialized services. The following policy was established at the Atlantic City Conference:

UNRRA will welcome the efforts of foreign voluntary organizations to provide at their own expense and subject to the regulation of the Director General, relief, welfare, and health services in addition to the services provided by UNRRA so long as the following conditions are observed:

(a) The services which voluntary organizations are operating under their own responsibility should not prejudice any services provided by a government or by UNRRA itself;

(b) The services operated by voluntary organizations should not draw on any local resources which could, in the opinion of UNRRA, be better used to meet other emergency needs;

(c) UNRRA must be satisfied as to the general competence, health, and personal character of the people who are employed by the voluntary organizations for relief and welfare work;

(d) Foreign voluntary organizations will be expected to help indigenous organizations and agencies to assume responsibility for relief and welfare services in their own area at the earliest possible opportunity.

Over 50 voluntary agencies of national character are operating in Europe and Asia. Twenty United States organizations are actively associated with UNRRA in the countries it serves. In general, this assistance takes one of the following forms:

First. The loan of skilled and professionally trained personnel to UNRRA.

Second. The conduct of planned programs of relief and rehabilitation supplementary to the basic program of UNRRA.

Third. The contribution of supplies to UNRRA or, with the assistance of UNRRA, to an agency or institution in the country for distribution to the people.

LOAN OF PERSONNEL TO UNRRA

UNRRA's first request for assistance to war victims occurred in 1944 at the height of the European military campaign. Fifteen United States voluntary agencies helped meet the shortage of trained personnel by placing their own experienced foreign-relief workers at the disposal of UNRRA.

Under a mutually adopted program of cooperation, voluntary agencies paid the salaries of more than 100 of these workers. UNRRA provided their transportation and maintenance and assumed responsibility for their supervision.

Since the end of the war, most of these agencies have been developing their own supplementary relief and rehabilitation projects and need their own personnel for these specialized services.

UNRRA is releasing these loaned workers as fast as they can be replaced by UNRRA employees. Their services have been of incalculable value.

SUPPLEMENTARY PROJECTS

When a voluntary agency or an UNRRA mission finds a job which can be appropriately handled by a private group, that private group submits its plans of operation to UNRRA and the national government involved. Once that plan is approved, UNRRA assists the agency by facilitating the movement of personnel, providing aid in the shipment of supplies, and making necessary arrangements with governments and indigenous agencies and institutions in the countries where the operation is to take place. UNRRA extends to the personnel of voluntary agencies working on approved supplementary projects, access to congregate mess and billeting facilities, basic rations, and mission stores. For these services UNRRA is normally reimbursed by the voluntary agency personnel or by the agencies. Accessibility to these UNRRA facilities is a very considerable convenience to the agencies and greatly enhances the effectiveness of their work.

I wish I could tell you what each of the individual organizations is doing in these countries, but the limitation of time will only permit me to describe a few.

EXAMPLES OF THIS HUMANE ACTIVITY

First. In Greece, where hunger and privation have hit the children most desperately, the Near East Foundation has established 16 special feeding and health centers. These centers provide medical care and supplement the regular government ration distribution by special foods required by subnormal children. Children remain an average of 3 months. As rapidly as they reach a satisfactory state of recovery, they are replaced by others.

Second. The Unitarian Service Committee and the Congregational Christian Service Committee, in collaberation with UNRRA, operate a medical nutritional project in Italy. This project determines nutritional and associated medical needs in selected areas through a carefully supervised experimental feeding program with individuals who have suffered prolonged starvation; and assists local medical groups to apply this knowledge to their rehabilitation problems.

Third. In all of the war-devastated countries, livestock has been greatly depleted, yet milk is needed more than ever before to offset rising tuberculosis, particularly among children. The Church of the Brethren, the Falls Cities Cooperative Milk Producers Association of Louisville, Ky., and other individuals have donated more than 200 cattle to replenish diminishing stock. One hundred and fifty Holstein heifers were shipped to Poland to supply milk for hospitals and nursing homes. Bulls were brought into Greece for an artificial insemination project. The groups contributing these valuable animals say "We are anxious that our cattle serve as a testimony of our good will and friendship for the people of Europe whose homes in many cases have been destroyed by our own bombs. These cattle will be the best ambassadors of good will this country can send to the people who know the horrors of war and starvation."

Fourth. Nine voluntary agencies are performing important services to the displaced persons in Germany under an agreement reached last May by SHAEF and UNRRA. The work of these agencies is primarily in the fields of welfare and morale services—education and vocational training, recreation, religion—and the distribution of supplies provided by the agencies incident to these programs. Specialized case work and resettlement services are offered by some of the agencies.

I would like to quote a cable received this week from the government of one of these countries:

Had we not been able to call on the services of these individuals throughout these past months, we should have been severely handicapped and unable to carry out many of our most important functions.

CONCLUSION

These all too brief examples of the effective operation of voluntary agencies in cooperation with UNRRA answer the plea of Americans to help their neighbors overseas.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. ROBERTSON].

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, at this late hour I assure you I shall be very brief in my remarks. I feel, however, that I would fail in my responsibility to this body if I did not take this opportunity to report to you my own practical experiences during a period of 5 weeks in the countries of Europe this late summer almost exclusively in the interest of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation. I recognize, as do all of you, that in the organization of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation it came at a time when the question of drafting the best in personnel was difficult. I recognize by my observations and I recognize by what has been transpiring since my return that there did occur some very great errors. I recognize, too, that the errors are being corrected. I appreciate the magnitude of this institution. An institution of such magnitude can rightfully be charged with errors. Outside of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER], I think we made as comprehensive a study of this great problem as any one who left this Congress for that purpose. We met the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] on several occasions and I can assure you he speaks with genuine authority when he discusses this question with you.

The amendment that he proposed when we had before us the appropriation of $550,000,000 and the amendment he proposes to offer I am heartily in accord with. It was my privilege to be in the same room with this gentleman in London when he presented these amendments to Commander Jackson, one of the most accomplished gentlemen in the service of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization and they were all approved in my presence.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. Did I understand the gentleman to say that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] presented the amendments he read here today to that council?

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. We discussed them in London in the presence of Commander Jackson, one of the most accomplished men on the staff of this organization.

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Legislative Reports and Service Section

79th-1st, No. 216

DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

(Issued December 7, 1945, for actions of Thursday, December 6, 1945)

(For staff of Department only)

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HIGHLIGHTS: House passed UNRRA-authorization bill. House Rules Committee cleared the full-employment bill. President approved the corporation-control bill. Rep. Phillips criticized OPA's citrus-fruit-price policy. Sens. Downey and Hickenloper discussed comparisons of Federal salaries and farm and other incomes.

HOUSE

1. UNRRA AUTHORIZATION. Passed, 327-39, with amendments H.R. 4649, to increase appropriation authorization for UNRRA from $1,350,000,000 to $2,700,000,000 (pp. 11746-74). Agreed to Rep. Herter's (Mass.) amendments favoring action to persuade recipients of UNRRA aid to agree to various matters, including publication of their trade and barter agreements, and providing for a "free press" policy (pp. 11750-70).

2. MONOPOLIES; CREDIT UNIONS; COOPERATIVES. Rep. Voorhis, Calif., spoke on "A New Economy," criticizing monopolies, describing credit unions, and commending farmers' cooperatives (pp. 11775-9).

3. CITRUS-FRUIT PRICES. Rep. Phillips, Calif., criticized OPA's citrus-fruit-price policies, and claimed that OPA figures are not "reliable" (pp. 11781-2).

4. FULL-EMPLOYMENT BILL. The Rules Committee reported a resolution for consideration of S. 380, the full-employment bill (p. 11784).

5. PRICE CONTROL. Rep. Ramey, Ohio, criticized propaganda urging Congress to support continuation of OPA's price control program (pp. 11782-3).

SENATE

6. FEDERAL PAY BILL. Sens. Downey, Calif., and Hickenloper, Iowa, discussed S.1415, the Federal-pay bill, comparing Federal salaries with the cost-of-living and with farm and other incomes (pp. 11739-42).

7. FARM PROGRAM. Sen. Austin, Vt., inserted Vt. Farm Bureau resolutions favoring

the St. Lawrence Seaway project, additional soil-conservation districts, subsidy payments on farm products, revision of parity formula on dairy and poultry products, full use of credit unions, and development of cooperatives (p.11708).

8. NOMINATION. The Banking and Currency Committee reported favorably the nomination of Maple T. Harl to be a member of the FCIC Board of Directors (p. 11743).

9. RUBBER. Sen. Langer, N.Dak., inserted a Bottineau County (N.Dak.) Farmers' Union resolution opposing exportation of tires (p. 11708).

10. RECLAMATION. Sen. Langer, N.Dak., inserted a N.Dak. Water Conservation Commission resolution recommending changes in operating levels of the Garrison Dam (p.11708).

11. FOREIGN LOANS. Sen. Moore, Okla., urged liquidation of RFC loans to Britain before additional loans are made (pp. 11714-6).

BILL INTRODUCED

12. PERSONNEL; RETIREMENT. H.Res. 447, by Rep. Ramspeck, Ga., providing for the consideration of H.R.4199, to extend the existing contributory system of retirement benefits to elective officers and heads of executive departments. To Rules Committee. (p. 11784.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

13. FARM PROGRAM. Rep. LeCompte, Iowa, inserted Union County(Iowa) Farm Bureau resolutions favoring appropriations for secondary roads, weed control, State supervision of inspection of institutions serving farmers, rural electrification, appropriations sufficient to carry out REA programs, continuation of Federal farm programs, and extension work in rural communities (pp. A5712-3).

14. HOUSING. Rep. Biemiller, Wis., inserted Price Administrator Bowles' statement supporting H.R. 4761, by Rep. Patman, to check inflation on housing costs (pp. A5709-11).

Rep. Lane, Mass., inserted a Mass. Federation of Labor's resolution favoring the Wagner-Ellender housing bill, H. 1592 (p. A5719).

Rep. Biemiller, Wis., inserted Milwaukee and Racine city council resolutions favoring S. 1592, the housing bill (pp. A5723-4).

15. FULL-EMPLOYMENT BILL. Rep. Judd, Minn., inserted W.J. Brons' Chicago Journal of Commerce article criticizing the "errors in Government unemployment predictions" and opposing the full-employment bill (p. A5711).

16. TRANSPORTATION. Rep. White, Idaho, inserted W. J. Hynes' (Boise, Idaho) letter favoring the Bulwinkle bill, H.R. 2536, to provide for approval of agreements between carriers (p. A5712).

17. HEALTH. Rep. Miller, Nebr., inserted an American Medical Assn. Journal editorial which "points out...fallacies" in the Murray-Wagner-Dingell health bills (pp. A5714-6).

18. FOREIGN RELIEF. Rep. Murphy, Pa., inserted Walter Lippmann's Washington Post article criticizing delay on the UNRRA-appropriation bill (p. A5718).

Rep. Smith, Maine, inserted Katharine F. Lenroot's (Children's Bureau, Labor Dept.) statement on foreign relief for children (pp. A5720-1).

Extension os remarks of Rep. Reed, N.Y., including a Washington Times-Herald article criticizing UNRRA administration (p. A5724).

Extension of remarks of Rep. Trimble, Ark., commending UNRRA programs (p.A5731)

Mr. O'NEAL. I thank the gentlewoman very much.

I renew my request, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this is a proposal to allow $400,000 for the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. O'NEAL. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. PATMAN. I have no objection to it. I merely wanted to invite the gentleman's attention to the fact that a large part of that money will go to the Senate Small Business Committee. They are doing fine work, and they are properly spending money on the basis of about $200,000 a year, whereas a similar committee on the House side set up originally on the statement that it would cost about $100,000 a year, has operated on less than half that, as the Committee on Accounts can verify, and now an attempt is being made to cut it even further. I just want to express the hope that the House will be as considerate and solicitous of the welfare of small business as the Senate has always been.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I regret very much I was not here earlier but I was delayed on account of concluding a hearing of the Committee on Rules. Is this a bill providing funds for certain Senate committees?

Mr. O'NEAL. It is for the Senate alone. The Senate passed this resolution yesterday.

Mr. SABATH. Why not amend the resolution and insert an amount for the Small Business Committee of the House?

Mr. O'NEAL. I hardly think that would be a proper procedure at this time. The Senate passed this bill to meet an emergency. They need the money to meet their pay roll.

Mr. SABATH. It would not take long to offer that amendment to provide a decent appropriation for the House committee. It has done a splendid job and it is entitled to a few additional dollars.

Mr. O'NEAL. I agree with the gentleman from Illinois, but we should not do that at this time.

(Mr. McCORMACK assumed the chair as Speaker pro tempore.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McCORMACK). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I want to say a word that I think should be said here and now. This is not a House resolution, it has nothing to do with the operations of the House, and if we are going to have comity between these two bodies, we must not have interference between the two bodies. The President of the United States in talking to a group of us one time said: "I always sign every bill that carries a contingent fund for either the House or Senate. Now I am asking for a little something to conduct my business down here."

Let us permit the Senate without argument to conduct its business and make its appropriations for its contingent fund as it has always permitted us to do.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I did not intend by my remarks to indicate that the House should interfere in any way with the wishes of the Senate or with Senate action; nevertheless, I am interested in seeing that the House committee shall not be deprived of the same rights and the same privileges and, to some extent, the same appropriations to carry on its work which I know has met with the approval of the entire Nation.

(The Speaker resumed the Chair.)

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

The Senate concurrent resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CORRECTION OF RECORD

Mr. RYTER. Mr. Speaker, during the Committee consideration of the bill having to do with an additional authorization for UNRRA, the third paragraph, on page 11696, contains remarks attributed to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HUBER]. As a matter of fact, those remarks were made by myself. I communicated this morning with the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HUBER] and he has no objection to the change. I ask unanimous consent that the RECORD be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LANE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include a letter, together with a resolution adopted by the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

Mr. BONNER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address by the Honorable O. Max Gardner, former Governor of North Carolina, before the Economic Club of New York City.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. DE LACY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow after disposition of business on the Speaker's desk and at the conclusion of any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

ADDITIONAL COPIES OF THE EIGHTH REPORT OF THE HOUSE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON POSTWAR ECONOMIC POLICY AND PLANNING

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, from the Committee on Printing, I report (Rept. No. 1335) a privileged resolution (H. Res. 445), and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That 4,000 additional copies of the eighth report (H. Rept. No. 1205), current session, entitled "Economic Reconstruction in Europe," of the House Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning, submitted pursuant to House Resolution 60, be printed for the use of said committee.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE CURRENT REVENUE ACT OF 1945

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, from the Committee on Printing, I report (Rept. No. 1336), a privileged concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 105), and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the manuscript prepared by Representative DANIEL A. REED, containing an analysis of the current Revenue Act of 1945 entitled "Questions and Answers on the Revenue Act of 1945," be printed as a House document; and that 42,000 additional copies shall be printed, of which 30,000 copies shall be for the House document room, 10,000 copies for the Senate document room, 1,000 copies for the use of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, and 1,000 copies for the use of the Committee on Finance of the Senate.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. PRICE of Illinois asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a newspaper article.

Mr. BURGIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a newspaper article.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day and following any special orders heretofore entered, the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. LUCE], be permitted to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that today following any special orders heretofore entered, the gentleman from California [Mr. PHILLIPS] be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday and Tuesday next, at the conclusion of the legislative programs of those days and following any special orders heretofore entered, I be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day and following any special orders heretofore entered, I be permitted to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day and following any special orders heretofore entered, I be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day and following any special orders heretofore entered, I be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. TRIMBLE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. CANFIELD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter and a statement from Mr. Donald W. McKone, judge advocate of the Merchant Marine Veterans' Association of the United States.

Mr. HOLMES of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a speech delivered on Saturday by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. KNUTSON].

Mr. BUCK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter.

Mr. HALLECK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a statement issued by the Senate and House Republicans.

Mr. SPRINGER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. REED of New York asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in four instances and to include letters and clippings.

Mr. PITTENGER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a magazine article and three different items of verse having to do with Christmas and the New Year.

Mr. LECOMPTE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a resolution by the Union County (Iowa) Farm Bureau.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article on socialized medicine.

Mrs. LUCE asked and was given permission to extend her remarks in the RECORD and include several editorials on the subject of Indonesia.

Mr. ARNOLD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a statement on the labor question.

Mr. TABER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a speech he delivered before the National Cooperative Milk Producers Federation.

Mr. BECKWORTH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to propound a question to the majority leader, if that is agreeable.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. COX. May I inquire of the majority leader if he expects to program for the coming week the co-called Hobbs bill, the antiracketeering bill, as it is commonly known, and the bill dealing with certain phases of the labor problem reported by the Committee on Military Affairs of the House?

Mr. McCORMACK. I had no intention of putting them on next week's program. However, as the gentleman and the House know, seven legislative days have transpired, and it is within the province of any member of the Committee on Rules to call them up. But if I am served with notice by a member of the Committee on Rules that they intend to do it then, of course, I will program them.

Mr. COX. It is with some reluctance that I say to the majority leader that the Committee on Rules having granted the rules for the consideration of these bills, I feel it my duty to the country to insist on calling them up.

Mr. McCORMACK. The gentleman from Georgia is of course acting within his rights under the rules of the House, and I appreciate the fact that the gentleman has served notice on me. In view of the fact that the gentleman as a member of the Committee on Rules desires to have these rules called up, seven legislative days having passed, and the additional fact that the gentleman has served notice on me that he intends to do that, which I again say I appreciate, I shall put them on the program for next week.

Mr. COX. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield, in order that I may ask a question of the majority leader?

Mr. COX. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. As I understand, the program now is that the Veterans' bill will follow the bill now on the floor?

Mr. McCORMACK. Absolutely.

Mr. RANKIN. Both of those bills will be disposed of today or tomorrow?

Mr. McCORMACK. The veterans' bill is the next order of business after the disposition of the UNRRA bill. I expect that we shall be able to take that up by tomorrow.

Mr. RANKIN. It will not take long to dispose of it.

Mr. McCORMACK. It is the next order of business, anyway.

Mr. RANKIN. If we get through with this bill in time, perhaps we can take up the veterans' bill today.

Mr. McCORMACK. If there is time; it is the next order of business.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BIEMILLER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances and include certain editorials and statements by Mr. Bowles.

Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD on four subjects and include certain statements and excerpts.

Mr. DICKSTEIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in three instances.

Mr. MURPHY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article by Walter Lippmann on UNRRA.

Mr. O'HARA asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include two letters, one from the Secretary of the Navy and one from a chaplain with 4 years service.

Mr. SCHWABE of Oklahoma asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a telegram.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. BIEMILLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day and following any special orders heretofore entered, I be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. GORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, following any special orders heretofore entered, I be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Tuesday next, at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day and following any special orders heretofore entered, I be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 4649, with Mr. SPARKMAN in the Chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, these are perilous days in which we live. The whole world is suffering from the effect and shock of a major operation, for war is like unto surgery in its most intensive and extensive form. The fighting period is comparable to the wielding of the surgeon's knife to eliminate some foreign substance or enemy of the body which must be removed if the patient is to live, but the days following the operation and the treatment of the patient in those critical days of recovery often determines whether the operation is a success and whether the patient shall live or die. The aftermath of war and the days immediately following the ending of hostilities are just as critical in the lives of nations as are days of convalescense in the lives of individuals who have undergone surgical operations. The greatest war in history has just been fought, but it is not ended. The fighting has ceased and our enemies have unconditionally surrendered but in the language of another "victory cannot be complete until it is finalized in the council chambers as well as on the battlefields of the world."

The peace treaty has not been signed or even written and no conference has been held to determine what its provisions shall be. Until all of this is done, it does not lie in the power of anyone to write finis to this war.

Too many of our people take no interest in war until the shooting starts, and far too many lose all interest when the shooting ends. If the American people would use the same aggressive spirit and display the same unity to prevent war as they do in winning it after it starts, there would be fewer wars; and if when the shooting stops we would remain militant and united until a treaty of peace can be adopted and the affairs of the world can be stabilized, in part, at least, the possibility of another war would be far more remote.

Slightly more than 3 months have passed since VJ-day, and yet we are beginning to make the same mistake we did at the end of the last war—the war is over; let us demobilize and forget it and go about our own business and solve the problems peculiar to America and let the rest of the world solve theirs. That was the spirit at the end of the last war and that is beginning to be the spirit of many now. Such a spirit and such an attitude endangers the peace of the world, both now and hereafter.

It will not help to preserve peace nor help to solve the problems to be settled at the peace conference to begin now calling our allies names, impugning their motives, and predicting a future war with them. It is right and proper that we should stand up for America and her rights and see that they are properly safeguarded and preserved at all times, but denunciation and name calling of our allies will not help to solve the difficult problems of peace that lie ahead.

With the advent of the atomic bomb and other modern weapons of destruction by which the heart of America could be made the battlefield from the very inception of war, it behooves us to think soberly, to plan wisely, and to act discreetly, fairly, and judiciously in our relations with all nations. Let us do nothing to cause any nation to lose faith in us or to doubt our pledged word. Let the world know that America will not run out on her allies and that she will finish every task which she begins.

The action of the Congress of the United States on the pending bill to further participate in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is fraught with importance, not only to the suffering and starving people whom it is designed to help, and thousands of whom will die if it is not passed, but failure of passage would be a staggering blow to world peace and world cooperation. I shudder to think what would be the effect on the world in its present chaotic condition if the news should be flashed that the United States, the richest and most powerful nation, the nation that initiated the creation of this great humanitarian organization, had severed its connection with the other 46 member nations and would make no further contributions.

Those of us living in the United States where no bombs have fallen, no cities have been destroyed, and no fighting has taken place cannot visualize or fathom the meaning of that term "the ravages of war" used by General Eisenhower. We cannot realize the plight of these countries where the battles have raged and whose people have endured the hardships and privations of war, in China for 8 years and in Europe for nearly 6 years. I have not seen China since the war, but I have visited Europe and it is impossible to describe the devastation and destruction wrought in many of the countries there. Many cities, both large and small, have been destroyed and laid waste, homes are gone and many people have no place of abode.

As to the critical need of help just now, I quote from General Eisenhower's testimony before the Foreign Affairs Committee on this bill:

> There are few places in Europe today where people are not cold, hungry, and apprehensive of the future. * * *
>
> I am fully confident that the people of Europe can recover from the grievous blows they have suffered if they can be helped through this period. However, if this bitter situation is not to become so disastrous as to make men wonder if it was worth while to have taken up arms against the Nazis, we in the United States—which is truly the land of plenty as compared to Europe—must be prepared to discharge a very heavy responsibility. We must, now, make our proportionate contribution to the relief of Europe in order to insure the permanence of our military victory.
>
> I have noted suggestions that the United States should discharge this responsibility single-handed. While such a method might prove to be efficient, time will not wait while we organize, as a new venture, the gigantic relief system which is required. The need for the services of an experienced and effective relief organization is immediate. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was established to do this specific job and it would be wasteful to dissipate its experience, trained personnel, and operating momentum. In its relief activities, UNRRA now has behind it that experimental period through which any relief organization must pass. It is already operating throughout much of Europe and I know from my own observation in Germany that it is operating with steadily increasing effectiveness.
>
> Moreover, UNRRA has been infused with new and vigorous leadership in whom I have the fullest confidence. The British have made available to UNRRA my former deputy chief of staff, General Morgan, and my former chief administrative officer, General Gale, who are now in active charge of UNRRA operations in the field. These men, typical of the new leadership, are experienced administrators of unquestionable competence and, I should like to add, of unquestionable integrity. They are two of the finest officers and soldiers it was within my privilege to serve with during this war.

I wish the entire membership of the House could understand the indescribable condition and need of this assistance. General Smuts of South Africa, who knows conditions in Europe said recently, "You see today a ruined Europe. If tomorrow you hear of suffering, disease, starvation, and death on a large scale, unknown before in times of peace, remember that that was in the first place the curse of Hitler and in the second place the dreadful responsibility of the German people who allowed such a monster to become their master."

Hitler said he would either win or destroy Europe and civilization. The allies prevented his winning and it is now up to us to see that his second threat—the destruction of Europe and civilization—is not fulfilled.

When recently in Europe, I saw in Italy, France, Belgium and Luxemburg thousands upon thousands of white crosses marking the last resting places of brave American boys who gave their lives that Hitler should not win and become the master of the world. Will we falter now when it takes only dollars to finish the job?

This Congress has appropriated billions of dollars to win this war. Will be hesitate now to authorize appropriations to save life and to save civilization? Let us pass this bill gladly, with no strings attached to it and no amendment that will deny to any needy persons the sustenance to keep them alive. Let the world know that America stands by its commitments and will cooperate with the other nations of the earth to restore civilization and preserve the peace of the world.

(Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, I should probably wait until later in the afternoon to make my remarks, but I want to get back to a meeting at 2 o'clock. However, I did not want to let this occasion pass without making a few remarks on the pending bill. I have just asked permission to have inserted at length in the RECORD the

remarks by Mr. Walter Lippmann in the papers of America today.

I should like at this time to read just a few excerpts from that statement by Mr. Lippmann. I quote from the Washington Post of Thursday, December 6, 1945, page 11, column 1:

A minority, chiefly but not entirely composed of Republicans, has been holding up the appropriations for UNRRA, alleging that American funds should not be used in any foreign country which does not give American newspaper correspondents full opportunity to report how the funds are used. Any experienced journalist who has worked in foreign countries will tell Congress that this method of promoting freedom of the press is a piece of plausible nonsense. It is one of those proposals which seem sensible enough when first they are looked at and quite senseless when they are looked into.

For it is a proposal to have American reporters perform the duties of American officials. It supposes that American newspapers have enough foreign correspondents to cover regularly and continuously the distribution of relief in all the cities of Greece, Poland, Yugoslavia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Italy, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Korea, Formosa, and China. It supposes that this army of American correspondents—which of course does not exist, which could not be recruited, which American newspapers could not afford to maintain, whose reports our papers would not have space to publish—that this army of newspapermen can make more accurate reports on the operation of relief than our Embassies and Legations and consulates, our military missions, and our intelligence services, not to say the Americans who serve in UNRRA itself.

I am now going to drop down a bit and quote the following from column 2:

It never was, and never could be, the function of the press to be inspector, accountant, auditor, detective of a widespread, complicated operation like the administration of relief in some 13 or 14 foreign countries. These gentlemen in Congress may think they are paying a compliment to the press, but in fact they are trying to burden the press with a responsibility which it cannot discharge.

Then, again, going to the bottom of the column:

If the best of our editors and correspondents do not want to have helpless and destitute people suffer and die in order that they may get access to the rigidly censored countries it is not because they need any instructions—

I am leaving out a few words because of the rules of the House—

about the importance of freedom of the press. It is because they do not wish to strike foul blows for their principles, and that they do not think it wise or decent to submerge the principles of liberty, which are meant to give life and hope to mankind, in a morass of misery and disease and death.

Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that the distinguished Senator from Michigan has given his talk on the floor of the Senate, in view of the fact that the Senate of the United States has by voice vote adopted the $550,000,000 appropriation, in view of the fact that the overwhelming abundance of evidence before the Foreign Affairs Committee of this House was in favor of this bill without the adoption of the gag, so-called free-press amendment, I hope this House will forget politics, alleviate human suffering, and pass this bill without hamstringing it with such an amendment.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

Mr. Chairman, I listened with a great deal of interest to the gentleman from Texas as he made his remarks a few moments ago, and the great feeling of tenderness he has as a friend of these nations of the world. And then I wonder if he is one of those tender-hearted, pious, pitiable persons whose good will for other peoples of the earth supersedes his own desire to help the people of the United States of America. I am sure we have those here in this country of ours, and I believe they exist in this Congress. The gentleman from Texas referred to the fact, also, that if we did not make this appropriation the nations of the world will lose faith in us.

Mr. Chairman, I question very much whether we should get mixed up in the internal affairs of all the nations of the world. As far as I am concerned, it seems to me that we are meddling too much now in the form of government that each one of these nations has, both large and small. I do not want foreigners to run our country, and by that same token I do not think we should run their affairs.

We have people from foreign nations coming over here trying to make this country communistic. I do not believe in that sort of thing. I want them to go back to their own countries, stay there, and attend to their own business. There are a lot of people in these foreign nations who are not going to welcome our meddling in their business. I want to be very careful, therefore, that through this appropriation of $1,350,000,000 we are not sticking our nose into some other country's business. We should be very careful what we do.

When it comes to relief, there are a lot of things we ought to do to help the poor and starving peoples of the world. But are we doing it in the right way by passing this appropriation bill? I do not think we are. Let me make some suggestions.

Every day there comes to my office circulars from the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture advising of surplus property that the Army previously purchased for their use and which is now for sale to the general public. This morning there came in a request for bids on 250,000 pounds or more of dried whole eggs. Not many of the people in this country use dried eggs when they can get fresh eggs. Those were bought for Army use. Why not let the people of these foreign countries have those dried eggs? Last week I got a circular from the Department stating it had many thousands of pounds of dried milk. Why not give the dried milk to the people of the foreign countries? We can use fresh milk. I have here another circular from the Department of Agriculture saying that it had a great deal of Vienna sausage for sale. Why not send that sausage over to Vienna? It was bought for the Army. It is good food.

Mr. Chairman, we have tons and tons of surplus foodstuffs, as well as tons of rationed food that was bought for the Army. That food should be good for those people over there to sustain life if it was good enough for our Army. Certainly it should be good enough for those people over there now who are in need. Why sell all this foodstuff at a fraction of what it cost the Federal Government when we could dispose of it by giving it to the people who are needy in foreign countries to alleviate their hunger and sustain life?

Let me cite one other item which I know something about. I refer to blankets. There were made for the Army over 80,000,000 blankets. They took an inventory the other day and they find they have over 40,000,000 blankets on inventory and the war is over. The Army requested the industry to manufacture nothing but blankets during the months of July and August up to the middle of September. They would not allow them to make a thing for the civilians of this country. They said, "You must make nothing but blankets." Now the Army has 42,000,000 blankets lying on our shelves. Why not give those blankets to these people over there if they are freezing to death?

There are also millions of pounds of other materials that were obtained for the Army and Navy—food and clothing. Why not give those people some more thread, thimbles, and needles, and let them sew garments from this cloth to their own fit and form? Let us turn this over to the Red Cross, let the Red Cross handle it, and we will do a whole lot better job. You will take care of the starving in the way we always have done it before the UNRRA was born of the New Deal. You will take care of them efficiently. You will care for their needs economically, and you will stop the graft and inefficiency that has been reported by UNRRA. You can save millions of dollars for the Treasury. You can feed the starving and stop the graft and inefficiency. Oh, I am for charity and the starving, but I want to do so wisely and carefully, as well as judiciously, thinking of America at the same time.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. BURGIN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, my views on this matter have already been expressed. My constituency is composed of about 340,000 people, and I think I voice the sentiments of the majority of the people of my district when I support this legislation. The American people have always responded to the cry of hunger and privation, and if there ever was a time and if there ever was a place in the history of the world when such a cry should be heeded, it is now. I have supported every piece of legislation that has been offered in this House toward the winning of the war. We have appropriated billions of dollars, and I think I have done my duty by supporting that legislation. Next to that I think that the legislation now before us, which is not an appropriation but an authorization for suffering humanity is of paramount importance. The cry has come to us from all of these war-ravaged countries for help. We should respond in the American way. We have always responded. This is as much an American way as free enterprise and free speech.

There has never been a cry that has come to our citizens for help but what it has been met, and I feel perfectly justified in supporting this legislation.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURGIN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. Does not the gentleman believe we would do a better job in taking care of those people if we did it through the Red Cross the way we have always handled relief measures in foreign countries, rather than coming in here now making appropriations and having a set-up of one of the most extravagant organizations and one of the most extravagant administrations that this country has ever known?

Mr. BURGIN. I am glad the gentleman asked that question. I have just received a letter, and I will ask permission to include it in the extension of my remarks, from the Director of the Red Cross, and he says they are not equipped to handle this. This is his opinion.

Mr. RICH. Let us equip them then to handle it, because they will do a better job and do it in a way that will be more satisfactory not only to ourselves but to the people of those foreign countries. Certainly more efficiently and economically.

Mr. BURGIN. Those who know, such as General Eisenhower, and I consider him tops along that line, state that the Army cannot do it and that this organization could not be displaced by another one.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURGIN. I yield to the gentlewoman from Illinois.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Is it not true that the International Red Cross does not refer to an operating agency? The International Red Cross consists of a group of agencies including the International Red Cross Committee, the International Red Cross Conference, and the League of Red Cross Societies. None of these agencies is equipped to do this particular job. The league is simply an association of national Red Cross societies united for the purpose of mutual assistance and cooperation. None of those groups has such a set-up. They are different councils of the Red Cross. You would have to start drafting an entirely new set-up.

Mr. RICH. Has not this country for the past number of years given relief through that organization? As long as I can remember, and I am a good deal older than the gentlewoman, we have always, through the Red Cross, given relief to and in foreign countries.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Does the gentleman mean the American Red Cross?

Mr. RICH. Yes. The American Red Cross, which has formerly handled our relief.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. That is solely an American agency, and we would have to foot the entire bill.

Mr. BURGIN. I thank the gentle lady. May I read the letter I received from the American Red Cross, signed by its chairman?

> I may say that the American Red Cross is not equipped to do the work that is proposed to be done through UNRRA.

There is no doubt about that. Of course, it will take considerable time to set up another agency. General Eisenhower said he was convinced this could not be done in time. Of course, there have been mistakes made and we have emphasized those mistakes. This is not the only organization that has made mistakes. But the time is short. The cry for help is great. I hope to meet St. Peter someday, and I do not want to see him hold up an emaciated child staring me in the face and accusing me of not helping when we had the opportunity.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MURPHY] referred to an article by Walter Lippmann appearing in the Washington Post this morning. In that article Mr. Lippmann also says:

> Great Britain has fulfilled her pledge; we have not.

And further on—

> The delay is a scandal and a dishonor. Already, for lack of funds Congress had promised it, UNRRA has had to cancel orders for medicines, clothing, shoes, seeds, plows, and material to provide emergency shelters.

If Mr. Lippmann had been apprised of the real facts, he would not have written anything of that kind. I like to read Mr. Lippmann, but, in this article, I say that the facts are being concealed from him, so it is not his fault at all.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] replied to my remarks yesterday in which I tried to bring that out. The gentleman from Pennsylvania is a very valuable member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. He is very thorough and incisive in his fact finding before he legislates. Therefore, I take the greatest satisfaction in saying that it is because they have been carefully concealed that the facts are not apparent to him and are not coming out to the public. The gentleman from Pennsylvania, apparently unknowingly, stated in one sentence the facts as they really are. He said:

> 1. Spent for supplies, mission operating expenses, displaced-persons operations, and administration management, $183,000.
>
> 2. Obligated for supplies for delivery in November and December, $122,000,000.
>
> 3. The balance of $180,000,000, consisting chiefly of sterling from the United Kingdom contribution, will be spent for commodities in Great Britain.

That is what I said yesterday. What does that mean? That one sentence, in paragraph 3, states the fact. Great Britain contributed $319,000,000 to the fund. One hundred and eighty million dollars of that we know is sterling, and it was sterling all the time. The balance of the $319,000,000 may have been something else, but this $180,000,000 is still sterling.

When UNRRA came to ship goods to Europe, it could not use that sterling. And yet this constituted over 59 percent of the United Kingdom subscription. That sentence states that it will be spent in the United Kingdom. The gentleman further quoted that "commodities which can be bought with sterling is extremely limited." In other words, they are not to be had in the United Kingdom. Britain is in default. I said yesterday I did not blame Britain, because she could not do it, but the point is, they use $180,000,000 of our money to make up for Britain's deficiency, as I showed by the facts yesterday, and then claim we are in default. That is why I said their books are entirely out of balance. They are $180,000,000 out of balance. They show that Britain still has $180,000,000. It will have it until doomsday if it remains sterling. And this $180,000,000 sterling represents 37 percent of all contributions by countries other than the United States. It might as well consist of wooden nickels as far as getting needed commodities for hungry people.

That is why, Mr. Chairman, our spending, which should be in the ratio of 3 to 1, was upped, as I said yesterday, to 4 to 1, when they came to this sterling as shown in the accounting. We were buying these commodities for the United Kingdom and we are furnishing the money that Britain did not spend. Then, in the statement that I placed in the RECORD, they say that we are in default, we have a deficit. As I say, I think we should have the real facts.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. Is it not a fact that this money that is in England today, about which the gentleman is speaking, can be used at any time if called upon by UNRRA for goods the British Government can supply? It can be used at any time, it does not make a particle of difference whether it is today or tomorrow. The money is there to be used by UNRRA.

Mr. JONKMAN. If the time ever comes that the United Kingdom has anything we want.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. JONKMAN. And it has not. As I explained yesterday, Great Britain was not self-supporting before the war. It supported itself only 40 percent in the way of food. In Europe they do not need sterling, they need food.

Mr. BLOOM. They need other things, coal, or anything that England has. I do not think the gentleman wants to leave the impression that this money is lying over there and is not going to be used by UNRRA if it finds we can get goods England has that we can use. That is what it is for.

Mr. JONKMAN. But as I just said the quotation which the gentleman from Pennsylvania uses as his authority says in effect, that the United Kingdom has none of those commodities. England should have exchange to buy the goods, and she does not have it.

Mr. BLOOM. Is she going to give dollars?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, yesterday I also had the pleasure of following my distinguished colleague who I assured the

House was a credit to both the State of Michigan and Wisconsin. On this question of Britain's contribution or Britain's failure to contribute: now, if my friend from Michigan has as his purposes only pointing out to the Committee today that he disagrees with the methods of bookkeeping of UNRRA and that he does not like the statistical methods and the way they make charts down there, then, of course, I have no disagreement with him. That is a matter of opinion, and as a former distinguished auditor and accountant I am not going to debate that point with him.

But if he suggests that that is any argument, interesting as it may be and academic as it is, if it is any argument against UNRRA and the purposes of UNRRA, then, of course, to my amazement the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN] and I are in vital disagreement. I am sure the gentleman does not mean there is any deep-dyed, dark conspiracy between the Budget Bureau of the State Department and the fiscal officers of UNRRA to hide or conceal anything or to color anything in behalf of Great Britain. As I said before, my ancestors on both sides of the family would probably turn over in their graves if they heard me defending Great Britain about anything. But I have a great admiration for the character and bravery of Britain and its people, and I say there is no indication in these statements or hearings where any such thing has taken place. On the contrary, here is a statement read by Governor Lehman in which he says exactly what the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN] stated. There is no concealing of anything.

The balance of $180,000,000 consisting chiefly of sterling from the United Kingdom contribution, that remains unpaid.

There has never been any doubt about it. Nobody ever said it was paid. There is no conspiracy. There is no hiding of any statement. The UNRRA fiscal officers themselves are the source of the information that the gentleman from Michigan presented to the House. How can that possibly be construed as fraud, conceit, or duplicity? There is no element of it in any way. On the contrary, I say to the committee today that we do not want the United States of America to become at this last minute the insistor upon the last blood dollar to be extracted from our allies in dollars and cents, and I am sure the gentleman from Michigan does not want that any more than I do. The gentleman from Michigan will vote for this bill today just as I will.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JONKMAN. I said that yesterday. I said yesterday that they probably cannot pay, but that is no reason that we should say the United States is in default and that Great Britain is in balance. I object to that.

Mr. FLOOD. I reply to my friend in this wise: Nobody ever denied that the United States was in default. Of course, we were in default until the Senate and the House passed the $500,000,000 bill. The Senate did so the day before yesterday and, of course, the President will sign the bill. So to all intents and purposes, the United States of America, as I stand here this afternoon, is not in default. Let us understand that. The statement I have here before me, before this action was taken, of course, stated that the United States was in default. And we were in default. Nobody ever said Great Britain was not in default. I simply say this: If these charts and of course the gentleman from Michigan understands that there are traditional statements about statistics—there are various kinds of liars and there are various kinds of statistics—I understand that very well—I say if he disagrees about the method of setting these things up, then I have no quarrel with him. But there is no attempt on the part of UNRRA to hide anything from the Congress or the people at any time.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. If course, I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Lehman must act on the way that things are set up. That is my objection.

Mr. FLOOD. I am presenting to you the argument in behalf of the legislation before this Congress. I hold a brief for Mr. Lehman today, and pay my respect to the brilliant job he has done as UNRRA chief. I would be glad to talk this over with Mr. Lehman and the gentleman, but not today.

Mr. RYTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. I yield.

Mr. RYTER. When there is talk about th esterling bloc, must it not be remembered that 90 percent of this fund of the contributing countries must be spent within those countries?

Mr. FLOOD. That is true. Of course, in fairness to the gentleman from Michigan, he did mention that in his argument yesterday. Under the agreement of the general contract, 90 percent of the funds are to be earmarked for spending in the country making the contribution. That is true of England.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] has expired.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HERTER: After line 11 insert a new paragraph, as follows:

"(3) Add a new section 8 (a):

"'8 (a). In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following recommendations:

"'A. That the United States member of the control committee of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall endeavor, by appropriate resolutions, agreements, or otherwise, to secure favorable action by that committee or by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council to attain the following objectives:

"'(1) That all trade agreements and all barter agreements of a recipient country with other nations, together with satisfactory information on all exports from, and imports into, such country, whether for governmental or private account, will be made available to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

"'(2) That each recipient country shall supply accredited United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel with all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreements, including all necessary inspections and investigations.

"'(3) That the Administration, if it determines such a course to be desirable, will be permitted, during the period of its operations in a recipient country, to retain title to all motor-transport equipment supplied by the Administration and will also be permitted to route such equipment and to direct the use of the fuel and lubricants supplied by the Administration.

"'B. The President is hereby requested to endeavor, through appropriate channels, to facilitate the admission to recipient countries of properly accredited members of the American press and radio in order that they may be permitted to report without censorship on the utilization and distribution of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration supplies and services.'"

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, for the purpose of consideration of this amendment, I demand that the amendment be divided between sections (a) and (b), and separate consideration be given to the two subjects.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BLOOM. Is a request of that kind to take the gentleman from Massachusetts off his feet? He has not had a chance to say anything. I think the gentleman should be given a chance to explain his amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. It does not take the gentleman off his feet. The Clerk will read the first part of the amendment.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be given an additional 5 minutes to explain his amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the Clerk report the first part of the amendment before the unanimous-consent request is made.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HERTER: After line 11 insert a new paragraph, as follows:

"(3) Add a new section 8 (a):

"'8 (a). In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following recommendations:

"'A. That the United States member of the Control Committee of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall endeavor, by appropriate resolutions, agreements, or otherwise, to secure favorable action by that Committee or by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council to attain the following objectives:

"'(1) That all trade agreements and all barter agreements of a recipient country with other nations, together with satisfactory information on all exports from, and imports into, such country, whether for governmental or private account, will be made available to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

"'(2) That each recipient country shall supply accredited United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel with all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement,

including all necessary inspections and investigations.

"'(3) That the Administration, if it determines such a course to be desirable, will be permitted, during the period of its operations in a recipient country, to retain title to all motor-transport equipment supplied by the Administration and will also be permitted to route such equipment and to direct the use of the fuel and lubricants supplied by the Administration.'"

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HERTER. Am I to understand that by the request made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] my amendment has now been split into two separate parts?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is correct, and the matter pending now before the committee is the part the Clerk has just finished reading.

The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 5 minutes on the first part of the pending amendment.

Mr. HERTER. A further parliamentary inquiry, if the Chair please.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HERTER. May I be recognized on the second part as if it were a separate amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. It will be treated as a separate part and the gentleman will be recognized to discuss it separately.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BLOOM. Under the ruling of the Chair just made the last part of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts would not be pending before the committee and it would not be a substitute, because there is nothing before the committee at this time. The gentleman from Massachusetts would necessarily have to reintroduce that part of his amendment so as to have something before the committee in the nature of a substitute.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, may I be heard on the point of order?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will hear the gentleman.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I believe the record speaks for itself. The gentleman from Massachusetts offered one amendment. Upon a demand for division the Chair ordered the amendment divided. Both parts, therefore, are in order.

The CHAIRMAN. That statement is correct.

Mr. BLOOM. A further parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BLOOM. I understood the Chair to state just a moment ago that the only thing before the committee at this time is the first part of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts. So there is nothing else before the committee.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. There will be just as soon as we complete action on the first portion of the amendment.

Mr. BLOOM. Then the amendment before the Committee is not a substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. Permit the Chair to state that the entire amendment as originally offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts is before the Committee, but it has been divided into two separate parts; so the matter now immediately pending for decision is the first part of the amendment, and it is on that part that the gentleman from Massachusetts has been recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BLOOM. That is satisfactory.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts may proceed for an additional 5 minutes in order that he may fully explain his amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for five additional minutes, or a total of 10.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I have offered follows very closely the form that was adopted by the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the original authorization of the $1,350,000,000 for UNRRA which was passed early in 1944. In that enabling act there were some eight particular reservations or recommendations on behalf of the Congress that were made in connection with the charter of UNRRA and in connection with the interpretations of that charter. I am following the same form in suggesting this amendment as a recommendation by the Congress of the United States to be followed by the President and by our representative on the Central Committee of UNRRA in the carrying out of our intent in approving this further authorization. I may say at the outset that I favor fully this further authorization.

I want to say that the amendment I am recommending not only follows the form that was used in the original authorization but likewise uses the form that was used in the Bretton Woods agreement when the Congress specifically instruced its representative on the bank to pursue a given course.

What is the course that I hope we will instruct or request our President and our representatives on the UNRRA council to follow? The first three suggestions follow the identical language adopted by this House some six weeks ago in connection with an appropriation for $550,000,000. Each one of those three was approved by the Committee on Appropriations, they were adopted by the House, and I am told have been rejected by the Senate. However, when they were adopted by the House they became a condition for the furnishing of relief. In other words, unless these conditions which are still stated to be desirable conditions became accepted fact the appropriation of $500,000,000 would have been invalid. In this particular case we are not trying in any way to hold up an appropriation or hold up any relief work, but are merely expressing our views as to what is desirable and helpful in making this relief operation a more successful operation.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I know that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] is very familiar with the work of UNRRA. The gentleman did a great service to his country this past summer in the trip he made over there investigating the work of UNRRA, for which we are grateful. I am glad to note that the amendment which the gentleman offers is not mandatory, as he just explained, but is a recommendation which we hope might be carried out. I think that is in better form, especially since we are dealing with an international organization and, in my opinion, it is more desirable to make it a request rather than make it mandatory.

Mr. HERTER. I thank the gentleman. There is a very good reason for making this request rather than making it mandatory. That is the time element involved in this entire relief operation. Let us not fool ourselves. This winter will be the critical time, this winter will be the time when the shortage of foodstuffs, coal, lack of shelter and lack of medicine, in going to be the most acute. It will be this winter when the relief money and supplies are needed the most. For that reason, instead of making the conditions mandatory, we put it in this form so there will be no danger whatever of slowing up the effectiveness of whatever relief we might give.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JARMAN. I simply wish to say to the gentleman and to the House that no better job was done during the past summer for UNRRA, for the United States, and for the United Nations than was accomplished by the gentleman from Massachusetts. I wish to heartily congratulate the gentleman on his sincerity of purpose and the magnificent work he did. Therefore I am very much inclined to follow any suggestions in which the gentleman indulges because I know he is sincere.

Mr. HERTER. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. MURDOCK. I agree that the gentleman has offered a good and proper amendment and I favor it. When the gentleman stated that we had better make this provision permissive rather than mandatory, he is referring to the second half of his amendment?

Mr. HERTER. I have not come to a discussion of the second half of the amendment, but that part will likewise be permissive.

The three points that are covered in the first part of this amendment deal, No. 1, with the secret trade agreements which unhappily still exist among some of the recipient countries of UNRRA aid and which make an intelligent appraisal of the needs of those recipient countries impossible. The second deals with the freedom of movement, with the necessary credentials and so on, for UNRRA personnel, so that they can use their

maximum effectiveness in observing the distribution of relief in the recipient countries.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. The barter agreements are included in the trade agreements?

Mr. HERTER. Yes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. They are extremely important in connection with this matter.

Mr. HERTER. It includes barter agreements, but in addition it requires specific information on imports and exports so that UNRRA will have intelligent knowledge of what is happening to the produce of the country.

The third amendment deals with the question of retention of titles to motor transport. That matter has been discussed here very considerably. It allows UNRRA to retain title to motor transport if it sees fit to do so in order that it may more effectively have a complete and accurate check as to where relief supplies may be sent.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. JENKINS. As I understand, if we adopt the gentleman's proposal, then it will not be necessary to follow that through into the appropriation bill, will it?

Mr. HERTER. The gentleman is correct.

The second part of the amendment which has been divided by the motion of the gentleman from Ohio deals with the very controversial question of freedom of the press. I shall read again the wording that I am offering on that, a wording which I hope will be accepted.

(b) That the President shall endeavor through appropriate channels to facilitate the admission to recipient countries of properly accredited members of the American press and radio in order that they may be permitted to report without censorship on the utilization and distribution of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation supplies and services.

As every Member of the House knows, it is proposed in the very near future to extend the activities of UNRRA into countries where it has not yet been operating, notably China, Italy on a large scale, Austria, White Russia, and the Ukraine. In the case of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, disregarding for the moment Greece and Italy, the administration did make every effort to get American newspapermen into those countries to allow them to report without censorship on whatever they found there. The Administration was uniformly successful in those endeavors so that today Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, are open to the press of the United States and other nations, and their reports are allowed to come through without any censorship whatever. There was a serious problem as to whether or not within the Ukraine and White Russia this could be accomplished. I think every Member of the House feels that it is a very desirable thing to have accomplished. What this amendment of mine does is merely to say that the Congress recommends that the President use every facility to try to get American pressmen into those areas.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Would the gentleman be willing to add to his amendment a provision that the representatives of the Department of State make a survey of a check-up or audit to be sure that those provisions are carefully carried out?

Mr. HERTER. I would want to consider that very carefully.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I should not want it to be added to the gentleman's amendment if he does not wish it. It would be permissive as are the provisions of the gentleman's amendment.

Mr. HERTER. I question that, but I think probably the State Department could do that by arrangement with UNRRA now.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be permitted to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. HERTER. It is my understanding that there will be offered as a substitute for the second part of my amendment, section (b), freedom of the press, an amendment formerly adopted by the House and offered by the gentleman from Ohio. That amendment would condition all relief appropriations upon the allowing of American press representatives to go into these areas of the world.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. As I understand, the gentleman will discuss the second portion of his amendment when it comes before the House and it will, of course, follow the vote of the first portion of the gentleman's amendment.

Mr. HERTER. I should be very glad to leave it that way.

Mr. RYTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. RYTER. My recollection is that the second part of the gentleman's amendment, as the gentleman informed the House yesterday, read "The President is hereby requested to endeavor" and this morning I understood the Clerk to read "The President shall endeavor."

Mr. HERTER. The reason for that is that the wording of the first part has likewise been amended, that Congress does so with the following recommendations; in other words, there is no instruction as such. I should be very glad to check the wording of the second part with the gentleman. There has been an alteration of a few words, but it does not alter the sense in any way whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words, and ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York.

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, since we find that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts is purely permissive and involves only a recommendation, and no compulsion, I certainly see no objection to it. But getting back to some of the remarks made by the previous speakers with reference to Britain's contribution to UNRRA's funds, I desire to call the attention of the members of the committee to the fact that England's aliquot assessment is $322,400,000, but England has not as yet put up that money. The goods, the equivalent of the money, may be available. Rather it is allegedly available. It is only a pledge. Nothing has actually been set aside. Let us get the record straight in that regard.

This morning we received an announcement that an Anglo-American pact has been consummated whereby England is to receive from us a loan of $4,400,000,000. What assurance have we that England will not use some of the proceeds of that loan as a contribution to the extent of $320,400,000 to the UNRRA fund?

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentlewoman from Illinois.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. The United States has been subsidizing England for 20 years.

Mr. CELLER. I am inclined to believe that statement in part. Congress, I am sure, is going to have some very sharp and caustic comments to make upon that Anglo-American pact. We ought to be certain that before we give that money to Great Britain she will not use some of those funds for UNRRA purposes and that she will dissolve the sterling area bloc pool which is directly related to numerous of the devastated countries which have been and will be the subject of UNRRA relief, countries like Holland, Denmark, and Norway, with which England has made bilateral pacts granting England very decided advantages with reference to trade with those countries.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. In answer to the gentleman from New York, I know that when he reads the agreement made with reference to this credit loan he will find that all the things he has mentioned in his address here are taken care of.

Mr. CELLER. No. Indeed no. The gentleman is too guileless. I have seen the parts of the pact as reported in the press. All England does is to say that she will try, that she will endeavor to

remove these very irritating trade restrictions which have the effect of jostling off the international sidewalk American traders. You cannot find any words in that pact whereby England agrees definitely and in certain language that she will remove, for example, the imperial tariff preference and that she will do away with the sterling area bloc pool. All we have is the usual mumbo-jumbo diplomatic language which may be susceptible to any and sundry interpretations depending upon who is doing the interpreting. Britain claims she is stone broke. I am amazed that the facts have not been disclosed, the full facts, to the American public. I will say to my distinguished colleague from New York, the distinguished chairman of the committee, that if England is stone broke, how comes it that we now discover not from the State Department, not from English sources, that England at this very moment has over $3,500,000,000, including securities and moneys in American banks. These assets very properly should have been undisclosed during the war for purposes perhaps of military security, but we must rip the veil of secrecy from all these assets that England has in this country, and then and only then should the Congress be called upon to ratify this gigantic loan of $4,400,000,000.

Mr. D'ALESANDRO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. D'ALESANDRO. Can the gentleman state the rate of interest that England is to pay on this loan?

Mr. CELLER. Oh, yes; let us touch upon the matter of interest for a moment. England says she will pay 2 percent interest in one paragraph. Then in another paragraph it says if her dollar balances are not in her favor, then she need not pay the interest. Who is going to be the judge as to whether the dollar balances are in the favor of England? We are asked to trust Great Britain. We must trust she will not be guilty of her usual financial wizardry and financial manipulations in her bookkeeping. I do not trust Great Britain in that regard. She has failed to keep many of her treaties. I have in mind particularly the treaty of 1924 between the United States and Great Britain, whereby, for example, she agreed that there would be no discrimination with reference to land ownership and immigration into Palestine on the ground of race or religion. What did she do? She tore up that treaty with the white paper of 1939. Everyone but Jews may now enter Palestine. Everyone but Jews may acquire land there. She tore up her obligations under the mandate over Palestine for 1917. I could give you many other treaties to which Great Britain has thumbed her nose. I cannot trust further a country that fails to keep its treaty obligations. I surely would not loan her money. I want no truck with a man who does not keep his promise. And it should be so with nations. We should have no truck with nations unless they keep their treaty obligations, unless they know the meaning of honor.

Mr. D'ALESANDRO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield again to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. D'ALESANDRO. Did the gentleman state that the rate of interest was 1½ percent?

Mr. CELLER. It is supposed to be 2 percent.

Mr. D'ALESANDRO. Is it fair for England to pay 2 percent on this big loan when GI Joe has to pay 4 percent on his loan?

Mr. CELLER. What difference does it make whether you say it shall be 2 percent or 1½ percent or 1¾ percent. You are not going to get the interest. You are not going to be paid any installment of principal, either. See what happened last time. England still owes us billions of unpaid loans growing out of the last war. Somebody once said it is cheaper to give than to loan—it costs less in the end.

Mr. D'ALESANDRO. I thank the gentleman from that observation.

Mr. CELLER. What situation will develop with this loan to Great Britain? It is a loan that will support what? Too damn much socialism at home and too damn much imperialism abroad. See what Great Britain is doing now with reference to her imperialistic designs in Indonesia. She has the temerity, mind you, to use our guns and our tanks and our Thunderbolts and our lend-lease materials—lend-lease, mind you—to mow down, maim, and strafe innocent victims in Dutch territory and has the temerity even to place our lend-lease material in the hands of Japanese and Indian troops in that Dutch territory. She is doing the same thing in Indo-Chine, French territory. I ask you to weigh very carefully before you sign on the dotted line giving Great Britain $4,400,000,000 for these dastardly purposes.

As to socialism at home, see what Mr. Laski, prominent spokesman of the British Labor Party, the party of Attlee, Bevin, and Morrison, said in New York, in Madison Square Garden, when he attacked our system of government and said that the private-enterprise government, our Government, in on the road to autocracy.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I went along with UNRRA last year. I expect to vote for the appropriations this year for this agency. I do so with the understanding that in casting my vote today it will result in an attempt, at least, to solve the ills of Europe in feeding the millions of starving people who are groping in the darkness of despair.

By the same token, I believe we should reach out into the far Pacific, into China, into all these other parts of the globe where people are suffering, and lend a helping hand.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that in the appropriation of this money today we will be accomplishing something in the program which we have all determined to follow. I have received a great many letters from home. Many of them are from discharged servicemen who have seen some of the deplorable conditions that exist in Europe and in the Far East. Those men report first-hand the sights they have seen, the misfortune, the hardships, the misery, and the unhappiness going on all over the world, because men, women, and children are lacking for food, clothing, and shelter. If by my vote today I am able to help succor those millions of people who are downtrodden, I gladly support this measure.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EWDIN ARTHUR HALL. I yield.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. While the gentleman is lifting the veil, I wonder what can be done about lifting it for those little Balkan States that have been overlooked, those States that have been overrun by the Germans and the Russians. Do they get any benefit?

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. I believe all these formerly occupied countries must come in for their share of attention, as far as UNRRA goes, with all the resources at the hands of the United States.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. But I have heard no intimation that they are to be included or that they are benefiting by UNRRA.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. I cannot yield further. While we are talking about doing for others, it is fitting that I go into one subject of particular interest to myself, and I know it is of interest to many other Members. Reference was made to pork last week when we were considering the flood-control question in the deficiency bill and also the veterans' hospital amendment which was offered in the same bill. I have not heard a word about pork today. I suppose I speak out of turn to even suggest that there should be any pork in connection with the $1,300,000,000 which we are authorizing UNRRA today. Yet, I will have the temerity to mention the fact that there could be some pork in some of this appropriation and that not every dollar which is being appropriated for these starving peoples of Europe and Asia will go to the purposes for which it is designed.

Today we have the right to consider the welfare of the veteran. We have the right, while we are aiding people in other countries, to look after those veterans who have come back and are trying to get jobs and trying to get a square deal in America today.

I suppose again I am striking a discordant note when I say that I believe the bonus issue will come up once more. I believe that before many more years you are going to face a bonus question in this country that will make the bonus issue of World War I look small, and for that reason I am considering introducing legislation which will provide a $2,000 bonus for every veteran of World War II. I am also considering adding to this $2,000 in the case of all those discharged with physical disability at least $500, or perhaps $1,000, or whatever you choose to make it.

I hope the House will give consideration to the veteran while it is thinking about these countries across the seas.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we cannot reach an agreement upon

closing debate on this amendment and the substitute.

I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 30 minutes.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Does the gentleman's request apply only to the divided first section?

The CHAIRMAN. That will have to be stated by the gentleman submitting the request.

Mr. BLOOM. I stated "this amendment and all amendments thereto," so the substitute would be included.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that the second part of the amendment is not "an amendment thereto"; it comes as a separate proposition.

The Chair will put the question. Is there objection——

Mr. BLOOM. In that case, then, Mr. Chairman, the second part of the amendment being considered a separate proposition, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. BLOOM. Then, Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 30 minutes.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I object; I think it should be an hour.

The CHAIRMAN. Objection is heard.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. DOYLE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, speaking extemporaneously I desire to say that I hear so much of gossip, I hear so much of rumor, I hear so much of everything that has no place in this argument if you are really trying to produce evidence and facts before this great House, that I thought it would be refreshing to refer you to actual text and qualified opinion. Let me call attention to the testimony of General Eisenhower, upon his appearance as a witness for UNRRA, before the Committee and as recorded at page 232 of the hearings. I quote as follows:

> If this bitter situation is not to become so disastrous as to make man wonder if it was worth while to have taken up arms against the Nazis, we in the United States—which is truly the land of plenty as compared to Europe—must be prepared to discharge a very heavy responsibility. We must, now, make our proportionate contribution to the relief of Europe in order to insure the permanence of our military victory.
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> * * * * *
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> I am convinced that the best way of developing the habit of cooperation is by building and supporting effective operating international organizations such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

On November 1, in argument between myself and the distinguished gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. CASE], I then argued that under the original articles of UNRRA, to tack on the so-called free-press amendment which was essentially the same as is today offered, would invalidate the appropriation we were then considering for UNRRA.

I again repeat what I then said to the effect that there was no provision in the original UNRRA agreement dated March 28, 1944, by which you can immediately, or promptly—or even within any reasonable time, where starving neighbors are concerned—expect that two-thirds of 44 nations will agree on this sort of an amendment. The manner in which these original articles can be amended is set forth in article 8 thereof. It provides for favorable action of two-thirds of the Council membership. The Council is expected to meet about twice a year only. Therefore, when this amendment is adopted, you enact a legal condition precedent, as it were, to hungry children getting milk and freezing folks having warmth. In my judgment, it will prove a practical barrier to relief which we are not only legally but morally obligated to render to these world neighbors of ours. This amendment, in effect, puts a prohibition upon food supply for starving and freezing people, until we endeavor to reform the philosophy we disagree with.

I am very happy to now notice that the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER], who admittedly has studied this far more than most of us, admits, in effect, that my argument, found on page 10444 of the RECORD of November 1, 1945, was fundamentally sound. I call your attention to that argument again, because I am very sure that on this day if we undertake to tack on to and amend the articles of incorporation of UNRRA any condition or any reservation which is compulsory, before money for food is available, it will invalidate and postpone the use of the money until or unless that condition precedent or that conditional reservation is first put into effect. Do you choose to try to reform the attitude of certain nations toward the press, as paramount to saving probably millions of lives?

I submit that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts is probably not compulsory or a condition precedent to the granting of relief. However, I do wish to emphatically call the attention of the whole committee to the fact that it is fundamentally necessary that you strike out of his amendment the two words "or otherwise" as set forth in paragraph (a) of his proposal. I have just called attention to the reasons why, to the gentleman from Massachusetts and members of the committee, before I rose to speak.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOYLE. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FLOOD. May I say that I have prepared, with the consent of the gentleman from Massachusetts, a clarifying amendment along the line the gentleman has just suggested.

Mr. DOYLE. I thank the gentleman. I am sure it is fundamentally necessary that those words be stricken, and thank the gentleman from Massachusetts and committee members also for accepting my reasoning about it.

Mr. FLOOD. That is in reference to the first part, of course.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes. Mr. Chairman, I now call attention to the preamble to the articles of agreement of UNRRA, and I read to you the following:

> Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing, and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shal be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services.

In my few remarks about this fundamental premise, in the clearly stated preamble to the original UNRRA articles, I am going to assume that every Member of the House is in utmost good faith and desires that this money shall go to Europe at the earliest possible moment. I shall also assume, that every Member of the House feels as I do, that which is a proposed gift without the spirit of the giver is bare—and is not a gift at all. I take the position that this is not a gift; it is an investment in world peace and world solidarity, good will and world understanding, I am for it.

It is an investment in preventing a pestilence which if not prevented, will breed hate, antagonism, suspicion and ill will toward America by hundreds of millions of growing children as well as by adults in other parts of this world neighborhood in which we now live.

Is anyone here so short sighted as to believe that Europe can be naked and hungry and cold very long, because we are so greedy and selfish and un-Christian as to refuse to give them a crumb to eat and a bit of coal to build a fire to warm by, and yet have America increasingly safer for the democratic way of life? Pestilence, hunger, filth, these when not the fault of those who are starving and freezing, are fertile soil for extremes of conduct. The conditions now rampant in the former war zones of Europe at least, are pregnant with the possibilities of revolution by force instead of evolution by reason. This UNRRA is an investment in sounder economic and social conditions as well as a gift. It will return to us a thousandfold, in the form of an earlier and a more durable relationship of the young and old of the world to America and likewise it will do America good to continue to share its rich blessings from God on high.

Not by argument, nor by refusing to grant this aid to the starving, nor by any other means can the world now be changed from being a world neighborhood. Distance and time are eliminated by the forces of nature and the genius of man. We will have to learn to live in a world neighborhood or we will get no reasonable chance to live in a world at peace at all. Atomic power already

has, and other like discoveries no doubt will soon, compel us to literally get upon our knees in prayer and with the hope that the world shall come to know the truth which will make the civilized world free of fear of destruction at the hands of inventive man. And this world neighborhood daily gets smaller and smaller as regards transmission of every factor which makes or destroys international good will and collaboration. Therefore what is here said from day to day either builds for peace or wrecks the building of enduring peace.

Does any Member deny that the legislators or rulers of other nations of this world neighborhood have a right to take our words as the expression of American opinion to an unduly large extent? And, if we speak of derision and suspicion of our world neighbors, have they not a right to think and speak of us in like manner? And if we spell hate and ill will toward the people of a nation, do we suppose that people will think of us in terms of love and good will? I wish to repeat that by our words and conduct in connection with UNRRA we either help build a world of good will or we contribute to the factors which contribute to world wars.

Recently I was rather dumbfounded to meet a Member who had never noticed the list of purposes for which UNRRA money could and would be expended. So I desire to call your attention to them, in accordance with Resolution No. 1:

RESOLUTION NO. 1

Relief supplies: Essential consumer goods to meet immediate needs, such as food, fuel, clothing, shelter, medical supplies.

Relief services: Such as health and welfare; assistance in caring for, and maintaining records of, persons found in any areas under the control of any of the United Nations who by reason of war have been displaced from their homes and, in agreement with the appropriate governments, military authorities, or other agencies, in securing their repatriation or return; and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes. (See also Appendix, p. 29, regarding displaced persons.)

Rehabilitation supplies and services: Materials (such as seeds, fertilizers, raw materials, fishing equipment, machinery, and spare parts) needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated areas, and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes.

Rehabilitation of public utilities and services: So far as they can be repaired or restored to meet immediate needs; such as light, water, sanitation, power, transport, temporary storage, communications, and assistance in procuring material equipment for the rehabilitation of educational institutions.

Mr. Chairman, I submit that this list contains no frills and no nonessentials. It is a list of the necessities of daily life for human existence. It provides the means whereby these poor people will be enabled—yes, reasonably assured of ability—to help themselves to self-security and self-support. This is the way it should be.

And then, because I spoke with some Members who had not had opportunity to read the list of nations which formed the UNRRA international organization I call your attention to the following list of 44 member governments, to wit:

UNITED NATIONS AND GOVERNMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH THEM

Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, French Provisional Government, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippine Commonwealth, Poland, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

This list, gentlemen, goes to the essential of world collaboration if we are to have world peace. Knowing one another as nations in a world neighborhood has the same beneficent result it does for neighbors on the same street to engage in a community or neighborhood project in good faith and with good will toward each other.

Let the vote for UNRRA by us today be without a crippling amendment or one which will cause a single child to starve or freeze to death.

Let us vote for the UNRRA today by a unanimous vote. Let us do it in the spirit of a gift to starving and freezing and deserving world neighbors. But, let us not forget that such a gift is a definite investment and insurance money toward a more democratic world today and tomorrow and toward an earlier and enduring world peace. No gift for this purpose, no investment in this atomic world will pay such certain and lasting dividends.

(Mr. DOYLE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I offer a clarifying amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FLOOD to the Herter amendment: In section (a) strike out the words "or shall endeavor" where the words first appear and insert in lieu thereof the words "is hereby requested" and strike out the words "or otherwise" in the following lines.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, I have no objection to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER].

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

(Mr. SHORT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, I realize in these strained and troublesome days it is unpopular for any of us to speak a word for America or in defense of our own country. The fashionable thing in these trying times, particularly in pink-tea circles and among the striped-trouser boys in the Diplomatic Corps, is to think of the ills of all the world and to ignore our people at home. I am getting just a little sick and tired of listening to loud flannel-mouthed commentators over the air and reading certain cunning columnists in our newspapers and, I am sorry to say, to hearing a few speeches on the floor of this House, by people who seem to think that the United States of America is responsible for this war as we were the last; that we are shamefully and disgracefully ignoring our obligations and responsibilities in this postwar period. One would gather the final impression that we are responsible for most of the world's ills and woe.

As just a plain, ordinary American, I resent these insinuations. No nation in the history of the world has ever been so kind and generous and helpful to other countries as has the United States of America. In every disaster this Nation has gone to the relief and succor of people in distress. Even when the tidal wave and the typhoon destroyed human life and property in Japan only a few years ago, we sent shipload after shipload of supplies of food, clothing, and medicine to that stricken country. Our American Red Cross has sent relief to the furthermost corners of this earth. The Rockefeller Fundation has established schools and hospitals all over this world to minister to suffering humanity. Our Christian churches in the United States for many years have sent hundreds of millions of dollars to every darkened corner to bring light to heathen peoples, to promote their social uplift, political advancement, and economic welfare. Twice in our own generation we have gone to the rescue of our allies.

A quarter of a century ago, when our American armies reached Chateau-Thierry, the French were throwing away their rifles and heading toward Paris. Our marines and infantry went on from Chateau-Thierry through Belleau Wood to the Meuse, the Argonne, and Soissons. Many of them never came back.

After that war we fed all Europe and loaned more than $10,000,000,000 to our Allies which, up to this sad hour, have never been paid. Little Finland is the only debtor who kept her word. Now they come to us and say that we are not shouldering our responsibilities and meeting our obligations. Twenty-five years after being called a Shylock, the only appreciation and gratitude we receive for saving their necks is that for the second time in a quarter of a century we were corkscrewed into a global conflict.

Does anyone here doubt that Stalingrad would have capitulated had it not been for American armament, tanks, planes, and guns, food and clothing sent to the Russians? Does anyone think that Russia would ever have gotten through to Berlin without the help of American industry, the workers in our

factories, in our mines, on our farms, or without our loans?

Who won the war in Europe that has just closed? Were not three-fourths of all the Allied soldiers American troops in the Mediterranean theater, in north Africa, Sicily, and Italy, and on the western front? What would the world have done without Eisenhower, Bradley, Devers, Simpson, Patton, Patch, and Clark down in Italy? Yet, all the time George Patton was racing across France and down through Germany into Austria and Czechoslovakia the only headline I could read in a London newspaper was Monty had begun a new offensive. Still, it is disgraceful and shameful that we are not helping poor, suffering humanity.

I do not know how long I shall remain in this chamber or on this earth, but when I shuffle off this mortal coil I want any friends I might be lucky enough to leave behind to say of Dewey Short there never was a time in the darkest hour of the war or following when Joseph Stalin loved Russia more than he loved America. I hope I care as much for my own country as Winston Churchill does for the British Empire, and that is nothing against Stalin and Churchill. I congratulate and admire them both. They were our allies. They are still our allies. Of course, we are going to share all good things with the other nations and peoples of this earth. We have shared so much already that we do not have much left to share. It is high time we took an inventory of our own $300,000,000,000 debt and of the misery and woe that we find in our own country. Few people realize to what an extent we have exhausted our natural resources. We furnished 70 percent of all the oil in this war. We have pumped many wells dry. We have dug out our lead, zinc, and copper. We have burned our coal and consumed our iron. Yet some folks say we are shirking.

Lend-lease? We have furnished $60,000,000,000 to our allies in lend-lease alone. It was supposed to be a wartime measure and end when the war ended, but it did not. We have transferred about $20,000,000,000 since VJ-day in lend-lease to our allies. You know, lend-lease was supposed to be a two-way track, it was a double pipe line; it was supposed to come over here as well as go over there. But the old cow has had her head in the manger here in America, where we have been feeding her, watering her, and taking care of her, but her other end has been in Europe and it has been milked dry. No, we have been pitching too long. It is time to do a little catching. America is not the richest country in the world. We only work harder and are more generous—perhaps more foolish. Both Great Britain and Soviet Russia have larger populations and vaster natural resources than do we. Yet, we are to be not only the "arsenal of democracy" but the granary of the world. Bosh!

Mr. Chairman, we should not forget that under the Bretton Woods Agreement we set up the World Bank with international commitments of approximately $10,000,000,000—the United States share could be six billions.

Already, under the Export-Import Bank we have pledged $3,500,000,000—these are in addition to lend-lease. Already we have appropriated $1,350,000,000 to UNRRA. Already 72 percent of the total, whereas the other 42 nations have given only 28 percent. Now we are asked to vote another $1,350,000,000 on the same basis and at the same ratio. I claim this is not slushy sentimentality and bad economics but if continued it will mean financial bankruptcy and national suicide for our country. It must not go on.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] was eminently correct when he said we should tear the veil of secrecy off these foreign investments in our own country. I mean all of them. We all know that Queen Wilhelmina owns the Westchester out here in Washington, D. C. God only knows how many other investments she has now in this and other countries. We also know that we have restored the Dutch Empire to Holland, as we restored the British Empire in the Far East to England, and no doubt will give part of Indochina and the present Thailand back to France. Uncle Shylock, Uncle Sap. History has a mean, a peculiar, a naughty, and an ugly way of repeating itself.

Now they come to us after we have won the war in the Pacific almost single-handed, MacArthur and Kenney, LeMay and Nimitz, Halsey and Spruance, Krueger and Eichelberger, Chennault and Stilwell, and a host of other heroes. We all know that we moved from Australia island by island for those thousands of miles across vast distances almost alone, single-handed, while fighting a terrific war in Europe with 3,500,000 men—we got only 2,000,000 men there in the last war—3,500,000 men in Europe, with thousands of them not back yet. Many will never come back. And all the time we were fighting single-handed the war in the Pacific, we got a little paltry help now and then. We finally reached Japan. At what a price. Japan was whipped long before the atomic bomb was dropped. Personally, I am sorry it was ever dropped in the fashion it was. It was not necessary. It established a dangerous precedent. It will not help us in the future. Japan was whipped, she had sued for peace. She was whipped before Russia thought of coming in, and Russia came in on the tail end in order to pick off the south end of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, to help cut the pie and get her share of the cake. Now she wants to have part control, after we have won the bloody battle single-handed she wants to tell us what bases we can have. Oh, I am growing sick and tired of these moral uplifters and world reformers. And especially of those who cursed Russia yesterday and embrace her today.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. SHORT. I have just got started.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri may have five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentlewoman very much. I also appreciate the good spirit of my distinguished friend, the able majority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts, from whom we will hear shortly.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I say it is all right to help your neighbor. Who does not want to do it? "Recompense to no man evil for evil. Be honest in the sight of all men. If thy neighbor hunger, feed him. If he thirst, give him drink, for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head."

America has always been inclined to follow the advice and dictum of St. Paul. That is what we have done as a nation. Yet some of these professional uplifters find it so much easier to take care of other people than to take care of their own, that they come in and say we are being parsimonious and niggardly because we do not give them the dome of the Capitol. We have given our coat, vest, shirt and pants and soon we will have to join a nudist colony.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I yield.

Mr. CELLER. It might be interesting to note with reference to what aid Great Britain gave that when our ships went through the Suez Canal Britain charged us for the passing through of our ships and our soldiers $50,000,000, but when her ships went through the Panama Canal we let them go through free.

Mr. SHORT. Why, we have to pay for some of our own air fields abroad. They have even tried to collect for damage and destruction of property in the Last World War and, no doubt, they will be back here with hat in hand, as both now are, Britain and Russia, one asking for six-billion-odd dollars and the other one for anything he can get. We heard over the radio this morning that Britain was going to get a $4,400,000,000 loan with no interest for 5 years and then interest at 2 percent after that over a 50-year period—if the balance of trade was in her favor.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I yield.

Mr. McCORMACK. I just want to ask one question before my friend completes his statement with reference to one thought that I have in mind: Is the gentleman for or against the pending bill?

Mr. SHORT. I am against it with all my heart and soul. I talk as I vote and vote as I talk. I wish more Members would do the same. I am surprised that the gentleman is so undiscerning that he could not arrive at that conclusion without my assistance. I have never voted for this mockery because of irregularities, incompetency, inefficiency, and downright thievery. Six hundred in the administration drawing fat salaries were arrested less than a month ago dealing on the black market.

Now, I hope, having been brought up as I was, that I have a little milk of human kindness in me. After all, ice water does not flow through my veins. I would like for the world to know just how much each one of you and how much I individually give of our own money to charity and whether or not you would be willing to lend more money to your

neighbor to whom you made a loan 25 years ago and which he has never paid back, and whether you would be anxious to give him another $4,400,000,000 now. You know you would not. But you do not care about the taxpayers money. You are a liberal—with the other guy's dough. I have always been taught that charity begins at home. I think a good citizen is not the man who takes care of the whole community and lavishly wastes his substance upon his neighbors while his own wife and children are in want and need. "He that provideth not for his own is worse than an infidel." You do not have to go to Europe to find misery. I have seen it. I have seen it dozens of times in every country over there during the past quarter of a century. And I have seen it hundreds of times here in the United States. I am not so narrow-minded or such a hidebound provincialist after all, but let me tell you I have, in my own congressional district in the Ozark Mountains, gone barehead and barefoot until I was 14 years old and lived on opossums, pawpaws, and persimmons. We were glad to do it, too. We never asked for a dole out of the Federal Treasury because we wanted to keep our freedom. We did not have to take orders from bureaucrats. My people are willing to do it today, but so long as I know they have crown jewels of the King and the Czar—and I have seen them—they are brilliant and would bring a neat sum on any market today, enough to run any government for quite a while—as long as they wear ermine and emeralds in London and Moscow, as long as foreign assets are hidden in nearly every country of the world, I am not going to vote for $1 to take butter and bacon, cornpone and sowbelly out of the mouths of my poor people. Our old people are now drawing inadequate pensions, not enough for medicine, let alone fuel, rent, food, and clothing. Why not take care of them before the rest of the world. You can take that for what it is worth.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

Mr. Chairman, as usual when my friend from Missouri [Mr. SHORT] is in the proper mood, he has made a rambling speech, traveling all over the world, covering all subjects for which he was so noted before Pearl Harbor.

At the outset the gentleman from Missouri made an observation as if he were a martyr; that it is hard to say a word for America. As I sat in that chair my mind went back only 5 years when in this very chamber were fought the legislative battles necessary to save and preserve his country and my country. I remember the extension of the Selective Service Act, which passed this House by one vote, and those who were being attacked then were men like myself who were fighting for the passage of that bill. We were the ones who were speaking for America on that occasion. My distinguished friend from Missouri was speaking on the other side of the question. Is that right?

Mr. SHORT. It is absolutely right, and I am proud of it.

Mr. McCORMACK. All right. If you are proud of it——

Mr. SHORT. Yes; I am.

Mr. McCORMACK. That uncovers the gentleman's mind. The gentleman is proud that he voted against it. Now, in the light of 4 years of war, he is proud that he voted against extension of the Selective Service Act. I give him credit for misjudgment, but now, after 4 years of war——

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. Sit down. I do not yield. After 4 years of war, with hundreds of thousands of boys having secrificed their lives, the gentleman now says he is proud he voted against extension of the Selective Service Act. If that bill had not passed, I dare not undertake to prophesy what the situation would have been in America today.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. What did you get out of the war but communism and corpses?

Mr. McCORMACK. One thing is certain, that the United States of America won the war and we are still a free nation.

Of course, I could talk about all the other bills——

Mr. SHORT. I wish you would.

Mr. McCORMACK. Yes. You can take pride in your vote if you want to, but I am thinking of the country known as the United States of America.

Before Pearl Harbor we were fighting to get legislation passed that anybody with common sense ought to have known was necessary to its preservation. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHORT] voted against all those bills. We were the ones who were fighting for the passage of bills, against an honest and misunderstood public opinion. We had to face political ruin and defeat, and we accepted it with the knowledge that, even if defeated, we were casting votes that were necessary for the preservation of our country.

The gentleman also says there are some Members of this House who are making the statement that the United States of America was responsible for this war. I agree with the gentleman; that is one statement he makes that I am in agreement with, the ones who were making that statement are on the Republican side and not on the Democratic side.

Mr. SHORT. No! No!

Mr. McCORMACK. Oh, no! Oh, the gentleman would say "No" anyway! Who is it that is trying to put the United States of America on trial and trying to show that we excited the Japs to attack America? Not the Democratic Members of the House.

Yes, he made that statement unconsciously under emotional stress which constitutes the truth and is consistent with the true facts; and, yes, the gentleman says he is sorry we dropped the atomic bomb on Japan. Just pause for a moment and realize what that means. The invasion of the Japanese islands would have been necessary had that bomb not been dropped. He talks about his love for the boys in uniform. Yes, I know he loves them, but let us be practical. The atomic bomb shortened the war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. The atomic bomb shortened the war by weeks if not by months. If the American forces had had to invade the main Japanese Islands it is estimated that in killed alone 250,000 to 400,000 American boys would have lost their lives, and more than a million would have been wounded. The dropping of the atomic bomb not only hastened the ending of the war, but it brought safely back to the homes of America from 250,000 to 400,000 young Americans who would have paid with their lives had the invasion taken place, and a million were saved from being wounded. That is what the atomic bomb did; yet the gentleman from Missouri is sorry we dropped it on the dastardly Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] is recognized.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, I respect the convictions of my friend from Missouri and listened with genuine interest to his summarization of the aid which this country has afforded to the peoples of the world. In that statement I concur.

However, I expect to vote for the pending bill. I need no reminder from any professional uplifter that hunger is a Communist. Long ago it was that stern old prophet Isaiah who wrote that "when a man is hungry he shall fret and fretting he shall curse his God and his king."

That sentiment is as true today as when it was uttered by Isaiah long ago. One can search the literature of the ages and never find anything to improve upon it in its simplicity and persuasiveness.

It is that thing which disturbs me most as I contemplate the distress which is so abundant in the world. There is no question but what the virus of communism is marching across the world and we must make diligent endeavor to arrest its spread and to prevent it from placing its ugly stamp upon the traditions and institutions of our own country.

Because hunger is such a resolute Communist I hope that in supporting this measure and making available some of the largess of our own country that it will help to drive back the first line of despair and be a contribution to the preservation of freedom.

From this action I hope to find some sense of spiritual satisfaction in having tried to assuage the hunger of distressed peoples in other countries. In part I shall do so from a spirit of thanksgiving that our own country has been untouched by the blight of war. For that we can be grateful.

In the Southland of our country are 25,000,000 lush and productive acres where cotton and fiber can be produced to help clothe people who are in distress. In the Middle West I so recently rode across the prairies in Illinois and there I saw the sentinel stalks of corn weighed

down with gleaming golden ears that will probably make a crop of 3,000,000,000 bushels in this crop year. All these acres have been untouched by bombs and shells and so from the largess which they will yield we can share with hungry people in the hope that our generosity will assist in arresting the march of strange ideologies across the earth.

Let me say that when I returned from that recent journey over the world in the course of which I made an examination of UNRRA operations, I spoke frankly and freely and criticized as generously as any Member of this House. In my mind was but a single idea and that was to make this first international operation in the interest of humanity as effective and efficient as possible.

I believe I know quite as much about UNRRA both here and abroad as most of the Members in this Chamber. In recent weeks I have had several conferences with Commander Jackson who now serve as the operating chief of UNRRA. In fact only this week he came at the request of myself and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] to present his story and to indicate freely and frankly what improvements had been made and what improvements might be expected in the future.

Mr. Chairman, I want to commend Commander Jackson for his candor, his forthrightness and his administrative capacity. He is an interesting person. At one time he was a sheep rancher in Australia. He is of Scotch ancestry and the traditional frugality of the Scotch has never deserted him. He enjoys the rank of commander in the British Navy and has served as a supply officer in many corners of the world. I have faith in his integrity and I salute him for making real improvement in UNRRA.

Many weeks ago when he first came to my office for a conference he quite agreed that the criticisms which have been hurled at UNRRA were richly deserved and he interposed no defense.

When I said that UNRRA stinks as an administrative operation, I know that he agreed with that sentiment. It became his responsibility to go through the organization from top to bottom to clear deadwood, to recruit competent administrative heads and to make it in truth and in fact a functioning organization. While the hearings were in progress on the pending bill on the third floor of this very Capitol, UNRRA was discharging 600 of its personnel in Europe for inefficiency and other causes and discharging an additional 13 persons who had been apprehended in black-market operations. I, for one, am willing to salute the man who can take the odor out of UNRRA and make it an agency that will creditably perform the humane function for which it was intended.

I do not take back a single derogatory statement which I made about this agency recently when the bill to appropriate $550,000,000 to its account was on this floor for consideration. Moreover, I feel that the close scrutiny and attention which Congress devoted to its operation has been one of the most salutary things that has happened in a long time and was really the moving force in having it purged of professional uplifters whose hearts may be right but whose notions may be wrong.

To my friend the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHORT] let me say that I share your convictions about people on the outside who are constantly offering advice to Congress and berating for what they esteem to be its sense of omission and commission. I have high regard for Walter Lippmann but I am not too concerned about what he writes in his column because it is physically impossible for one to do a column on a different subject virtually every day in the week and properly inform himself on the background of the measures which come before us.

When committees of Congress labor earnestly day after day to explore the facts, how shall a commentator or columnist fortify himself with all of the facts on a different subject every day of the week.

Nor am I interested in the harangues similar to that which was indulged recently by a minister of the gospel here in the Nation's Capital who so dramatically declaimed from the pulpit that the Congress was betraying its trust in delaying action on UNRRA legislation and who then urged his communicants to write or wire Members of the House and Senate. He, too, can cherish his personal opinion but it is our responsibility to make this a working organism.

After all if there be a greater sin than letting people go hungry, it would be the sin of sending goods and supplies to distressed countries only to have their distribution administered by people who are more concerned about their own misadventures than they are about the job to which they were assigned.

We have made definite progress in renovating UNRRA and I trust that under the watchful eye of this body there can be further renovation to the point where we can cherish some pride in its operation.

To share our largess from a spirit of thanksgiving does not indicate a lack of devotion to our own country and its needs and problems. I believe it is not only a manifestation of our gratitude for the fact that physically our country has been untouched by 6 years of war but also that the heart of America still rings true when confronted with distress.

Even as the gentleman from Missouri has so well and truly said, this Nation has been the first to provide relief to countries in all corners of the earth in time of distress and emergency and we shall follow through in that same high tradition.

I shall vote for this measure.

Mr. THOM. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I want to compliment the gentleman from Illinois who has just spoken, because he is living up to the platform just fresh from the press written by the Republican Members of this House. He has shown you that the United States is wealthy enough to meet this obligation and, therefore, he conceives his duty to be to support the newly written platform of the Republican Members of the House which I take great pleasure in reading.

> We will engage in essential international relief as a humanitarian obligation and to prevent chaos through misery. We demand sound management and protection against exploitation in this connection. We will assist other nations to rehabilitate themselves under arrangements consistent with intelligent American self-interests and over-all limitation that shall not jeopardize our own economic recovery and stability.

Who will say that this appropriation will jeopardize the future financial standing and credit of the United States? Therefore, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHORT] is out of step with his own platform. He ought to read it, and in accordance with the time-worn usage obey the platform of his associates.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I am sorry that the majority leader has temporarily left the floor. I rise to deplore the tendency on his part occasionally and on the part of the gentleman who just spoke to draw a party line when we are discussing questions of this character. Today was not the first time that the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCORMACK] has ventured to draw the red herring of votes on the extension of the period of service under the Selective Service Act across the trail of measures pending before the House. He speaks of the Service Extension Act as the extension of selective service, as if selective service itself was expiring and had to be extended which was not the case at all. The implication always has been that votes which were not cast for the extension of the period of time of service under the act were votes against the continuation of selective service; that is utterly inaccurate and wholly wrong.

Those who were Members of the House at that time must recall that the issue involved at that time was not an extension of the act itself; the issue was whether or not those who had already served 1 year under selective service and training should be required to serve an additional 6 months or whether, when they had completed their year, they should be permitted to go into the Reserves, and then if additional duty required be called as Reservists to serve on active duty, while new selectees were called to fill the authorized trainee strength of 900,000.

I recall the situation very clearly because I discussed it with General Marshall and I discussed it with other officers of the War Department at the time. They all agreed that if those who had obtained their 1 year of training under the act were released, as the law provided when they entered, they could be called back to active duty 5 months later under their Reserve liability and have time start to run on that Reserve liability.

I realized that there was a need at that time for continuing a large number of trained men in the service to man our outposts, and had proposed and had introduced legislation to authorize 2-year enlistments with credit on the Reserve service, which I know that many men in the War Department regarded as a practical solution.

Many people other than the gentleman from Massachusetts have referred to the

passage of the Service Extension Act as the "extension of selective service" as if had that bill not passed, the whole selective service force would have been disbanded and ended. That was not true. Selective service was still in force. The men would still have continued to be called under it.

The act had not expired nor was it about to expire, nor has it expired today. The original act, as amended, is still in force. The extension related solely to the period of time of training which could be required without a declaration that national interest was imperiled. It extended that time from 12 to 18 months. That was the extension, and not the life of the act itself. Let the record be clear on that point, once and for all.

Now, then, I would not have taken any time here today except for the fact that this false issue had been brought up again. I expect to vote for this bill as I have for other bills of this character. I regard this as part of the job of cleaning up the war.

My votes for the preparation of the defense of our country did not begin after Pearl Harbor, even by interpretation under the standards of the gentleman from Massachusetts. At the start I opposed lend lease because I thought it was an act of war and would take us into the war and I believed we would be better off in many ways to grant outright credits to the allied countries at war. They could have made their own procurements, and we would not have the questions that have arisen since with regard to titles to surplus lend lease and things of that kind. But when lend lease was voted and became law, I supported appropriations to carry it out and opposed crippling amendments. I said that even if I was riding with a driver who was taking what I thought was the wrong road, I would certainly try to see that he had gasoline to get through. And the authorization before us today, I regard as part of the job we undertook some time ago.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. It seemed to me when I was listening to the argument of the gentleman from Massachusetts that his argument on that particular subject had the same flavor as that of the nonexistent fortification of Guam issue.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Be that as it may, I hope that the Members of my side of the aisle will not permit their natural sympathies to vote for this bill to be dulled or impaired in any sense by the attempts of any speaker this afternoon to draw a partisan or political issue here when none exists.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 15 minutes, debate to be confined to the amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS].

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I am heartily in favor of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER]. He has made a very exhaustive study abroad in the countries where UNRRA is operating, and also in this country. It is vital that there should at least be suggestions and requests as to the operation of UNRRA. While I wish the provisions were mandatory, it is at least a help to have them in the resolution as requests and suggestions. Certainly the opinion of the Congress, which represents the United States, should carry great weight as the United States gives 72 percent of the UNRRA money and supplies. I saw something of the suffering and starvation abroad last year. I saw the generosity of our soldiers to the hungry peoples, especially the children of Europe. The American soldiers are both kindly and generous. Our soldiers are coming back, and they will be there no longer to help feed and care for those people. Many will be there no longer to be our ambassadors of good will.

Granted the difficulties under which UNRRA operated, there has been inexcusable use of the moneys and the provisions of UNRRA. I said to the Congress when UNRRA was first passed, that it would not work out satisfactorily, that Governor Lehman's hands were tied. I tried to secure a better organizational plan.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois, who has also made a very exhaustive study of the whole UNRRA. He was the first Member of Congress to investigate thoroughly the operation of UNRRA. He returned to the United States and was critical of UNRRA as administered. Today he states that conditions in the operation of UNRRA are greatly improved.

Mr. DIRKSEN. If the gentlewoman will indulge me in an observation, it seems to me that in the last 30 or 40 minutes we have lost sight of the fact that pending here are the amendments offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER]. I thought I heard the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON] indicate that he looked with some degree of favor upon these proposals, inasmuch as they are only recommendations, after all, are operated, of course, through the control echelon of UNRRA, and are nothing more than recommendations in order to bring about some kind of an arrangement or agreement by resolution or otherwise with respect to the trade agreements, the facilities, and safe conduct for these people, and finally with regard to motor transport equipment and the title thereto. I do hope that the chairman of the committee will see fit to accept these amendments, since they are permissive in form. I think they do meet a genuine need.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I yield to the chairman of the committee [Mr. BLOOM]. My understanding yesterday was that he would have no objection to them. I understood him to say he would not get to them, but would agree to them.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I stated yesterday as soon as the gentleman from Massachusetts had read his amendment that I did not see any objection to it at all. I say to the committee at this time that I see no objecion to the amendment, and I am going to vote for it. May I say also that I have spoken to a great many members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Republicans and Democrats, and we find no objection to it. So I think we are in favor of the amendment as clarified and as it has been divided; that is, I see no objection at all to the Herter amendment as it was read here this morning, as clarified.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. That is what we will vote on first, and then vote on the other part. That is my understanding. I am very glad the gentleman has agreed to accept the amendment as amended. I believe the amendment of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] really adds force to the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts. It is a very valuable guide to Governor Lehman in his administration of UNRRA and it will strengthen his hand every way.

Mr. BLOOM. I take the position that the Herter amendment as read here has been divided and is acceptable. Of course, if it is going to be amended or substituted by something else, then I must make a reservation. But the amendment as read is clarified.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I yield.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The only thing pending, of course, is section (a) of the amendment and section (b) will be considered as a separate amendment.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes; that is right.

Mr. DIRKSEN. So the chairman is agreeable, of course, to the amendment now pending and which is at the Clerk's desk?

Mr. BLOOM. That is right.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD].

Mr. FLOOD. Of course, the gentleman understands there was a clarification of the amendment subsequently debated by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER]. That is what the gentleman from New York refers to.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts has expired.

[Mr. WHITE addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. BYRNE of New York. Mr. Chairman, yesterday there was considerable discussion regarding the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe. I have a memorandum which I will read into the RECORD that came to me from UNRRA, and which memorandum I have handed to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] who has read it and who has confirmed its contents, at least from his point of view.

This is dated December 5, 1945, and is as follows:

1. On being approached by the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe in con-

nection with the provision by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration of the supplies necessary for CARE to commence its operations, UNRRA made it clear that:

A. It regarded CARE's proposed operation with great interest and sympathy.

B. It was prepared to assist to the maximum possible, compatible with its own operational necessities.

C. It was ready to receive any concrete proposal and consider it carefully.

2. No later than yesterday and after full discussion of the situation, the following points were established by the officials of CARE and the Director General of UNRRA:

A. UNRRA is ready to make available to CARE, 2,800,000 packages of 10-in-1 rations. A further 1,000,000 packages can be made available to CARE from the Army. In addition, UNRRA is prepared to turn over to CARE quantities of C-rations and K-rations.

B. It was proposed that the 10-in-1 rations be sold for $10 per package; thus the total value of 10-in-1 rations available to CARE from UNRRA and the Army would be sold to the public for approximately $38,000,000.

3. This substantial quantity of food should, however, be shipped to Europe with the least possible delay. It must not be permitted to remain in warehouses here while there is such a great need for these supplies in liberated countries abroad. It is therefore essential that the sponsors of CARE undertake immediately the necessary organizational work and arrange for the immediate taking over of the supplies and their earliest distribution, in Europe, including the countries for which UNRRA has supply responsibilities.

That, Mr. Chairman, ends the memorandum.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include a statement I have prepared under the title "UNRRA's Health Program."

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The statement referred to follows:

UNRRA'S HEALTH PROGRAM

Mr. BYRNE of New York. Mr. Chairman, we have heard about the amount of supplies sent to the countries receiving the aid of the United Nations through UNRRA. The tonnage figures for these shipments are impressive: 1,025,422 tons of food, 132,050 tons of agricultural supplies, 81,304 tons of clothing and so on down the line. Toward the bottom is an item which in my opinion is far more important than its place on any tonnage list would be likely to indicate. It is 8,137 tons of medical and health supplies—less than three one-thousandths of the total goods and supplies procured or delivered to the nations receiving UNRRA aid or about 6 pounds out of every ton shipped.

This 6 pounds represents the vaccine flown across the Adriatic to stop a typhoid epidemic, the bandages and pain killing drugs packed by mulcback over tortuous mountain trails, and iron cots unloaded and set up to get a bombed-out hospital started again. Among the medical supplies provided are several hundred precious phials of penicillin placed in the hands of a distribution committee to stop infection and a black market; the DDT spray, and the sprayers that got the malaria inflicting mosquito, and the emergency supplies that helped curb the cholera epidemic, flown across the hump to Chungking before the Japanese surrender.

In order that we may understand the full significance of these supplies I would like to talk for a few minutes about the health program of UNRRA by which they are procured, dispatched and put to work.

During the difficult early days before the invaded countries were liberated—when military calls on the health personnel of the uninvaded nations was heavy and little or no tangible aid in the form of health supplies could go forward—two important commissions met in London. Both of them were composed of experts from Canada, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, United Kingdom, and the United States. One UNRRA commission met to plan for the health and sanitary control of those people who come later to be known as displaced persons. At that time they were refugees fleeing the enemy or unfortunate workers forced from their homes to serve as slave labor in territory controlled by the enemy. I will say more about that work later, and also about the assistance the UNRRA health staff is providing for the countries where missions are operating. But first let us go back to London.

The other commission of health experts meeting there devoted itself to bringing the earlier international sanitary conventions up to date. These conventions, as you know, are agreements between governments for mutual health protection. The history of them goes back over a hundred years. They are successful agreements in the field of international cooperation. They are necessary and they work. But during the war, the International Office of Public Health in Paris was not able to perform its full functions while under German occupation. Something had to be devised to take its place. New methods of disease control and the growing volume and increasing speed of air traffice made revisions necessary. The revised conventions have now been adopted by a sufficient number of nations. They came into force last January. And as a service agency for the United Nations, UNRRA is now entrusted with their administration. This includes the dissemination of epidemic intelligence among the governments and the delineation of endemic yellow fever areas for quarantine purposes.

The establishment of standards to which yellow fever vaccines recognized in quarantine, shall conform, is another of UNRRA's convention responsibilities for the protection of our health. An international experiment is at present being carried out under UNRRA auspices to determine the immunizing power of vaccine manufactured in the French laboratories at Kakar.

I should like to add a word here in regard to the American republics. The Pan-American Sanitary Bureau continues to act as the general coordinating agency.

The revised conventions, administered by UNRRA, provide for the notification by signatory governments of any communicable diseases which, in the opinion of UNRRA, constitute a menace to other countries. Formerly the so-called convention diseases include only plague, cholera, typhus, yellow fever and smallpox. In these ways, UNRRA is not only improving the chances of controlling epidemic diseases but is actually curtailing their potential spread across the frontiers. This type of work may be thought of as preventive medicine. But in the war-torn countries receiving the aid of the United Nations, UNRRA is also called upon to effect a cure.

Some of you may recall the epidemics which swept Europe during and after the First World War. Even though World War II was far more extensive than its predecessor no overwhelming and war-engendered epidemics have as yet taken place.

We should, however, still keep our fingers crossed on that score. The setting for disaster is perfect. The danger, especially this winter, is far from over. But there are a few things in our favor that we didn't have 25 or 30 years ago.

This time, although destruction of dwellings, hospitals, public water supplies and transportation systems has been more thorough and over wider areas, and although there are thousands, nay millions more homeless, hungry people, we do have at our disposal vastly improved techniques and much better weapons for combating disease.

In order that the new techniques and weapons may be used to the full UNRRA offers consulting services and advice to nations receiving aid. There are now some 188 doctors, nurses and sanitary engineers attached to the UNRRA missions in these countries. The service they are rendering in helping the local ministeries of health reestablish themselves is one of the most far reaching aspects of the UNRRA program. This is related to the furnishing of health and sanitary supplies, the needs for which were worked out on the basis of estimates and "intelligence" before the time of liberation. The original supplies to each of the UNRRA countries were based on these early estimates. For the remainder of the program UNRRA will ship supplies based on the actual needs in the countries as determined by the local health authorities in consultation with members of UNRRA health staff.

BATTLING MALARIA

Malaria and tuberculosis are two diseases which because of war conditions can be regarded as almost world-wide problems. They are jeopardizing the general economic conditions as well as the public health in countries where they are prevalent.

Before the war the malarious area in Europe stretched from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, covering the whole of the Balkans and the whole of the Mediterranean coast with small areas in such countries as Hungary and Holland. Antimalarial work in progress broke down during war operations, with the result that there have been substantial increases in the malarial figures in all these countries.

Strange as it may seem, the loss of livestock in Greece has been a contributing factor to the spread of malaria there. The malaria-infected mosquito in Europe, I am told, prefers the blood

of a horse or cow to human blood. When it can, it will bite animals, and with no ill effects. When there are no horses or cows the mosquito feeds on human blood and injects its poison as it feeds.

Today 6,000 out of 11,000 villages in Greece are malarious, 85 percent of the area of Greece and her islands are now affected. The average number of cases annually is between one and two million, and each year approximately 5,000 Greek people die from malaria.

In the Pontine region in Italy, after the Germans damaged the pumping system which formerly drained the marshes, the percentage of malaria rose from 2 to 35 percent among the civilian population. In the province of Latinia the number of cases reported in September 1944 reached nearly 1,600. The problem will continue until the countless number of water-filled shell holes can be filled in, and the pumping and drainage systems restored to working order.

As a result of this enormous increase in the percentage of disease in the liberated malarious countries, one of the first tasks of the UNRRA missions is the planning, in collaboration with the national governments, of a malaria-control program utilizing the most modern weapons.

Because of early shipping and procurement difficulties the program did not go ahead as fast as UNRRA doctors wanted it to move. But now the malarial control operations are under way in the worst malarial areas.

In Italy the program started with the spraying of 1,200 houses with DDT. Ditching and draining of mosquito breeding areas is also being done. The work is being carried out by the Italian Government with close consultation with the UNRRA sanitary engineering staff.

Italian engineers are being trained to supervise work of malaria control units throughout Italy. UNRRA will supply the materials.

The UNRRA mission in Greece reports that malaria was eliminated this summer from the swampy Patros area. Next spring airplanes fitted with aerosol-spraying apparatus will continue the battle. The planes, procured from Army surplus in the United States, have already been shipped overseas. Two Greek pilots and a mechanic are in this country learning how to operate the spraying planes in order that they may take over this work from UNRRA personnel before long. Then they can train operatives in their own country. When UNRRA steps out of the picture in Greece this valuable health and sanitation project will go on as a function of the government. At that time, for the first time in their long history, the people of Greece will be free of the curse of malaria.

PROGRESS AND PLANS FOR THE CONTROL OF TUBERCULOSIS

Tuberculosis has increased rapidly in all the European countries since the war began. Children and young adults are the most common victims of the plague. While little is known of the mortality and morbidity rates of tuberculosis in the recently occupied countries, the number of cases has doubled in many parts of Europe and in the Balkans, where the tuberculosis mortality was high before the war. The war has set conditions back to where they were 25 years ago. The number of deaths from tuberculosis in Rome increased 115 percent between 1940 and 1944. The extent of the calamity in Poland seems likely to be unprecedented.

Detection and isolation of active cases is the first step in the control of tuberculosis. Working toward this end, UNRRA specialists with portable X-ray units have organized Nation-wide surveys. In Greece and Italy their special concern is for the children, although numbers of adults have also been examined. By agreement with the Greek Government, food to th eextent of 3,000 calories daily is now being given to all tuberculosis cases.

It is difficult to hospitalize even serious cases. Damage to hospitals and consequent loss of hospital beds has been severe in war-torn Europe. In Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia it is estimated that approximately 20 percent of all hospital beds have been destroyed, while in Greece the percentage of tuberculosis beds destroyed is quoted as 50 percent. As a result of UNRRA's work, however, repairs are being made to hospitals wherever possible. Beds are being made available and UNRRA supplies are now making it possible to treat tuberculosis victims. The 7,611 tons of medical and sanitary supplies include a number of 200-bed and 40-bed, completely equipped, hospital units which can be used wherever needed.

Last month the Yugoslav mission urgently requested the service of the UNRRA mobile photofluorographic unit and its specialist personnel. Accordingly, the outfit working in Italy since March of this year was moved on to Yugoslavia. Two Italian units put in order by the Italian Mission, will contine the work there.

With UNRRA's assistance and advice, national anti-tuberculosis leagues and associations are again organizing. They will assist with local fund raising and carry on education work somewhat after the fashion of our own TB association here. The formation of such organizations to back up the public health work of the governments of the countries is another sign of recovery.

PROBLEMS OF NUTRITION

The Health Division of UNRRA is giving special attention to nutrition for the simple reason that the food deprivations experienced by the people in the ex-enemy occupied areas has resulted in conditions of widespread malnutrition and even starvation. We are all aware that malnutrition plays an important part in tuberculosis, malaria, and typhus. So, in order to secure dependable evidence as to the actual extent of malnutrition, UNRRA found it necessary to have its experts make surveys of sample groups. These surveys have been carried out in France, Belgium, Holland, Greece, Italy, and in the extensive refugee camps in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria for which UNRRA assumed administrative responsibility in May 1944. Several outstanding church groups in this country have cooperated with UNRRA in making these surveys.

Preliminary reports generally state that young children have not suffered as severely as those over 10 years of age. The older children show lack of growth as well as other signs of malnutrition. The picture is, of course, spotty because of local conditions and the failure of internal transport. The rich did not suffer as much as the poor, and those who could afford to buy on the black market are better nourished than those who could not. But UNRRA services and relief are open to all who need them regardless of ability to pay.

These UNRRA surveys not only provide bases for immediate relief work, but provide information of considerable value for further study and will contribute to human betterment in this field. Their immediate value to UNRRA is to help direct food supplies to the people in greatest nutritional need. In Italy, standard medical reports on clinical evidence of malnutrition are now required when UNRRA relief is supplied, and the reports sent to the Ministry of Health furnish material on which the food program for the entire country is planned. Physicians and public health nurses in the liberated areas are being trained in the newer techniques of nutrition. Nutrition conferences, including demonstration of the uses of UNRRA foods, have been widely held, and in Athens a small experimental kitchen has been established where the preparation of UNRRA foods not previously in common use in Greece is adapted to recipes conforming to Greek food habits. Special brochures have been prepared on the uses of powdered milk and soy flour.

The horrors of the notorious Belsen Concentration Camp have been made known to us. In April one of UNRRA's nutrition experts, who had been working closely with SHAEF Netherlands mission studying the nutrition problem in Holland, received an urgent call to come to Belsen at once. He was needed for consultation with medical and public health officers of the Twenty-first Army Group and the Second British Army. They asked his advice on the best manner of treating those who had not yet died. An UNRRA nutrition expert was later called for to assist in the medical care of survivors at Belsen. He was put in charge of a detachment of 96 medical students enlisted through the British Red Cross. These people fed, treated, and returned to life many hundreds of victims of Nazi oppression. An UNRRA hospital unit has since been supplied to Belsen and an UNRRA matron is in charge.

HEALTH CARE FOR THE DISPLACED PERSONS

The tremendous responsibility of caring for the millions of displaced persons in Germany and facilitating the return to their homes was shared by the military and UNRRA. To this effort, the Health Division of UNRRA has contributed approximately 490 doctors and 450 nurses to work in teams in the camps, and a small medical, nursing, and sanitation staff for the operating headquarters office. Now that Europe has been liberated, UNRRA has been able to secure personnel from many European

countries, and today doctors and nurses of the Health Division come from almost all of the 47 nations.

As a preventive measure, the DP's receive a DDT antityphus dusting to destroy disease-carrying lice. A routine health examination follows as quickly as possible to determine which ones are in need of treatment or hospitalization for any cause.

The assembly center for displaced persons at Hanau, near Frankfort, affords a practical demonstration of what can be provided by way of medical care in an isolated spot. This center houses about 8,000 people. It has been divided into several units according to nationality and the language spoken—Polish, Russian, Italian, and so forth. Each unit has its own dispensary. Several doctors and nurses drawn from among the professionals housed there comprise the staff. They serve under the supervision of the UNRRA doctor who is a Frenchman, and his assistant, a skillful surgeon of Dutch nationality. Each dispensary reports daily to the medical center. Even before the debris had been cleared from the bombed building which serves as medical headquarters, that center was doing everything medical that needed to be done in a community of 8,000 far from average individuals. The level of medical care that is being provided is high—by any set of standards, and especially remarkable with the limited resources that were at first available.

One of the earliest field activities of health division personnel was the medical nursing and sanitation work among the 40,000 refugees in the Middle East camps. Today many large contingents of healthy people from these camps have been cared for by accompanying doctors and nurses of the division, and repatriated to their liberated countries. Before they started home they were given essential immunizations.

Health rules proposed by UNRRA to the European governments for the health and sanitary control of displaced persons have been largely followed and no serious epidemics have spread across frontiers as a result of the movements of these people. The report of the UNRRA Commission is being used as a basis for planning for the health and sanitary control of displaced persons in the Far East. An epidemic of measles, brought in by new arrivals from both Yugoslavia and Greece, was the only serious outbreak of disease that occurred in any of the camps.

Today, the training in nursing hygiene, antimalarial control, and the use of DDT in disinfestation received by the refugees while they made their homes in camps in the Middle East is already proving a valuable contribution to the public health work of their own communities now that they have been repatriated.

The work is not over in Europe. There are still some 650,000 people in the camps that must be cared for until homes can be found for them.

UNRRA should also be able to complete the health work so auspiciously begun in the countries receiving its aid in the next 18 months. As you know, UNRRA is scheduled to wind up all its operations in Europe by the end of 1946 and in China by the end of the first quarter of 1947. During this period the health ministries of governments can be strengthened so that they will be capable of carrying their own burdens. They will still have heavy ones, for it will be years before war-weakened population can be brought back to normal. That part of the work will go on long after UNRRA is out of the picture. Meanwhile, until the countries are able to stand on their own feet financially, drugs and other needed health supplies must be brought in, and sound professional assistance given whenever epidemic threatens.

THE PROGRAM IN THE FAR EAST

With the surrender of Japan UNRRA's field of action has grown enormously. Even before the Japanese surrender the UNRRA health program had a foothold in China. Several Chinese experts, aided by UNRRA, were brought to this country for further training. They are back in China now working and teaching others in a theater of operations which is the largest any public health program has ever had the courage to face.

I wonder how many of you were aware that in the late spring of this year cholera began breaking out in the overcrowded sectors in and around Chungking, an area in which many of our troops were stationed? UNRRA dispatched a team of doctors and sanitary engineers with orders to help fight the impending epidemic. Their speedy and effective action in cooperation with the Chinese brought the dread disease of cholera speedily under control.

This step was taken at the urgent request of the military and the Chinese Government. UNRRA acted in pursuance of responsibilities placed by member nations on this service agency of ours.

Today health personnel for the Far East are being recruited and sent as rapidly as possible to the seven health districts into which liberated China has been divided. The Chinese Government is carrying more than a proportionate share of the load, but UNRRA doctors, nurses, sanitary engineers, and supplies are the keystone of the program. Without continued assistance of the United Nations until March 1947 the health work which the local government has so valiantly planned would collapse.

No matter what body we turned to or created there are certain jobs to be done. National health organizations must be assisted and put on their feet as soon as possible. The extreme shortage of medical, sanitary, and hospital supplies must be overcome. Epidemics must be put down and their spread prevented. At the present time UNRRA is discharging these responsibilities. Its work on a global scale in the field of public health cannot be duplicated by any other agency.

I think all of us here are not insensitive to humanitarian appeals. Personally, and as a nation, we want to do all in our power to alleviate suffering. We could not pass by on the other side of the road when there is a rickety child standing in need of milk, or when there is a malarious family struggling to regain economic independence.

But here in America we have an interest in the UNRRA health program that is not entirely humanitarian. Our concern for controlling epidemics is, in part, self-interest. It has been demonstrated time and again that disease knows no national boundary lines. An offensive program for controlling epidemics abroad is the best defense against war-engendered disease at home.

Aside from our strong desire to prevent suffering wherever and whenever we can, and our interest in keeping our own shores free from foreign pestilence, there is yet another reason why we in America should be intolerant of an undernourished, disease-ridden Europe and Asia.

In the first place, the work of rehabilitation moves slowly when populations are widely inflicted with malaria or tuberculosis, or when thousands are exposed to typhus or cholera and may be dying. We know from experience that sick people do not make good farmers. Unless farm families are healthy, crop yields are cut. And in the city when a wage earner dies of tuberculosis the whole family goes on relief. People beaten down and weakened by malaria can't give a struggling new government the kind of responsibile citizenship it needs. In order that industry and agriculture may flourish the people must be healthy. Foreign exchange and the production of exportable goods are dependent on a healthy industry and agriculture.

And now we come to this country. To a great extent our own domestic economy is dependent on maintaining a marginal foreign market. To get right down to brass tacks, sick people do not make good customers. And if we are either foolish enough, or callous enough, to let hundreds of thousands of people die of uncontrolled epidemics, well we will soon find out that we cannot do business with a graveyard.

Right now the entire medical program of UNRRA—from the administration of international conventions for the control of aerial navigation to the stopping of an epidemic in a city in the interior of China, is one of the best forms of insurance I know of. It is the kind of a program that makes sense—an investment in international well being abroad that is also an investment in prosperity and safety at home.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired, all time has expired.

The question is on the first part of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts, as amended.

The first part of the amendment as amended was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the second part of the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HERTER:

"'B. The President shall endeavor, through appropriate channels, to facilitate the admission to recipient countries of properly accredited members of the American press and radio in order that they be permitted to report without censorship on the utilization and distribution of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration supplies and services.'"

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, I shall not take 5 minutes on this amendment

because I believe the issue is very clear, and it is not unlike previous amendments voted on.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mr. FLOOD. Do I understand that the gentleman and I have agreed that he will accept as a clarifying amendment in the first line of section (c) following the words "the President" the words "is hereby requested to" striking out the words "shall endeavor"?

Mr. HERTER. I am glad to.

Do I understand the gentleman offers that as a clarifying amendment?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. FLOOD. Was the amendment read carrying the clarifying language to section (b) as well as to section (a)?

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment as modified has not yet been read.

Mr. FLOOD. Is it in order for me now to move such an amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. Such motion is not in order. The gentleman from Massachusetts has the floor.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from Massachusetts yield?

Mr. HERTER. I shall be pleased to yield.

Mr. FLOOD. May I request the gentleman from Massachusetts to make such a motion at this time?

Mr. HERTER. I shall be glad to offer such a motion. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be modified by adding in the first line after the word "President" the words "is hereby requested to" in lieu of the words "shall endeavor."

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will report the suggested amendment to the second part of the pending amendment.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FLOOD to the second part of the amendment offered by Mr. HERTER: Strike out the words "shall endeavor" where they first appear and insert in lieu thereof the words "is hereby requested to."

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HERTER. Do I understand that the first motion comes on the Flood amendment? I shall be very glad to accept the Flood amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania to the second part of the Herter amendment is agreed to.

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts may proceed.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, to return to the subject matter of this amendment it deals with a subject about which a great deal has been said on the floor of the House, namely, whether or not the members of the American press shall be allowed to view the work being done by UNRRA and report to this country on the work in certain areas on the world.

Personally I feel that it is extremely important that that be done but I feel it should be done voluntarily and not be made a condition precedent to the use of any money for relief. As I said earlier, with respect to the first part of my amendment, I feel we should not make that a mandatory provision at the present time because the time element is so important in this entire relief operation if it is to be effective. Everything that we give must be available as soon as possible so that it can be put to use during this critical winter. For that reason the amendment that I have offered is a recommendation on the part of the House that the President be requested to facilitate by special agreement or whatever proper channels we may choose to use, the entry of members of the American press into those recipient countries where today they are prohibited from entering and reporting on the work.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. WHITE. Does not the gentleman believe that in accepting the clarifying amendment he is putting the Congress—representing 130,000,000 people—in a very embarrassing position in reference to requesting that the money we appropriate be publicized? If the request is refused, then the Congress is turned down and the American people are turned down. The gentleman puts us in that position. Does not the gentleman think that is the position he is putting us in?

Mr. HERTER. I do not think it is an embarrassing position in any way. There is a very important issue involved. We are dealing in the future operations of UNRRA in sections of the world that are closed to all outsiders.

Mr. WHITE. Why put us in the position of being refused at all?

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to yield further.

Mr. WHITE. The gentleman is not interested in that subject, but he is trying to put it across in the House.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, I refused to yield.

Mr. Chairman, without endangering the success of the relief operations, I am trying to get the American members of the press an opportunity to go into the sections where they are now prohibited from going in order to report on the various relief operations. There is a bigger question involved than that raised by the gentleman from Idaho, and that is the question as to whether or not in years to come we are going to develop the kind of understanding with our neighbors to the east which comes from knowing what is happening now. I feel that is an extremely important issue and I disagree very fundamentally with Walter Lippmann and the statement he published this morning because I do not think Walter Lippmann is familiar with relief operations. After all, in this relief operation there are hundreds of thousands of tons—millions, in fact—of goods being shipped into various countries. It is not difficult in this relief operation to be able to trace what happens to that colossal quantity of material and see whether or not it is being properly administered.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I want to make the statement that I made previously to the committee in reference to the first part, section (a), of this amendment, which is agreeable to me and a great many members of the Foreign Affairs Committee on both sides. I wish, also, to state at this time that this part, section (b), just read and explained by the gentleman from Massachusetts, as corrected, is also agreeable to us.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute for the amendment to section (b).

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BROWN of Ohio as a substitute for section (b) of the Herter amendment:

"SEC. B. Provided, for the purpose of keeping the people of the United States fully and properly informed as to the need for and the use of the relief and aid being or to be furnished various countries and peoples by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, that none of the funds hereby authorized to be appropriated, or none of the commodities, supplies, materials, or services purchased or obtained through the expenditures of funds authorized herein, shall be furnished to or used in any country of which the controlling government interferes with or refuses full and free access to the news of any and all activities of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration by representatives of the press and radio of the United States; or maintains any barrier—technical, political, legal, or economic—to obtaining, dispatching, and disseminating the news of any and all activities of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, or discriminates against the representatives of the press and radio of the United States in rates and charges for facilities used in collecting and dispatching such news; or censors, or attempts to censor, in time of peace, news of any and all activities of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which may be prepared in or dispatched from such country by representatives of the press and radio of the United States."

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, the amendment which I have offered as a substitute for that by the gentleman from Massachusetts is practically identical with the amendment which was adopted by this House to the appropriation resolution passed a few weeks ago for the sum of $550,000,000 to complete the original commitment made by the United States to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The measure which we have before us today provides for an entirely new commitment and has no connection with the original commitment or legislation authorizing the appropriation of $1,350,000,000 of funds for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administra-

tion. Therefore, it is very proper, in my opinion, that we consider under just what conditions we wish to enter into this new agreement and to assume this new responsibility or commitment. In another legislative body when the amendment adopted by the House a few weeks ago came up for discussion, it was argued that the amendment should not pertain to the appropriation authorized under the original bill because such an amendment had not been contained in the original authorizing legislation. During the debate on this matter in the other legislative body it was stated that when a new legislative measure should come before it, such as this particular measure that we are now considering, that this amendment would be given the most serious consideration, and a number of the leaders and outstanding members of both parties announced that they expected to support such an amendment at that time.

We have fully argued and discussed the provisions of this amendment. I believe it is familiar to everyone. It is not a restrictive amendment at all. It is an amendment that simply provides the American people shall have some impartial information as to how the money they furnish under this legislation, or the food or the clothing or the medicines purchased through their contributions, are actually distributed to the starving and to the needy people of Europe. It seems to me that the inclusion of such a requirement in this law is nothing more nor less than being fair to your constituents and to mine, the people who will be called upon to pay the cost of this commitment that the Congress may make for them.

Certainly if the American people are to have the unvarnished and unbiased truth they can get it only through a free press. There is nothing in this legislation which requires any other country to grant freedom of the press to their own people. The only requirement in this amendment is a very simple one, that the representatives of the American press and radio be given access to the news of that which is being done by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, wherever it may operate. Under this amendment no authority is conferred upon the representatives of the American press to interfere with the internal affairs of other nations, or to compel other nations to give them that right. They can cover and report only the news of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It is only in that way we can be assured that the very thing we want to do through this legislation is being done, as a matter of fact.

I know there has been a section of the press in America that has criticized this amendment. It is not surprising to me. I know that one or two columnists, as we call them, have also been critical of this amendment. It is not amazing to me that the editorials and the columns on this subject just happen to appear, many of them, on the morning this amendment is being presented to the Congress.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I yield to the gentlewoman from Illinois.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. It is because we have columnists and fifth columnists.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. For some time we have had here in America, and seemingly we are getting more of them in these days, some men and women who seemingly are more interested in the welfare of other nations than they are in the welfare of their own country. There has not been a time that I know of, in my recollection, when one of these columnists, who has been quoted here on this floor rather liberally today, has ever spoken out for the interests of America when there was any opportunity whatsoever to be for the interests of any other nation.

I am growing just a little sick and tired of these tactics and falsehoods, of this propaganda, and of this pressure that has been so apparent throughout the country to the effect that the American people are not entitled to know what is being done with the funds they furnish under this authorizing legislation.

I say to you that any honest, decent organization, and I do not care whether it is UNRRA, whether it is some branch of our Government, or whether it is some business, no honest, decent organization is ever fearful of permitting the press and the radio to know what its activities are.

I am wondering why there should have been such a great drive made in the last 2 or 3 weeks to endeavor to convince the Congress of the United States that the American people should be given no opportunity to know what is going on in the administration of UNRRA. There must be some reason behind it. Why, you might as well say we should bar the press from the gallery of this House, or that we should bar them from the various departments of this Government, as to say we should bar them from reporting on the operations of UNRRA, inasmuch as we are contributing 72 percent of all the money which goes into the financing of that organization.

May I say, in closing, that I am just a little bit suspicious of any amendment which may be offered here, supposedly for a free press, when it has the approval of the distinguished gentleman who is in charge of this bill on the majority side.

Mr. Chairman, I hope this amendment will be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I hope very much that the Committee of the Whole will turn down this substitute offered by the gentleman from Ohio and adopt the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts. It will be recalled that the gentleman from Massachusetts stated that this was the same amendment which was put on the UNRRA appropriation bill recently and which was passed by this House by a vote of 188 to 168. Seventy-four Members were not here and did not vote. It went over to the Senate. I understand the Senate has deleted that amendment, passed the bill, and sent it back to us without even a roll-call vote in that body. Now, we all are in favor of freedom of the press. But let us see what the press itself says about this thing. Representatives of the press are the ones who are most jealous of their free-press rights. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House was in session here for 2 weeks on this bill. Through that very medium of the press and freedom of the press, word went out throughout this land that this bill was under consideration in that committee. Certainly, every newspaper in the land knew about it. Not one single newspaper in the United States requested time before that committee to appear in opposition to this bill on account of the absence of a free-press provision. Not one single newspaper made such a request. On the other hand, there were dozens of representatives of the press of the United States who came there to testify and say that this so-called freedom-of-the press amendment was a misnomer and that it would as a matter of fact be dangerous to the freedom of the press instead of preserving that principle.

So far as news is concerned, with reference to UNRRA or the operations of UNRRA, the Director General testified that not on any occasion had his representatives been denied the right to go into the countries where UNRRA was operating to get information and the news. They have been given access to every nation every place where UNRRA operated. They went into those countries and saw what was going on and how the job was being done. Members of the House, there is a more serious question involved here than either this amendment or the substitute. The question arises here as to whether the United States, which has pledged itself to membership in an international organization for relief of human need and suffering, has a right now, after it has pledged itself to the principle of cooperation, to take unilateral action here and say, "Yes; we have already given our word, but we want to change the rules of the game on our individual say-so. Suppose the 45 nations in UNRRA should individually demand the right to claim something for themselves along a similar line? At this late date it would be preposterous and it would wreck this organization. It would wreck the other organizations that are now being perfected to insure peace for this world and maintain monetary and educational stability and things of that kind. It is just ridiculous. We want news to be given concerning what UNRRA is doing, but it should be given upon the insistence of UNRRA itself and not through unilateral action here.

May I call to the attention of the House that Mr. Clayton, who sat in the Council of UNRRA in London, testified that not one single proposition which the United States representatives had suggested to the UNRRA Council had been turned down. I have no doubt but that the proposition that representatives of the press of the United States have free access will be given every consideration by the Council of UNRRA. I believe they will do everything in the world to give it. But, do not forget, we must not demand. We do not have the right to demand out of the hides and bones of

the starving people of Europe and Asia that they and their governments guarantee freedom of the press or freedom of religious worship, or freedom of assembly, or any other kind of freedom, because dying and starving people cannot wait for that.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, just as I congratulated the gentleman from Massachusetts this morning, I wish also to again congratulate the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. ADAMS], who voted for the amendment we are discussing now, to the last appropriation bill, and who, on November 28, said on this floor:

> I believe the people of this country today would vote overwhelmingly to provide our share of the funds immediately needed for UNRRA. From reliable information it is clear that right now our failure to provide our share of the funds for this United Nations Organization is costing untold human life. Although I am one of those who voted for the free-press amendment, and believe in the principle for which it stood, the result has been delay.

Mr. Chairman, when the representatives of the United Nations signed the UNRRA agreement at the White House on November 9, 1943, and proceeded the next day to Atlantic City to work out the details of that agreement, it was a united effort, generally so understood by all, on the part of 44 nations. It was generally understood and agreed that those 44 nations would act in accord and unanimously in behalf of suffering humanity of invaded countries. Of course, it was necessary for the legislative bodies of the different countries, those which have legislative bodies, to approve or disapprove the agreements that were signed. There was no provision for an amendment of that agreement by any of the legislative bodies. It was necessary for them to vote it up or down. Consequently, a majority of us on the Foreign Affairs Committee do not believe that unilateral action should be attempted by this country. We are in thorough agreement with the idea of freedom of the press. Naturally, no one has any monopoly on the desire that these funds be used properly. Therefore, we thoroughly agree with the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER], which is entirely suggestive and recommendatory. We equally thoroughly disagree with the substitute which requires and demands action, and would withhold our contribution if such action as some of us wish on the part of another of these 44 nations does not occur.

May I add that no Member of Congress nor any other witness appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee in behalf of this amendment. Every witness interrogated, which means every witness who appeared except one who was opposed to the entire bill, expressed positive opposition to it.

Now, suppose we pass it. Doubtless certain representatives of other countries also have pet ideas that they think might be popular in their areas. Naturally, if we indulge in a restricting, delaying amendment, many of them might be tempted to do likewise, and before any relief ever reached these starving people they would be so dead and so long buried that it would be impossible to resurrect them. Yes, the displaced Pole, the Chinese coolie, the Philippine guerrilla will suffer just as much and be just as dead if his starvation results from a delaying amendment such as this as he would be if it resulted from the fact that no UNRRA existed or from the defeat of this bill. The Greek peasant, who is in sore need of a few seed to plant next spring that he and his family may be self-sustaining next fall, will be just as hungry at that time and just as much a public charge if his failure to become self-sustaining results from a delaying amendment such as this as he would be if this bill were not passed at all. If you are opposed to this bill, vote against it, but do not try to kill it in this indirect way.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN] has expired.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, it is hard indeed for me to understand the logic of men who are not willing to stand up for a free press throughout the world.

The sunlight of publicity is what is needed in all the darkened countries of the earth today. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN] talked about the Philippines. A free press, or free news service, already exists in the Philippines; we have no trouble there on that score.

He spoke about Greece. The Greeks admit our newspaper reporters, our press agents at any time.

He spoke about the Chinese coolies. Of course, if we are going behind the lines and join the Communists, we might have some trouble getting news out to the rest of the world, but if we stand by those Chinese under Chiang Kai-shek who stood by us when our boys were dying on Okinawa and Iwo Jima at the hands of the savage Japs, then our press representatives will be permitted to go in, just as they are now, and keep us fully informed.

There is absolutely no argument in favor of sending American money where the American press is refused permission to go.

Read what is going on in those Communist dominated coutries, read the reports from Bulgaria. The little peasants who welcomed the Communists with opened arms were shedding bitter tears in 24 hours at seeing their homes stripped and their stock driven away. Read the press reports from our own reporters in Bulgaria. If that condition is going to prevail, the American people ought to know it. They ought to know what they are getting out of this thing. Read the arguments of Dorothy Thompson, one of the bitterest enemies Hitler ever had. Read her articles of the rape of innocent women in the Communist controlled areas of Europe; read of the murder of innocent men, and the robbery and plunder of helpless people of all classes in the Communist-controlled areas.

Read the letters of Dr. Piper of Princeton University and the testimony of the rape, murder, robbery, and plunder that is being perpetrated against the Christian men, women, and children in the Communist-controlled area of Germany.

Do you want the Christian people of America to send money in there and then deny a free press to go along with it?

We all want to feed the starving people of Europe; but we want to know what is being done with the funds we provide.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Does not the gentleman believe our American citizens ought to know where UNRRA aid is going in these puppet countries? It does not go where it is needed—the Anglo-American occupied sections where they really need it.

Mr. RANKIN. Communism is based on hatred for Christianity. In my opinion, if you send this money behind closed doors and drawn curtains, the hungry, suffering, abused, outraged, helpless Christian people of Europe will get just about as much out of it as Lazarus did out of the banquet of Dives.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Is it not also true that there is grave danger of a controlled press attacking this country and creating great prejudice against it?

Mr. RANKIN. Oh, yes.

We have stood for a great deal in this war. But certainly our people who contribute these funds should know what is actually going on in those countries where the money is being spent.

One of the greatest things that can happen to the Christian people of the world is a free press, free information at all times, and not a subsidized channeling of malicious propaganda.

If we are going to send this money, if we are going to take it out of the pockets of the American taxpayers, I would much rather turn it over to the Red Cross. There is not an agency of mercy on earth that stands higher than the American Red Cross, and the Red Cross of the world so far as that is concerned.

Turn this money over to the Red Cross and let them see that this money is used for the purposes for which the American Congress appropriates it. We were not responsible for the outbreak of this war, but we were responsible for winning it; and, for God's sake, if we are going to appropriate money to try to save the suffering people of the world let us see that this aid reaches them.

I am not opposed to feeding these unfortunate people; but I am opposed to having this money spent in secrecy, and probably used to fight the cause of Christianity, or to poison the peoples of other countries against us.

Therefore I shall vote for the Brown amendment to guarantee the representatives of the press the right to go to any place where these funds are sent and to keep the people of this country informed as to how it is being spent.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 45 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] is recognized.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Brown amendment and I would like to say to the gentleman from Mississippi that I am as violently opposed to any semblance of communism and any of its forms as is he. I have represented my church from one end of this country to the other for 10 years in opposition to communism, on the national radio and in articles I have written against it. But I would like to point out that the Brown amendment does exactly the opposite from what the gentleman from Mississippi suggests.

Russia is the country he is worrying about. For that matter, so am I. Why not say so? I am concerned about the millions of people in Poland, and I think many Members of this House are as well.

I cannot think of a greater weapon that you can place in the hands of Soviet Russia to destroy the millions of Poles who have not yet been destroyed than to give that country the Brown amendment. There is no doubt that the Government of Poland is a puppet government for Moscow. We all know that. You give to Russia the right to keep out of Poland or any place else representatives of the American press and that means that UNRRA cannot go in. If UNRRA cannot go in, the millions of men, women, and children that we are trying to save and keep alive will die because the Brown amendment will prevent UNRRA from going into those countries. Good heavens, can you not see that? If this Brown amendment were before the Russian parliament, or whatever it is called, they would pass it unanimously and destroy an opposition in any country in which they are connected directly or indirectly. Can you not see further than your noses, you, who support the Brown amendment?

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. I yield to my distinguished leader.

Mr. McCORMACK. May I call attention to the fact that in the election recently held in Austria less than 5 percent of the votes were for the Communist candidate.

Mr. FLOOD. I want to appeal now to my colleagues on my side of the aisle who I think through misunderstanding supported the Brown amendment when it was offered as an amendment to the appropriation bill. Let me remind you that the Senate by a viva voce vote unanimously disagreed and threw out the Brown amendment when it got there. Let me also point this out to you: Some of you who did vote for the Brown amendment before thought that you were voting for freedom of the press. The press is not concerned about this problem here. From one end of the country to the other the press, since the Brown amendment was passed by this House, has denied that it wants its rights so valiantly protected, and "methinks" the gentleman from Ohio "protesteth too much" the sanctity of the freedom of the press with which the press is not concerned here and generally states itself that there is no freedom being sacrificed.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. What assurance can the gentleman give the country that the relief which is going to Poland is getting to the deserving people under the present secret operations of this agency?

Mr. FLOOD. May I say that I am not presumptuous enough to assure the gentleman of anything, but I will go this far——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

(Mr. FLOOD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. LUCE].

[Mrs. LUCE addressed the Committee. Her remarks appear in the Appendix of todays RECORD.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. GALLAGHER].

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Chairman, I believe thoroughly in the statement of our chaplain the other day that America is liberty's wonderland. I believe in our system. I am neither a Socialist nor a Communist, but I consider this amendment nothing less than a Russian-baiting amendment. When we have such problems with Russia as we have to consider, Iran, Poland, Japan, China, and the Balkans, and our foreign administration has to take these matters up with them, if you insist that we have the press come in there and tell about UNRRA—and it affects only Russian-controlled lands—can you guarantee Russia that these men will not speak of the Russian system or their politics, or the way it is administered, after they get out of there?

This is dynamite, headed for trouble. I am not willing to tell Russia what kind of a government she should run, even though I do not believe in her government.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN].

[Mr. HOFFMAN addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. HOFFMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. TOLAN].

Mr. TOLAN. Mr. Chairman, I am not in favor of the Brown amendment.

In March 1944, the House by a vote of 338 to 54, and the Senate by 47 to 14 passed Public Law 267, with no strings attached, providing that we give UNRRA an amount equal to 1 percent of our national income in 1943. Other United Nations made the same pledge.

The Senate struck out this identical Brown amendment providing restrictions on the spending of this appropriation.

Legally and morally we are committed to keep our original pledge and to comply with the terms of the law passed by us. This law had no strings attached to it then. Why should we handcuff the administration of this humane law now? You would not help out a poor and starving family at Christmas, or any other time, and then go into their homes and tell the poverty-stricken and grieving mother what way she should spend the money for her starving babies.

This will never be a happy world or this a happy Nation if we permit, by a crippling amendment, millions of poor, helpless, and starving people to go to their death. We are legally bound; we are morally bound to carry through with UNRRA.

Revolutions are caused by poverty. The coming winter may tell the story whether civilization itself is to survive.

The heart of the American people is sound. They are willing to cut down on their own food and clothing to feed the hungry and clothe the naked.

Civilization is on trial; this great Nation is on trial and I plead with you today to keep faith with the legal and moral law by helping the millions of starving mothers, fathers, and babies, who depend on us, as to whether they will live or die. If we keep faith with our congressional promise I am sure it will bring untold blessings to this Nation of ours.

(Mr. TOLAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DONDERO].

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, on three previous occasions I have voted for UNRRA; first, for confirming the agreement and then twice for the commitments we made. I intend to support this bill. However, a serious question has been raised here today, and an argument has been lodged against it, whether or not we should attach the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN]. The argument lodged against it has been made by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RICHARDS]. I can very fell understand that to attach a condition to a contract is a dangerous thing to do after that contract is made, especially when one party to that contract seeks to attach that condition alone.

May I observe, however, that if this bill passes without the amendment being attached regarding a free press, it seems to me the obligation and the responsibility will be upon those nations which receive aid, or administer the relief we intend, to see to it that the American people, who are providing 72 percent of the relief, be given all the news and all the facts in reference to the administration and distribution of the relief we provide in this bill.

I now want to ask a question. There has come to me some information this

afternoon that Italy has received about $50,000,000 under UNRRA for expectant mothers and children. We find no fault with that. Further, the information is to the effect that there is some agreement pending, perhaps secret, that Italy is to receive $450,000,000 more from UNRRA—and I do not complain with that—but I rise to ask if at the same time that we grant UNRRA relief to Italy, is it true that Russia is demanding reparations from Italy? Is there anyone on the committee who can answer that question? If there is, I pause and will permit any member to use my time to answer it.

Mr. BLOOM. That has never come to my notice in any way, shape, or form.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that I may yield 1 minute of my time to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DONDERO].

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DONDERO. I yield.

Mr. RICHARDS. I will say to the gentleman, who is one of the ablest Members of the House, that Russia did demand reparations from Italy, but our State Department repudiated that demand on the ground that Italy was in need of help from us and, therefore, was unable to pay any reparations.

Mr. DONDERO. I thank the gentleman for answering that question. That is the answer I wanted.

Mr. BLOOM. May I say that the statement to which the gentleman refers has been mentioned in the press, but as the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RICHARDS] has stated, this demand has been very strenuously objected to by both Britain and the United States, if that is what the gentleman refers to.

Mr. DONDERO. Yes; that is what I refer to.

Mr. BLOOM. That was objected to.

Mr. RANKIN. Is that not one reason that the International Conference in London blew up?

Mr. BLOOM. I do not know. I was not there.

Mr. RANKIN. I am just asking for information. We know it wound up in a confusion of tongues, and I understand this was one of the elements in that confusion.

Mr. BLOOM. We objected to it and so did England.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

[Mr. CARNAHAN addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CARNAHAN] has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. LEMKE].

Mr. LEMKE. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say I am not in favor of blindly following mere words. I think the American people have a right to know that the money we are appropriating is going to the hungry people and not going to the liquidators of the hungry people and of other innocent people in Europe. I cannot understand the cowardly attitude that says we must permit the liquidators to do as they please, if there are any liquidators. I am not assuming there are. I shall assume that all these nations which have hungry people want to let us know that it goes to the people for whom we appropriated it.

In the first place, how much longer are we going to be made suskers—not only suckers but blind suckers—in permitting ourselves to be humbugged into something we know nothing about? If we had taken a little more intelligent interest and demanded a little more publicity in time, perhaps we could have avoided World War II. I know we were made suckers when we permitted 43 "gi' me, gi' me" nations to put over upon our—should I say our people who did not know any better—our representatives who had no diplomatic intelligence, that each nation was to pay 1 percent of its national income, so that we as one nation agreed to pay as much as the other 43. No; not as much as the other 43, but over three times as much as the other 43. How was that put over on our dumb representatives of the State Department of our Government? By somebody making a motion that the amount each nation was to pay was to be 1 percent of their national income. They did not tell you, and our diplomats did not know, that our national income was being stimulated by creating a $300,000,000,000 indebtedness. Our national income is just on paper. It does not exist as a reality. And yet we assumed three times as much obligation to feed the hungry people of these 43 nations that started the war, which we had nothing to do with starting.

Then we sent our boys to win that war for a bunch of liquidators, if the language used on both sides of the aisle is correct. I have no reference to Russia. I hope the Russians are gentlemen. If they are as black as the gentleman from Pennsylvania painted them, then we have got into some pretty bad company, and we had better wash our hands of them and do it while we can.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Dakota has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] for 3 minutes.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, the bill before us today is a bill relating to human beings. That is the primary objective of the bill. It is the primary thing we should keep in mind. Each and every one of us in America has ingrained in our minds and in our hearts the great rights that the framers of the Constitution established, and which we have inherited from past generations. One of those great rights is freedom of the press. But today we are confronted with the problem of trying to save human beings.

This bill is not aimed to assist governments, it is aimed to assist human beings in other lands. Countless millions of them, many children among them with their parents lost; in Poland it is estimated that 1,000,000 out of 7,000,000 children under 14 years of age have only one of their parents living, and several hundreds of thousands with no parent living. That is the primary objective of the bill—to help and save human beings.

My remarks today are not against the Herter amendment, because I believe it is constructive and I intend to vote for it. I respect the views of my friend the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN], the sincerity of his motives and purposes, in offering his amendment, but I am in frank disagreement with him that such an amendment should be put on a bill of this kind. Suppose this amendment were adopted and put into practical operation, UNRRA would be denied to countries unless the President certified that freedom of the press existed in those countries, with millions of people faced with starvation, with millions of people faced with the vicious cold of the coming winter. In the disillusionment resulting from their suffering those people are likely to react and turn toward the ideology of communism, or even turn toward anarchy.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. The gentleman does not mean to say that under this amendment the President would be compelled to certify that freedom of the press existed in all these countries, does he?

Mr. McCORMACK. If the gentleman's amendment is adopted and goes into operation as a condition precedent for the relief of human suffering in those countries the President would have to certify there was freedom of the press, and where he did not so certify those people would not get relief.

I wish to make one further observation, there is no one more opposed to communism than I. I am the author of every bill that has passed the Congress in the last 17 years aimed at subversive activities in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. ROBSION] is recognized for 3 minutes.

[Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BELL].

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, a few weeks ago we had a bill similar to this at the time we were authorizing an appropriation of $550,000,000 for the relief of the needy peoples of war-torn Europe. That bill had an overwhelming vote in this House.

Mr. Chairman, in my opinion, the American people from one end of this country to the other are enthusiastically in favor of sharing what we have and giving what we can to relieve the suffering in Europe. On the other hand, the American people have a lot of sound, common sense. No nation in the world today has a debt burden as heavy as the burden of debt hanging over the heads

of the American Nation; no nation has ever before in all the centuries of history paid as much in taxes as America paid last year and in connection with the burden that is now placed on her shoulders. In addition to the one they are bearing now an added tax will be necessary to carry out the purposes of this bill. The people are entitled to know where that money is going.

Over on my side of the House we Democrats voted in large numbers last time for an amendment practically the same as the Brown amendment. I did it because I could not vote the money of my people away and then go back home and have them tell me that I voted away their money without at least giving them a chance to find out what country it went to and whether it went to the people they wanted to help.

From one end of this country to the other in recent weeks prominent men descended from people of these European countries have told the people of the United States that although vast quantities of material and vast sums of money presumably have gone into their countries, the needy of the countries were not getting it. They stated it is going somewhere else.

How can I go back to the people of my district, how can you go back to the people of your district and face that sort of charge, when you are voting to lay another tax burden on their shoulders? I am sure they are willing to take it if they know the money they are spending is going to relieve the needy; but if people who were born in those countries and who have kept in touch with them come back here here and tell us that, although you people are being taxed for it, that money is not going to feed the people you think it is going to, I think it is up to us to put a clause in this bill to give us the right, not to control the press of that country, not to interfere in their internal affairs, but giving the right to the American people to know what becomes of the money we generously give.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS].

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I am very sure that all fair and decent persons want relief to go to the needy and the suffering abroad. I have worked with these 434 Members of Congress, all colleagues of mine, and I know that every Member here is a decent person. Everybody wants relief money to be spent most wisely and most efficiently. There is just a difference of opinion as to how that can be accomplished.

I have no doubt, Mr. Chairman, that heads of countries will agree to the Brown freedom-of-the-press amendment in order to secure this money for their countries. I am not afraid of that at all, Mr. Chairman. I am very much worried to have the freedom of the press not allowed in those countries, because I fear that the press in these countries that will not allow freedom will be used against the United States for propaganda with a view to creating antagonism against the United States. We will be said not to be willing to help those persons and the needy will not receive relief.

Today I am very much alarmed, Mr. Chairman, because we do not know more about our foreign policy, what is going on in other countries, or what our policy is in other countries. I am very much alarmed, Mr. Chairman, because so many of our soldiers today are giving up their lives in foreign countries, and this country is not conscious of what is going on.

The people of the United States are entitled to know the facts. I am in favor of the Brown amendment, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH].

Mr. SABATH. I take the floor to explain that there were three reasons that caused me to favor the reporting of the rule which provides that the misnomer "free press" amendment shall be in order. In the first place I have always believed that the House membership should have an opportunity to vote on a controversial matter. Second, because I feel that in view of the fact that the Senate defeated a similar House amendment when the first UNRRA bill was considered that it would not favor the adoption of a like amendment at this time and, third, in my desire to obtain favorable action in the reporting of a rule without further delay and not because I favored the unwise former action of the House.

Mr. Chairman, it is not because I do not believe in free press that I oppose the amendment, as I cannot bring myself to believe that it is intended for that purpose, but merely to give certain press representatives whose newspapers are unfriendly to the cause of relief to the peoples of the stricken countries the opportunity to send in critical and unfriend articles carrying charges that will make headlines in their newspapers.

Naturally, the people of some of the foreign countries make complaints as to our dispensation of the relief and I observed that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BELL] opposing the bill charged that he had heard from many outstanding people in some countries who complained that they were not receiving the aid to which they were entitled. The lady from Illinois [Miss SUMNER] and others are opposed to this relief principally on the grounds that it may help some people in communistic countries. It appears to me that the lady and a few others in this House are suffering from communistic hallucinations. While I dislike the Nazi, I feel that some of this aid should be extended to them to save them from starvation, knowing full well it will not be appreciated.

Mr. Chairman, we have attained a splendid reputation the world over for keeping our faith and in the promises we have made. We have attained a reputation by aiding humanity and in carrying out our pledges and assurances. Therefore, we must maintain that reputation and our good name which is bound, I am sure, to be recognized and appreciated by the unfortunate people who have been driven from their homes and which only this action can save them from starvation. I believe this great country of ours should carry out its obligations, and I feel that it will, without attaching any strings that may bring about conditions that will make it impossible to do justice to those deserving people.

Personally, I am in touch with and I hear from people all over the United States because of my position, and I know that the good women and good men, the good Christians all over, believe in the teachings of Christ to feed the hungry. They believe in feeding the hungry and doing justice to all. "Love thy brother as thyself."

Before I conclude, may I say there will be a meeting tomorrow at 2 o'clock of the Committee on Rules on the civil-service-retirement bill. Everyone opposed to it is invited to appear.

(Mr. SABATH asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Brown substitute amendment. I do so because I am convinced that the publicity which was demanded by Mr. Herbert Hoover in the operations of the American Relief Administration following World War I contributed greatly to the well-known success of that organization. Full publicity of the functions of UNRRA will end many of the irregularities of which we are now complaining.

It is interesting to note, Mr. Chairman, that while Mr. Lehman favors secrecy, Mr. Hoover demanded full publicity. As the result, Mr. Lehman's administration is noted for its inefficiency and crookedness, while Mr. Hoover's administration succeeded in every way without one criticism made against it. Mr. Hoover's ARA functioned in 20 countries, while Mr. Lehman's UNRRA is functioning in but 7 countries. Nearly 19,000,000 metric tons of food were distributed by the ARA, in Great Britain, Russia, Rumania, Poland, Armenia, Austria, Lithuania, Latvia, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Germany, Finland, Danzig, Estonia, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Belgium.

To date, Mr. Lehman's UNRRA is functioning only in Greece, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Albania, and China. And, according to statements that have been made in this debate, the people of these countries are receiving foodstuffs valued at less than 25 percent of the money being appropriated. Mr. Hoover's organization functioned with but a few people in the administrative offices of the American Relief Administration while the UNRRA is employing thousands.

No, there was no secrecy in the operations of the ARA, and the foodstuffs we purchased went to the starving people of 20 countries of Europe, rather than into the black markets of Europe, as has been the experience under the UNRRA. Let

me repeat. Mr. Hoover demanded publicity. Mr. Lehman demands secrecy.

As someone has well stated, there were no monkeyshines in the American Relief Association in the dark days following World War I. There was no fear of hurting the sensibilities of the countries on the receiving end of our relief. The object was to care for the hungry and needy. In this connection I wish to quote several clauses of the so-called Riga agreement which was negotiated between the Russian Government and the ARA.

The first clause is especially interesting in view of the current reports of and the suspicions being voiced today:

First, that the ARA may bring into Russia such personnel as the ARA finds necessary in the carrying out of its work and the Soviet authorities guarantee them full liberty and protection while in Russia. Non-Americans and Americans who have been detained in Soviet Russia since 1917 will be admitted on approval by the Soviet authorities.

And these clauses are interesting, too:

Eighth. That the relief supplies are intended for children and the sick, as designated by the ARA * * * and remain the property of the ARA until actually consumed by these children and the sick, and are to be distributed in the name of the ARA.

Ninth. That no individual receiving ARA rations shall be deprived of such local supplies as are given to the rest of the population.

Tenth. That they will guarantee and take every step to insure that relief supplies belonging to the ARA will not go to the general adult population nor to the army, navy, or government employees but only to * * * (children and the sick "without regard to race, religion, or social or political status").

Eleventh. That Soviet authorities undertake to reimburse the ARA in dollars at c. i. f. cost or replace in kind any misused relief supplies.

The twenty-first clause of the Riga agreement is especially pertinent to my argument to support the pending amendment, and in view of reports of irregularities in UNRRA, such as switched labels, now being told by our returning soldiers. It reads:

Twenty-first. That they will acquaint the Russian people with the aims and methods of the relief work of the ARA in order to facilitate the rapid development of its efficiency and will assist and facilitate in supplying the American people with reliable and nonpolitical information of the existing conditions and the progress of the relief work as an aid in developing financial support in America.

This is the manner in which the American Relief Administration carried on, Mr. Chairman. As the result the starving people of Europe were fed and the ARA emerged from its job without one bit of scandal. There was full publicity. That is what this pending amendment will bring. And it will save UNRRA many headaches and the taxpayers of America many, many dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS].

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, I do not know how many Members have had occasion to read the column in this morning's Post written by Mr. Walter Lippmann to which reference has already been made in the debate. I believe it worth while to reemphasize, before this vote is taken what Mr. Lippmann had to say. Actually the only way in which we shall get accurate information about what is happening to UNRRA relief is through American officials abroad, either officials of UNRRA or officials of our own Government. To expect American press correspondents to go beyond the sources of information they normally use, which are according to Lippmann those very same official sources, is to place upon the press a responsibility which it cannot be expected to discharge.

It appears to me that any man or woman who is deeply concerned about the position of America in the world today will see clearly how important it is to that position for our country to meet this crisis in human destitution in as simple and direct and evidently generous a way as it can be done.

True, I cannot assure the House that the thing is going to be done perfectly. I believe it is going to be done much better than would have been the case had these questions not been raised here. I am glad they have been raised. But when it comes to the type of bill we are going to pass, I think we shall have to do it to a considerable extent on faith in the American officials of UNRRA and upon faith in the officials of our Government in the nations where the relief is given. For that reason, I hope the proposal made by the gentleman from Massachusetts will be favored and the proposal made by the gentleman from Ohio will be defeated, for I believe that the proposal of the gentleman from Massachusetts is far better calculated to place our country in the kind of unassailable position which it can place itself in here and now by doing generously all that anyone could expect her to do to relieve the distress of the world. May I say that will be done in contrast with the fact that from certain other nations there has been quite an opposite type of action. I have faith that in the long run those two types of action, the one on the part of America and the other on the part of certain other nations, will live in the minds and the hearts of the people of the world to the benefit of this Nation and all she stands for.

But most important, Mr. Chairman, are the hungry people of the world. As long as we can help them it is our Christian duty and privilege to do so. That is all this bill is for.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH].

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I think I am somewhat more optimistic about this question of the freedom of the press in some of these other nations than a good many of my colleagues here in the committee. The fact is that the ideal is gaining ground steadily and healthily, even in some of those regions in which we believed it could not flourish. For example, members of the press are admitted to Czechoslovakia, to Poland, to Yugoslavia, and to Austria. All four of those nations are receiving assistance from UNRRA. The same is true in Italy and in Greece. Likewise, China, I believe that with the area of resistance, if I may so call it, constantly narrowing, it would not be healthy for us as a government to lay down an ultimatum to anybody. A declaration by this Congress in the form suggested by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] would, in my judgment, have an exceedingly healthy and helpful effect, not only because it expresses the ideals in which we believe, but because it does so without challenging anybody and without offending people. There are all kinds of people in this world. There is a great area in eastern Europe in which there has never been any freedom of the press. It is absolutely unknown. Slowly but surely the bordering nations about which we have spoken so often here, are admitting representatives of the press. I think the Herter amendment will be exceedingly influential. It proceeds in orderly fashion. It does not carry an implied threat, but it lets the whole world know how we think about the freedom of the press. That is the best way to win the world to our way of thinking.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON] to close debate.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman who has preceded me, the very able gentleman from New York, I think has summed up in a very few sentences the reasons why the Brown substitute should be defeated and why the Herter amendment should be adopted. The very best reason that anyone could have if they voted for the Brown amendment before and vote against it as a substitute on this occasion, is the example of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER], who supported that amendment before, but who says now that he is convinced that in the mandatory form it is unwise and he has therefore modified and changed his amendment to read as follows:

That the President is hereby requested through appropriate channels to facilitate the admission to recipient countries of properly accredited members of the American press and radio in order that they be permitted to report without censorship on the utilization and distribution of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Adminstraton admnistrative supplies and services.

We are seeking to act, as has been so well stated by the gentleman who has preceded me, in a manner not to give offense and calculated to get results. I believe it would be far more effective and at the same time there would be no possibility of denying some people in some countries UNRRA relief, as would be the case under the Brown amendment. If the Brown amendment is adopted, we say, "No relief can go to that country." There would result death from starvation and cold, and misery to the poor and helpless people who could not help themselves. As was said by the distinguished majority leader, this is a humanitarian measure. Let us put it upon that ground. If we do, I think we shall certainly vote down the Brown substitute and adopt the more reasonable and sensible Herter amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired. All time has expired.

The question is on the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] to the second part of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER].

The substitute amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the second part of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER], as amended.

The second part of the amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there other amendments?

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read, as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. JONKMAN: Page 1, after line 11, insert the following:

"SEC. 2. Notice shall be given, and communicated to the Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, of the withdrawal of the United States from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, so that such withdrawal will be effective on June 30, 1947. Such notice shall be given and communicated by the President of the United States, or by such other official of the Government as the President may designate, in conformity with the provisions of article X of the agreement concluded by the United States and Associated Governments on November 9, 1943."

(Mr. JONKMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is offered in order that we may at the appropriate time, in a legal, lawful, and orderly manner, wind up the UNRRA organization. It is offered under article X of the agreement which was made by the United Nations in forming this Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Administration.

Article X reads as follows:

Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of 6 months from the entry into force of the agreement by that government. Such notice shall take effect 12 months after the date of its communication to the Director General, subject to the member government having met by that time all financial, supply, or other material obligations accepted or undertaken by it.

Mr. Chairman, UNRRA was formed for the purpose of affording war relief, not for general relief purposes.

It was formed only to give relief to the war-stricken nations that had been invaded as a result of the war, and it should be confined to that purpose.

I think that by June 1947, we will have reached our objective. I think we should bear in mind that when UNRRA was approved in this House it was our opinion that we should carry the stricken nations through one crop period. If we pass this bill, we will have carried them, with the exception of China, perhaps, through two crop periods.

In passing, lest there should be any misunderstanding about it—there was some implication to that effect yesterday afternoon—I want to say that I shall support this bill without amendment or with reasonable amendment. It does not make any difference to me. I stated my reasons for that yesterday, but I do think we should proceed in an orderly manner and with a little foresight as to how we are going to dispose of the UNRRA organization. If we do not do anything, we will be at this same period next year still bound by an agreement that we cannot get out of for a year.

There was some discussion in the committee as to whether or not after war relief had been accomplished, UNRRA might continue, for instance, to give relief to famine-stricken people, and so forth, and to countries that are now receiving war relief who are probably suffering as much from famine as from the ravages of war.

I do think that if that time comes it should be taken up by another organization or by the United Nations Organization. The reason I think we should adopt this amendment is that the United States led in the conception of UNRRA. I think it led in the organization of UNRRA and I think it led in the operation of UNRRA at least with reference to the contributions that have been made. I believe it may safely be said that there are a number of nations—and I think it is probably true of all the rest of the nations—who feel the burden of UNRRA fully as much as does the United States; that is, I believe we are as well able to bear it as any other nation, and they should be made to feel and have confidence that this is not a continuing organization that is going to run from year to year. I believe too that just as we took the lead in forming UNRRA we should also take the lead in winding it up. By the adoption of this amendment other nations will have some program to go by, some assurance that if they make this year's contribution then they are through with it; and I think that suggestion should come from the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this amendment because the gentleman from Michigan, who is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, never suggested an amendment of this kind while the legislation was under consideration in the committee. This is the first time it has ever been suggested to me or to the committee. Furthermore, the gentleman is acquainted with the fact that in all the hearings it was stated it would take through the year 1946 for UNRRA to finish its relief work in Europe and the first 3 months of 1947 in China. That would take us up to April 1, 1947. What the gentleman's amendment does is to say to UNRRA that it is compelled to wind up its tremendous organization within 3 months when all officials, all representatives of UNRRA, have stated it would take not only all of that time but 3 months of 1947 as well to continue its work in the Pacific. That would be an impossible task. Furthermore, no money would be saved whether this amendment carries or is defeated. The fact remains, however, that its passage would tie the hands of UNRRA as far as we are concerned if only 3 months were allowed them to complete their work.

As I said in the beginning the amendment was never considered by the Foreign Affairs Committee, of which the gentleman from Michigan is a member. He never presented it to the committee or mentioned it in any way. I do not believe this is the way to bring up such an important amendment. I therefore recommend that it be disagreed to.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. JONKMAN. Is it not also true that UNRRA will be through in Europe in 1946 and aware that their job is done so that they can use those 3 months of 1947 to wind up their affairs? I think it is orderly procedure.

Mr. BLOOM. It is also true, and this is a fact, that the biggest part of the work yet ahead of UNRRA lies in the Pacific area and China, where so many people need its help. As the gentleman knows, it has been stated several times that this Pacific area work will require the first 3 months of 1947. That would mean that after their work was completed it would still take them 3 months of effort without their having a dollar to work with, to complete its work. And this in itself is an immense task, and the gentleman knows it.

Mr. JONKMAN. How long does the gentleman propose that UNRRA shall continue?

Mr. BLOOM. I should like to see it closed out just as soon as it can be closed out. As the gentleman knows, the administrative expenses of UNRRA are defrayed separately by all member nations of UNRRA whether they contribute their 1 percent to its relief funds or not.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. The gentleman who offered the amendment speaks of orderly procedure. This amendment is a rather vital one and should have been considered by the Committee on Foreign Affairs so that the various angles with respect to it could have been considered and determined. It is dangerous to adopt an amendment offered on the floor without having been given consideration by the committee.

Mr. BLOOM. I may say to the gentleman, and he knows I will keep my word, that I will be very glod to consider an amendment of this kind in the committee at any time and get the opinion of the officials of UNRRA and see whether it is possible to do it or not. I am agreeable to that, but I do not think this is the way to bring it up.

Mr. JONKMAN. I want to apologize to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs for not thinking of it during the committee consideration of this matter, but I was busy with other matters.

Mr. BLOOM. So was I.

Mr. JONKMAN. I think it is an evidence of good faith if we pass this amendment.

Mr. BLOOM. I will go into it the first opportunity.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I am in favor of the pending amendment. I think it would make for orderly procedure and result in much more prompt delivery of food and needed things for the hungry people in Europe and the Pacific.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word simply for the purpose of emphasizing the reply to the question of my good friend from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN], who inquired when we propose to end UNRRA. While I am in thorough agreement with the opposition to his amendment, because I do not think such snapshot action should ever be taken on the floor of the House, I wish to call the attention of the Members of the House and the gentleman to something he is well aware of, as are all other members of the committee, and that is the hearings are full of evidence that the UNRRA organization has every intention of concluding its work in Europe, except perhaps the winding up of loose ends, by December 1946, and 3 months thereafter in Asia.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, unless this Congress makes this move to close up UNRRA I do not think we have any assurance that the American representative on UNRRA will move to close it up. I give you as an example the way the American representative there is acting at this time. Mr. Clayton, the American representative, testified that on his motion at a recent meeting of the UNRRA organization there was put through the proposition that $250,000,000 shall be given to White Russia and the Ukraine. Those are part of Russia. Russia is ineligible under the constitution of the UNRRA agreement to get any aid.

Mr. Chairman, it simply shows how some fellow travelers who are operating in connection with UNRRA are willing to do anything to the damage of the United States to sell a piece of cotton or some machine tools at the expense of the American taxpayers.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. JONKMAN. May I say that the gentlewoman from Illinois is eminently right. We have absolutely nothing to say about the continuation of UNRRA except through the UNRAA council, on which we have one member. They can say absolutely who is going to have help, where they are going to spend the money, and how long they are going to run. There is only this opportunity for the Congress to express itself by giving instructions to the President that we are going to be through when this authorization is finished and it is the only time that the Congress will get to speak on this subject.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

Mr. Chairman, I expect to vote for this bill. The people of America have never been niggardly when its wealth has been needed to relieve known human suffering. But under this bill we are giving tacit approval to the allotment of $250,000,000 to Soviet Russia. And I submit that no information has been given the Congress to show that Russia is not in position to finance its own requirements. It is true that on page 148 of the committee hearings there is a statement that the UNRRA Committee on Ability to Pay held a hearing on the subject. At that hearing, as per Mr. Lehman—and I quote:

They—

Meaning Russia—

submitted a document.

Thereupon this Committee on Ability to Pay—composed of one American and four men of other nationality—decided that Russia was not in position to pay. So we pay $250,000,000. And that remarkably persuasive document has not been made available to us nor did our representative on this Ability to Pay Committee testify before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. This, Mr. Chairman, is blind giving. It smells.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCK. I yield to the gentlewoman from Illinois.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Russia has gold and uranium which the scientists they have taken from Germany are working on in connection with the atomic bomb.

Mr. BUCK. I agree with the gentlewoman.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin: Page 1, line 9, strike out the sum "$2,700,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$1,850,000,000."

[Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, of course I am opposed to this amendment. Again, at no time from the beginning of UNRRA up to the present time—and I was in it at the beginning—has any suggestion of this kind ever been made. We must remember, in connection with my comments of yesterday, that all the nations have agreed upon this one standard—that is, 1 percent of the income of their respective countries for the year 1943. So if we were to cut this authorization, naturally the other countries would do the same thing, and it would destroy the principal point we have made in our agreement with UNRRA.

The gentleman who offered this amendment never suggested an amendment of this kind in the committee meetings, although he was there all the time. No one has ever suggested an amendment of this kind.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. The gentleman will recall that the galley sheets in this matter were not ready until last Thursday afternoon. On Friday noon I had a call from the clerk of the committee wanting to know whether or not I would O. K. the proof. I say that is too short a time to examine the galley sheets and to submit the proposition to the committee.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman knows the procedure of the committee and also of the House. To offer an amendment of this kind he does not need a galley proof. The galley proofs are, as you all know, merely the proofs of the hearings. The gentleman was present at all of the hearings, in executive session and otherwise. No suggestion of this kind was ever made, or has ever been made any other place, either on this side of the Capitol or anywhere else.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Is not the complete answer that this is an authorization bill, and before any money is appropriated the Committee on Appropriations will have to have hearings and the need will have to be shown? Therefore, the question is not one to be debated at this time.

Mr. BLOOM. That is a very good point. The idea is that we cannot do anything with reference to this at this time.

Mr. Chairman, I hope the amendment will not prevail.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mr. JENKINS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Chairman, I think the amendment of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] is worthy of the support of every Member, for it seeks to reduce the amount by $500,000,000. UNRRA has not administered its affairs in such a way as to encourage enthusiastic support. The amount provided in the bill less $500,000,000 will leave enough to carry the program for another year. By the end of the harvest season of 1946 we will know whether we should contribute any more money. I am firm in my belief that it would be better to reduce this amount as provided in the amendment of the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin) there were—ayes 75, noes 137.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SMITH of Ohio: On page 1, line 9, after the figure "$2,700,000,000", strike out the period and add a colon and the following: *"Provided,* That no funds herein shall be used to pay the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration contributions to the "provident fund" of employees thereof when any employee separates from the pay roll thereof before such employee reaches 65 years of age."

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order against the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, in the Director General's report of September 1944, the following statement is made:

One of these special benefits is to provide a provident fund. It is intended to solve various problems.

The statement goes on to say:

This fund is made up of deductions of 5 percent from the salary of each employee, plus an additional 7½ percent contributed by the Administration, the total to be available to the employee upon leaving the Administration with an honorable record after at least 6 months of service.

In other words, an employee, if he has been in the service of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration for a period of only 6 months, is permitted to draw out not only what he paid into the fund but also the part that the Administration paid into the fund. I know of no authority or precedent that can justify this arrangement. Civil Service personnel in the employ of the Federal Government are not provided with anything of the sort. They cannot draw out any part of the Government's contribution to the retirement fund except in the form of retirement benefits after the age of retirement, and even then only if they have had 5 years or more of service.

So that the salaries paid by UNRRA, which, together with other allowances, in my judgment, represent the highest income received by the personnel of any government agency in the world, are not the real salaries. The real salaries are those listed, plus an amount equal to 7½ percent of those salaries. For example, a salary listed at $14,000 is really $15,050. One listed at $10,000 is $10,750, and so on. This 7½-percent contribution to the provident fund, in my judgment, is irregular. It does not conform with the practices which we pursue in this country. Therefore, I think it should be prohibited.

Here is an injustice that is being carried out by UNRRA. It seems to me that those Members who are really sincere in their protestations that they want to see UNRRA renovated will prove themselves by voting for this amendment.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I yield.

Mr. REED of New York. I believe the gentleman said they had to have an honorable record in order to enjoy the benefits of which he spoke. Is that correct?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. That is right.

Mr. REED of New York. At the rate that these thieves are operating black markets, they will not get many of the benefits.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I yield.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. UNRRA is part of an international organization. Does not the gentleman think that the bureaucrats of an international superstate should be permitted to have super security?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. They are apparently getting it at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the point of order.

I hope this amendment will not prevail. It was recognized at the outset that UNRRA would necessarily have to draw its personnel in the main from the United States Government and from other member governments. With this in mind, officials of OFRRO, the relief organization of the United States Government which preceded UNRRA, had extensive conferences and communications with the United States Civil Service Commission for the purpose of ascertaining the benefits enjoyed by United States Government employees so that UNRRA could offer similar conditions of employment to Federal employees who wished to work for UNRRA.

As a result of these conferences with the United States Civil Service Commission, UNRRA decided to arrange a provident fund comparable in nature and amount to the United States civil-service retirement fund, and otherwise adopted the United States Government personnel policies. UNRRA employees have been notified that the benefits accruing to them in the provident fund may be used to make payments into the United States civil-service retirement fund.

In other words, UNRRA's provident fund is a pension plan for its employees—employees in a temporary organization—which is designed to protect and continue the rights of those same employees in the pension plans they enjoyed with their previous employer.

I hope the amendment will be voted down.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SMITH].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SMITH of Ohio) there were—ayes 39, noes 114.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, if today were 6 months ago, I would not vote for this bill to authorize appropriation of another $1,350,000,000 for UNRRA, but would vote instead for America setting up a relief organization of its own to do the job, or at least to handle our own share of the job—that would have been my position then not because I do not want the job done but because I think it would have been done better that way. It just is not natural for even American citizens to be as careful in spending American public money, as they are of their own private funds. It is even less natural for citizens of other countries to be as careful of money that is 72 percent American as they would be of money given by their own countrymen.

When the original UNRRA proposal was before us, I argued as strongly as I could in favor of it because among other reasons I felt that if we could not cooperate with other nations on the matter of feeding the starving, then on what could we ever hope to cooperate? I thought that was a sound position; but I think now that I was wrong. Relief is one of the hardest instead of one of the easiest matters on which to get cooperation because food is a much more powerful weapon in dealing with a hungry man than is a bayonet or even an execution squad. I believe we could have carried out our 72 percent of the program far better for all concerned if we had handled it through an American organization over which we would have had control as well as responsibilities. But we didn't do that. Now we have a situation which has changed in the last 6 months. First, the war is over. If we had time to set up another agency and get it in full operation, an American agency to do our part of the task and let the other nations organize likewise, if they wish, to do their share, I would urge that this be done. Then it would be done in the most efficient and effective way possible. But there is not time. The war is over and it will be this winter, these next few months, which will be the most critical. It would not do much good to get food next year to people who are going to starve this winter. The transfusion has got to be administered now, we cannot put it off 3 months or 6 months. Our choice now is not between this and something better, but between this and nothing at all in the next few months. Therefore my conscience tells me to support this action today, anything else will be too late.

The second thing that has changed the picture considerably in the last half year is that with the end of the war it is possible to get a much higher grade of personnel in UNRRA, and our many protests have led to the engaging of abler and more experienced administrators. As a result there is evidence from any number of countries of a much better job being done with less graft, less political influence, and less waste and delay than was the case only 6 months ago. So I feel under obligation today to vote for this authorization with the hope and the confident expectation that the administration will steadily improve and that this money will be spent in a way which will be both humanitarian and, in the long run, beneficial, not only to the recipients, but also to ourselves.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Yesterday the gentleman from New York said that the $550,000,000 we appropriated a month ago would carry UNRRA through until March of next year.

Mr. JUDD. Yes.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Then why not wait until that time before making a further appropriation?

Mr. JUDD. Because the harvests in Europe and Asia do not come in March. People can and will starve between

March and June or July. The money has got to be appropriated now in order to get the supplies on the way to take care of those people after March when the $550,000,000 runs out. We have got to keep the pipe line full, not wait until it is completely exhausted and then start filling it up again.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. What assurance have we that this transfusion is going to occur now?

Mr. JUDD. I do not have any absolute assurance of its success any more than I would if I administered a blood transfusion to a patient in need of it. I have no positive assurance that the patient is going to live as a result of the transfusion, but I do have the certain knowledge that without the transfusion he has no chance whatever of living. So we must provide this transfusion now because there is every reason to expect that it will be life saving to literally millions of people.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. REED of New York. If they kept the food from reaching the black market, there would probably be enough to carry them past the next harvest.

Mr. JUDD. I am not discouraged by these reports of black-market operations. I am glad the reports are out, because they do not mean the situation is getting worse. They mean it is getting better. They indicate corrections and tightening up and firings that were long overdue. I would be much less likely to vote for this appropriation if these reports had not come out. They show that improvements are being made, that those in charge of UNRRA are at last really cleaning house. It is encouraging rather than discouraging.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. The gentleman made the statement that it is either this or nothing. I cannot agree with him on that point. If the gentleman studies the relief procedures and the relief organizations following the other war I believe he will come to the conclusion that we could in a very short time set up a relief organization that would be better than what is being done now.

Mr. JUDD. May I say to the gentleman that I have studied the relief procedures used after the other war and consulted with the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] who was at the very center of that program. I became convinced, as is he, that it simply is not practicable or even possible to set up another organization now and get it going in time to save several millions of people this winter.

(Mr. JUDD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. SPARKMAN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, pursuant to House Resolution 444, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 327, nays 39, not voting 66, as follows:

[Roll No. 196]

YEAS—327

Allen, Ill.
Andersen, H. Carl
Anderson, Calif.
Andresen, August H.
Andrews, Ala.
Andrews, N. Y.
Angell
Arends
Bailey
Baldwin, Md.
Baldwin, N. Y.
Barden
Barrett, Pa.
Barrett, Wyo.
Bates, Ky.
Bates, Mass.
Beall
Beckworth
Bell
Bender
Bennet, N. Y.
Bennett, Mo.
Biemiller
Blackney
Bland
Bloom
Bolton
Bonner
Bradley, Pa.
Brooks
Brown, Ga.
Brumbaugh
Bryson
Buck
Buckley
Bulwinkle
Bunker
Burch
Burgin
Butler
Byrne, N. Y.
Camp
Campbell
Canfield
Carnahan
Case, N. J.
Case, S. Dak.
Chapman
Chelf
Chenoweth
Church
Clark
Clason
Clements
Cochran
Cole, Kans.
Cole, N. Y.
Combs
Cooley
Cooper
Corbett
Courtney
Crawford
Crosser
Cunningham
Curtis
D'Alesandro
Daughton, Va.
Davis
Dawson
De Lacy
Delaney, James J.
Delaney, John J.
Dickstein
Dirksen
Dolliver
Dondero
Douglas, Calif.
Douglas, Ill.
Doyle
Drewry
Durham
Eaton
Eberharter
Elliott
Ellsworth
Elsaesser
Elston
Engel, Mich.
Engle, Calif.
Ervin
Fallon
Feighan
Fellows
Fenton
Fisher
Flannagan
Flood
Fogarty
Folger
Forand
Fuller
Fulton
Gallagher
Gamble
Gardner
Gary
Gavin
Geelan
Gerlach
Gifford
Gillespie
Gillette
Gillie
Goodwin
Gordon
Gore
Gorski
Gossett
Graham
Granahan
Granger
Grant, Ala.
Grant, Ind.
Green
Gregory
Gross
Gwinn, N. Y.
Gwynne, Iowa
Hale
Hall, Edwin Arthur
Hancock
Hand
Hare
Harless, Ariz.
Harness, Ind.
Harris
Hart
Hartley
Hays
Healy
Hébert
Hedrick
Heffernan
Hendricks
Henry
Herter
Heselton
Hess
Hill
Hinshaw
Hobbs
Hoch
Holifield
Holmes, Mass.
Holmes, Wash.
Hook
Howell
Huber
Hull
Izac
Jarman
Jenkins
Jennings
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Ind.
Johnson, Luther A.
Johnson, Lyndon B.
Johnson, Okla.
Jonkman
Judd
Kean
Kearney
Kee
Kefauver
Kelley, Pa.
Kelly, Ill.
Keogh
Kerr
Kilburn
Kilday
King
Kinzer
Kirwan
Kopplemann
Kunkel
LaFollette
Landis
Lane
Lanham
Larcade
Latham
LeCompte
LeFevre
Lesinski
Link
Luce
Ludlow
Lynch
McConnell
McCormack
McCowen
McDonough
McGregor
McKenzie
McMillan, S. C.
McMillen, Ill.
Madden
Mahon
Manasco
Mansfield, Mont.
Mansfield, Tex.
Marcantonio
Martin, Iowa
Martin, Mass.
Mathews
May
Merrow
Michener
Miller, Calif.
Mills
Monroney
Morgan
Morrison
Murdock
Murphy
Murray, Wis.
Neely
O'Brien, Ill.
O'Brien, Mich.
O'Neal
O'Toole
Outland
Pace
Patman
Patrick
Patterson
Peterson, Ga.
Pfeifer
Philbin
Pickett
Ploeser
Plumley
Poage
Powell
Price, Fla.
Price, Ill.
Priest
Quinn, N. Y.
Rabaut
Rabin
Rains
Ramey
Ramspeck
Randolph
Rankin
Rayfiel
Reed, Ill.
Rees, Kans.
Resa
Richards
Riley
Robertson, N. Dak.
Robertson, Va.
Robinson, Utah
Rockwell
Rodgers, Pa.
Roe, Md.
Rogers, Fla.
Rogers, Mass.
Rogers, N. Y.
Rooney
Rowan
Russell
Ryter
Sabath
Sadowski
Savage
Sheppard
Sheridan
Sikes
Simpson, Ill.
Smith, Maine
Smith, Va.
Smith, Wis.
Snyder
Somers, N. Y.
Sparkman
Spence
Springer
Starkey
Stefan
Stewart
Stigler
Sullivan
Sundstrom
Taber
Talle
Tarver
Taylor
Thom
Thomas, N. J.
Thomas, Tex.
Thomason
Tolan
Torrens
Towe
Trimble
Vinson
Voorhis, Calif.
Wadsworth
Walter
Wasielewski
Weaver
Weichel
Welch
West
Whittington
Wickersham
Wigglesworth
Wilson
Wolfenden, Pa.
Wolverton, N. J.
Woodhouse
Woodruff, Mich.
Worley
Zimmerman

NAYS—39

Abernethy
Arnold
Bishop
Boren
Buffett
Byrnes, Wis.
Clevenger
Cole, Mo.
Cox
Cravens
Dworshak
Earthman
Ellis
Gibson
Hoffman
Johnson, Ill.
Jones
Knutson
McGehee
Mason
Miller, Nebr.
Norrell
O'Hara
Phillips
Pittenger
Reed, N. Y.
Rich
Rizley
Robsion, Ky.
Schwabe, Mo.
Schwabe, Okla.
Scrivner
Shafer
Short
Smith, Ohio
Stockman
Sumner, Ill.
Vursell
Whitten

NOT VOTING—66

Adams
Allen, La.
Auchincloss
Barry
Boykin
Bradley, Mich.
Brehm
Brown, Ohio
Cannon, Fla.
Cannon, Mo.
Carlson
Celler
Chiperfield
Clevenger
Coffee
Colmer
Curley
D'Ewart
Dingell
Domengeaux
Doughton, N. C.
Fernandez
Gathings
Gearhart
Griffiths
Hagen
Hall, Leonard W.
Halleck
Havenner
Hoeven
Hope
Horan
Jackson
Jensen
Keefe
Lea
Lemke
Lewis
Lyle
McGlinchey
Maloney
Mundt
Murray, Tenn.
Norton
O'Konski
Peterson, Fla.
Reece, Tenn.
Rivers
Roe, N. Y.
Sasscer
Sharp
Simpson, Pa.
Slaughter
Stevenson
Sumners, Tex.
Talbot
Tibbott
Traynor
Vorys, Ohio
Weiss
White
Winstead
Winter
Wolcott
Wood
Woodrum, Va.

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Auchincloss for, with Mr. Wood against.

Mr. Murray of Tennessee for, with Mr. White against.

General pairs until further notice:

Mr. Havenner with Mr. Leonard W. Hall.

Mr. Lyle with Mr. Halleck.

Mr. McGlinchey with Mr. Stevenson.

Mr. Jackson with Mr. Tibbott.

Mr. Coffee with Mr. Mundt.

Mr. Maloney with Mr. Bradley of Michigan.

Mr. Cannon of Missouri with Mr. Chiperfield.
Mr. Doughton of North Carolina with Mr. Brown of Ohio.
Mr. Celler with Mr. Lewis.
Mr. Weiss with Mr. Vorys of Ohio.
Mrs. Norton with Mr. Brehm.
Mr. Roe of New York with Mr. Jensen.
Mr. Curley with Mr. Griffiths.
Mr. Dingell with Mr. Horan.
Mr. Lea with Mr. Reece of Tennessee.
Mr. Barry with Mr. Hagen.
Mr. Rivers with Mr. Hope.
Mr. Winstead with Mr. Wolcott.
Mr. Gathings with Mr. Talbot.
Mr. Traynor with Mr. Hoeven.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FULL-EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following-privileged resolution (H. Res. 449, Rept. No. 1342), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered printed:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of S. 380, an act to establish a national policy and program for assuring continuing full employment and full production in a free competitive economy, through the concerted efforts of industry, agriculture, labor, State and local governments, and the Federal Government. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 1 day, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider without the intervention of any point of order the substitute amendment recommended by the Committee on Expenditures in the executive departments now in the bill, and such substitute for the purpose of amendment shall be considered under the 5-minute rule as an original bill. At the conclusion of such consideration the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and the amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

TEMPORARY INCREASE IN AGE OF APPOINTEES TO THE NAVAL AND MILITARY ACADEMIES

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill H. R. 1123, an act to provide for a temporary increase in the age limit for appointees to the United States Military Academy, with a Senate amendment and agree to the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Amend the title so as to read: "An act to provide for a temporary increase in the age limit for appointees to the United States Military Academy and the United States Naval Academy."

The amendment was agreed to and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

WILLIAM D. MITCHELL

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 110, to limit the operation of sections 109 and 113 of the Criminal Code, and sections 361, 365, and 366 of the Revised Statutes.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will the gentleman state what the resolution is?

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the employment of Mr. William D. Mitchell as counsel for the Joint Committee for the Investigation of Pearl Harbor, the selection was made because of the desire of the committee to secure an attorney of unusual ability. This resolution waives the application of certain provisions of the Criminal Code as to Mr. Mitchell. The provisions are that if he receives compensation, under the statute he would not be able to practice law or present any claim against the United States for a period of 2 years, and other similar provisions.

I may say that I have polled the Committee on the Judiciary, and there is no objection.

Mr. HANCOCK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEFAUVER. I yield.

Mr. HANCOCK. The prohibitions of the law were never intended to apply to special counsel such as mentioned in this bill.

Mr. KEFAUVER. No, the gentleman is correct; they were intended to apply only where a person is regularly employed in the Government.

Mr. HANCOCK. Where he is regularly employed as a government attorney, then leaves the employ of the Government and takes cases against the Government.

Mr. KEFAUVER. And uses information he got as an employee of the Government.

Mr. HANCOCK. It is a perfectly proper bill, and ought to be passed.

There is no objection on this side.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That nothing in section 109 or 113 of the Criminal Code (U. S. C., 1940 ed., title 18, secs. 198 and 203), or in section 361, 365, or 366 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., 1940 ed., title 5, secs. 306, 314, and 315), or in any other provision of Federal law imposing restrictions, requirements, or penalties in relation to the employment of persons, the performance of services, or the payment or receipt of compensation in connection with any claim, proceeding, or matter involving the United States, shall apply with respect to counsel serving under the provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 27, Seventy-ninth Congress, first session, passed by the Senate on September 6, 1945, and passed by the House of Representatives on September 11, 1945.

The resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MURDOCK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an address made by Commissioner Bashore at Sacramento, Calif.

Mr. DOYLE asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in the Committee of the Whole today and include therein certain exhibits from UNRRA.

Mr. BIEMILLER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a statement favoring the President's health plan, signed by sundry persons.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances, in one to include an article from the Washington Daily News and in the second to include an article from the Evening Star.

Mr. DIRKSEN (at the request of Mr. MICHENER) was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in the Committee of the Whole today.

Mr. LANDIS (at the request of Mr. MICHENER) was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include certain correspondence.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 15 minutes tomorrow after the disposition of the legislative business of the day and special orders heretofore entered.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

APPOINTMENT TO COMMITTEE

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I send to the Speaker's desk a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 448

Resolved that ELLSWORTH B. BUCK, of New York, be and he is hereby elected to the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives.

The resolution was agreed to and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. JUDD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD in two instances, in one to include an editorial and in the other some correspondence.

Mrs. SMITH of Maine asked and was given permission to extend her remarks in the RECORD and include a statement by Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.

Mr. McCORMACK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include portion of an editorial relating to the Alien Property Custodian, Mr. James E. Markham.

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, instead of taking the time allotted me today, as heretofore granted by special order, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Vermont?

There was no objection.

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agencies on reclamation projects. To Military Affairs Committee. (p. 11790.)

15. PERSONNEL; SALARIES. H.R. 4921, by Rep. Green, Pa., to amend the Employees Pay Act of 1945 to provide for payment of twice the regular basic rate of compensation for work performed on holidays. To Civil Service Committee. (p.11879.)

16. EDUCATION. H.R. 4929, by Rep. Ramspeck, Ga., to authorize the appropriation of funds for more nearly equalizing public elementary and public secondary school opportunities among and within the States and Territories. To Education Committee. (p. 11879.)

17. PERSONNEL; HOLIDAY. H. Con. Res. 108, by Rep. Green, Pa., to express the sense of Congress that election day be observed as a legal holiday in every State of the U.S. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 11879.)

18. FLAG. H. J. Res. 285, by Rep. Forand, R.I., requesting the President to issue annually a proclamation designating December 15 as Bill of Rights Day. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 11879.)

19. SURPLUS PROPERTY. H.Res. 450, by Rep. McGregor, Pa., to authorize the Public Buildings and Grounds Committee to conduct an investigation to ascertain the amount of surplus Government building material suitable for the construction and repair of dwellings. To Rules Committee. (p. 11879.)

H. Res. 451, by Rep. Lathan, La., to create a select committee to investigate the disposition, in foreign countries, of property under the jurisdiction of the armed forces. To Rules Committee. (p. 11879.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

20. FOREIGN LOANS; FOREIGN TRADE. Sen. Hill, Ala., inserted the President's and Prime Minister's (Great Britain) and other statements concerning Anglo-American financial and trade discussions (pp. A5734-6).

Speech in the House by Rep. Rich, Pa., opposing loans to Great Britain (p. A5750).

21. FOREIGN RELIEF. Speech in the House by Rep. Smith, Wis., urging a reduction in UNRRA's authorization to $500,000,000 (p. A5743).

Speech in the House by Rep. Carnahan, Mo., favoring foreign relief via UNRRA (p.A5744).

Speech in the House by Rep. Robsion, Ky., criticizing UNRRA administration and opposing "turning it /money/ into the hands of those who are not observing the San Francisco Charter" (pp. A5744-6).

22. HOUSING; VETERANS. Extension of remarks of Rep. Patman, Tex., including a letter and veterans' resolution, urging housing for veterans (pp. A5748-9).

23. PHILIPPINES. Rep. Phillips, Calif., inserted a Washington Post editorial favoring sugar and coconut-oil quotas and aid to Philippine trade, and Vincente Villamin's article favoring free trade and urging a Philippine program of importation of agricultural equipment and fertilizers (pp. A5752-3).

24. HEALTH. Extension of remarks of Rep. Miller, Nebr., criticizing a compulsory health plan and including parts of four editorials on the subject (p. A5755).

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COMMITTEE-HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for Dec. 10: S. Atomic Energy; S. Appropriations, deficiency (ex.); H. Banking and Currency, housing; H. Military Affairs, military training.

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In this connection, the DAR has cited a decision of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia which takes "judicial notice of the fact that those accepted practices are not intended to imply the inferiority of either race to the other."

The court observed their existence in public housing and public schools in Washington and that "separate churches are universal and are approved by both races."

In this propaganda, however, the fine patrictic principles of the Daughters are ignored or jeered by persons and groups whose own policies and associations have been responsible for riots, the teaching of dirty doctrines in the schools, in print, and on the air, and the penetration of unmistakable Communists into positions of dangerous power in the Government.

And many among the most active exploiters of these incidents are hypocrites whose personal devotion to the cause of opportunity for the dignified, loyal, and ambitious Negro has never been able to induce them to hire Negroes for any but the most menial jobs.

The impression cannot be escaped, therefore, that among those who have attacked the DAR for its enforcement of a familiar Washington custom, the motive of some is not so much to protest against discrimination or "liberate" art as to discredit an institution which is more purely American than most others of our time because it is purely and serenely American and unashamed of its patriotism.

There are other halls to be had and the fact naturally comes to mind that if artistic freedom were the issue in these disputes those who thirst for such music and abhor discrimination could solve the problem in some edifice owned by any of the many offshoots of the Communist Party.

To mention this possibility is to demolish it, however, because in that case there would be negligible publicity and mediocrity, or, worse, vulgarity and mere noise would be assessed at their true value.

None of the agitators of the DAR's difficulties has yet had the effrontery to propose that because, like Constitution Hall, certain religious buildings in Washington are tax exempt and the property of private groups, the congregations which own them should be compelled to lease them for political rallies to be addressed by Congressman POWELL. Yet, consistently, that would follow.

For Constitution Hall and the churches are in the same category as to ownership and tax exemption, and the religious group owning a cathedral would deserve no less abuse than that which the DAR has suffered over these years.

On the record the DAR is incomparably more worthy of popular respect and support than most of those who have attacked it. And Americans who are not descended from Revolutionary soldiers, but patriots nevertheless, could encourage a fine organization by inquiring into their work in their home cities and towns and helping them in aims which call for no apology to the Political Action Committee, Mrs. Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, or the Communist Party.

While the Wounded Wait

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 6, 1945

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include therein an article appearing in a recent issue of the Washington Daily News entitled "While the Wounded Wait." The article follows:

WHILE THE WOUNDED WAIT

Maj. Gen. Paul R. Hawley, acting surgeon general of the Veterans' Administration, threatens to resign if Congress insists on treating hospitals for sick and wounded veterans as political pork.

General Hawley is too good a man to lose. We hope he won't have to carry out that threat in order to jolt Congress to its senses.

The logrolling policy of scattering small hospitals among towns in many congressional districts was a mistake, so proved by experience after World War I. Under conditions certain to obtain after this much greater war, the Veterans' Administration will not be able to staff such hospitals with enough thoroughly competent doctors to give the patients thoroughly satisfactory service.

That's why the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Gen. Omar Bradley, and General Hawley proposes to locate major new hospitals near large-established medical schools, where the services of skilled specialists will be available. They are right.

The American people want our war casualties to have the best treatment the country's brains and resources can provide. They won't get it if pork-hungry Congressmen, responding to pressure from business interests in their districts, grab veterans' hospitals as sops to local pride and cupdity.

"I, for one," says General Hawley, "will not experiment with the medical care of the veteran. Either he gets the quality of medical care that he deserves, or I quit—and quit at once."

We wouldn't want to be a Congressman listed as opposing Generals Hawley and Bradley on that issue.

Five Hundred Million Adequate for UNRRA Needs

SPEECH

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 6, 1945

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of my amendment is to cut the authorization in this bill to $500,000,000. On yesterday the distinguished chairman of our committee had this to say with reference to the bill, and I quote from page 11669:

We are the only Nation in the world that has really made anything substantial, the only Nation in the world that has had an income, and because we have been so prosperous, because we have been so successful, Mr. Chairman, we have had this tremendous income; and we are asked to spend only 1 percent to feed and to clothe and to shelter all of the poor unfortunate people throughout the world.

I submit to the members of this Committee that there is no showing in the RECORD how much money has gone to feed and clothe and shelter the poor people all over this world. I think that the American taxpayer is getting a poor run for his money. In support of my amendment I want to submit some figures which indicate that we can reduce this authorization to $500,000,000 and still do a good job in feeding and clothing the poor unfortunate people of this world.

I submit the following figures, not from the RECORD nor from the testimony before our committee, but I have gone to the ranking minority Member of the House Committee on Appropriations and from him I get the figures which I submit to you.

As of December 1, 1945, there was $1,284,000,000 unspent. A few days ago we appropriated $550,000,000; therefore on the 1st of December 1945, we had available $1,834,000,000. I am informed that for shipments in the month of September $531,000 was spent, leaving a total of $1,303,000,000 as of the 1st of October. For shipments in October there was an estimate of $128,000,000, actually spent $106,000,000, leaving available as of the 1st of November $1,197,000,000. For shipments in November, estimated $250,000,000, actual $245,000,000, leaving a balance of $952,000,000 as of the 1st of December. It is estimated that for shipments in December there would be spent $350,000,000. Therefore, there would be available as of the 1st of January $602,000,000.

I say that if we authorize $500,000,000 at this time it will give us a total of $1,102,000,000 to spend, for at least the first quarter of 1946. Further I submit that in view of the fact that many competent civilian agencies today propose to help feed and clothe the starving people of Europe and all over the world we should give them an opportunity to do so. They are clamoring for that chance. I submit that here are the figures to show that we can do a good job for the first quarter of the year 1946 and not go back on the commitments we have made in this matter. There has been no showing before the committee or at any time during this debate that it cannot be done.

Recapitulation

Funds available as of Dec. 1, 1945	$1,284,000,000
Recently appropriated	550,000,000
Available December 1945	1,834,000,000
For shipments:	
September 1945	531,000,000
	1,303,000,000
October 1945	106,000,000
	1,197,000,000
November 1945	245,000,000
	952,000,000
December 1945 (estimated)	350,000,000
Available as of Jan. 1, 1946	602,000,000

Mr. Chairman, if we add the five hundred million proposed by my amendment, that would mean a total of one thousand one hundred and two millions for use in first part of 1946 and this is ample to care for that period. The American taxpayer is entitled to this consideration. It is important that the United States remain solvent if it is to do a real relief job.

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

SPEECH

OF

HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 6, 1945

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CARNAHAN].

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Chairman, on the vote we will soon take here in the House today rests the fate of another great American plan. UNRRA is an American idea, conceived in American minds, and formulated in an international group first meeting in America. Its first hope of success was based on American help both in moral and material support. Without the persistent suggestion from the United States the idea would never have taken shape in the first place. Are we going to continue to play the role of the nation which conceives plans for international cooperation and then strangle the child of our very own social fiber in its infancy? If we fail UNRRA today and thus fail the suppressed and starving millions, we will have gone a long step toward establishing claim to first place among all the nations of the earth to the distinction of proposing much and doing little to make international cooperation work.

I favor contributing to UNRRA and working with that international group according to plans established by the Organization for bringing relief and hope to those who sacrificed what they had on a war altar which they did not build.

With the dawn of the new atomic age just breaking over the rim of civilization, is there not at least one sphere of human relationship in which we can work harmoniously with an international group? If we cannot work in harmony with our neighbors and friends in the very elementary field of relief, how do we expect to prove any degree of sincerity in the really complex spheres of international relationships? In my opinion, there is nothing in the future for our country or for the world either attainable or worth striving for except that which comes through international cooperation and international action. The day of every nation for self alone is very definitely in the past. An isolated America in the world of today would be as futile and as out-dated as the bow and arrow of the Indian or the side saddle of the gay nineties.

I favor UNRRA, not just because it is a test of our willingness to work in an international group, but because it is fulfilling an obligation which the devastated areas have a perfect right to expect. In the liberated countries just a few months ago, we were urging the native peoples to blow their bridges, destroy their crops, wreck their means of production, with the promise of help and restoration when these drastic means brought liberation sooner. We played up the idea of how wonderful liberation would be. We did not raise such questions as these: Do not blow any bridges until the American press is admitted; do not use any bombs if the labels are not clear; beware of black markets or we will withhold further aid. I wonder just how deep we will permit their disappointment to go. I wonder just how much bitterness we will justify.

I realize, as all of you do, something of the magnitude of the sacrifices we have made to suppress what we believe to be wrong. As has been said here on the floor of the House, no casualty list is light if your boy's name is on it. Still, with our very heavy sacrifices, we are well fed, we are well clothed, and we are well housed. We are the country least touched by the real devastations of war. From our relatively comfortbale position, it is extremely difficult for me to justify our action in withholding help which we have pledged and are in a position to give.

If our Nation is to make the contribution to world peace, order, and freedom, for which we have fought so heavily for the privilege of making, then let us get on with making the contribution in this great opportunity which UNRRA affords. The starving people of the world will find little relief from such excuses as freedom of the press, package labels, dishonest workers, national rivalries, and so forth. And, after all, would it not be faulty reasoning to make the suffering millions of war casualties the victims of conditions over which they have practically no control.

A vote for UNRRA without strings is, in my opinion, a vote for extended peace. And, in my opinion, a vote against UNRRA and for hampering reservations is a vote for misunderstanding and for a brief period of peace. If we continue to fail to discharge to ourselves and to the world the obligations which come to us through the destructive processes of war, then I can see little justification in further conflicts which will surely come if we do not have the courage or the will to help correct the conditions which will foster and produce future conflicts.

How Long Can We Continue To Borrow Money From the American People and Give It Away, Faced With a National Debt of Three Hundred Billion?

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN M. ROBSION

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 7, 1945

The Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, a few months ago we were called upon to appropriate $1,350,000,000 to aid the people in the occupied countries. The war was on. We were led to believe that no additional sum would be called for.

Now we have the bill before us providing for an additional $1,350,000,000. There is no indication that a similar sum will not be called for in the future.

If this bill is passed, our contribution to this cause will be $2,700,000,000. Forty-three other nations, including Russia and Great Britain, have signed up agreeing to contribute to this fund. The total amount will be approximately $3,600,000,000.

It will be seen that our country is being called upon to pay three times as much into this fund as the other 43 or 44 nations all together.

This reminds us that Secretary of War Stimson, after the western drive in Europe, stated that we furnished more than 75 percent of the men on that western front drive. We furnished as large, if not a larger, percent of the equipment.

It is a matter of common knowledge that we furnished 85 percent or more of the men and matériel in the Pacific war.

I think a large part of the payments of these 43 or 44 countries into the relief fund has been secured from the United States in lend-lease, loans, or gifts, and our allies have actually paid out of their own funds much less than 25 percent of the three billion six hundred million.

SIXTY-FIVE BILLIONS

Secretary Wallace, of the Department of Commerce, on November 26, 1945, issued a report in which he stated that up to June 30, 1945, we had turned over to foreign countries, under lend-lease, $42,021,000,000. We are also advised that since that time, June 30, 1945, there has been turned over and released to the various nations of the world approximately twenty billions more. The total amount requested by the administration for lend-lease was approximately sixty-eight billions, and I am convinced that in some way or other this entire $68,000,000,000 will be turned over to the foreign countries either as lend-lease, loans, or gifts, or in some other manner.

In this report Mr. Wallace states that up to June 30, 1945, we disbursed or expended in foreign countries $13,045,000,000. This does not include lend-lease. These billions represent what our Government on its own account spent in foreign countries up to June 30, 1945. This represents money spent in buying food and other supplies in foreign countries. It also includes over 3,000 military installations, mainly air bases and port facilities, at a cost of $2,413,000,000. They are still there. In addition the War Department sent abroad civilian-relief supplies, mainly food and clothing, exceeding $800,000,000, for the purpose, as stated by the War Department, of preventing civilian disease and unrest in the liberated and occupied countries. Up to June 30, twenty-nine billions of the $42,021,000,000 of lend-lease went to the British Empire, and ten billions went to Russia. But, as we have pointed out, additional billions have gone to these countries since June 30, 1945. In addition to all of these our country and agencies have loaned and advanced to foreign

governments approximately two billions more. Therefore all in all we have, by way of gifts, lend-lease, loans, and so forth, given or transferred to these foreign countries a total sum in excess of sixty-five billions. And now we are called upon to contribute an additional $1,350,000,000. Our population is estimated at 140,000,000. Sixty-five billion represents $480 for every man, woman, and child and over $2,000 for every family in the United States.

Of course, this has no reference to the hundreds of billions we spent in the winning of the war.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW HOW THEIR MONEY IS BEING USED

Is the relief money that the American people supplied being used for relief purposes?

It has developed a bureaucracy having about 8,000 officeholders being paid salaries equal to or higher than are paid in the United States. Only about 15 percent of these officeholders administering this relief are American citizens. The others are people of foreign countries. We furnish about 75 percent of the relief money and have only about 15 percent Americans engaged in administering relief. Of course, these foreign officeholders are receiving the highest pay, no doubt, they ever received in their lives.

While much of the relief program and acts have been kept more or less secret, it leaked out recently that over 600 of these officeholders had been found to be dishonest or incompetent. Many were arrested and jailed for using these relief supplies in the black market. Last year some of these funds were used by the political organizations that carried on this program to aid the administration candidates. No doubt millions of this money were used to gain the good will in this country of those who have friends in the countries where this relief is being administered. It is a well-known fact that a lot of this relief was used in the various countries to promote political ambitions of individuals and groups in those countries.

AMERICAN PEOPLE AND NATION GENEROUS

Our Nation and people have shown themselves to be the most generous of any nation or people in all history. The people have paid tens of billions of dollars in taxes and the Nation has borrowed hundreds of billions of dollars from the people. We are facing a national debt of three hundred billion and we will have a deficit this fiscal year of thirty billion or more and we are facing deficits for a number of years in the future. Our churches, relief, and welfare organizations have contributed enormous sums in money and supplies. Our casualties are more than 1,000,000 of the flower of the young manhood of the Nation. We have expended more than twice as much as all of our allies have expended on the war and in aiding our allies. Eighty-five million American people, out of their earnings and many of them at great sacrifices, have bought bonds to aid in the prosecution and in the winning of the war. We have stripped millions of acres of our forest, greatly depleted our oil, copper, coal, and other supplies. The American people have assumed a burden that cannot be discharged in one-half of a century. They must continue to sacrifice year by year in taxes for 50 and perhaps 100 years, and now our Government has already made arrangements to loan to France two and one-half billion, and closely following upon that arrangement and the consideration of this bill we are informed that our Government has agreed to loan to Great Britain $4,400,000,000, payable in 50 years and without interest for 5 years and only 2 percent interest thereafter. Of course, Russia is seeking a loan for billions. So is China and other countries. The press reports that in this arrangement to loan Britain this huge sum of money we have canceled the billions of obligations that we hold against Great Britain. In view of our experience with these same countries after World War I we can reasonably assume that none of these countries, unless it is little Finland, will pay any sums or materials advanced to them in this war or pay the sum we now loan to them. The claim has been made in many quarters that the recent bond sales was to bring our boys home. This cannot be true. Congress had already provided for that. These gifts and loans would be all right if we had the money. We do not have the money. In order to make these gifts and loans we must borrow the money from all of our people and if we continue in this course, how can we repay these loans to our people?

The administration is being liberal with the money of the American people. The American people in the end will have to dig up the taxes to satisfy the billions that are being given away so freely. Mr. CANNON, a Democrat, and the able chairman of the Appropriations Committee, stated in substance the other day on the floor of the House that our country was facing bankruptcy and disaster. How can we keep from reaching the point where our bonds of this country like other bankrupt countries will be worthless? No one believes more sincerely in the principle taught by the Man of Galilee than I do, yet Holy Writ clearly states that we should provide for our own household first. I cannot lend my support to a policy and program that in the end must destroy the credit of this Nation and impoverish the people of our own country.

Russia and the small countries over which she exercises control have received, and will receive if we pass this bill, more than five hundred millions in relief money and if any segment of the population of these small countries did not or do not cooperate with Russia they did not and will not get relief.

Poland was overrun and devastated by both Russians and Germans. The Poles needed relief as much or more than any other country; but it is a matter of common knowledge that Russian soldiers and others intercepted the relief going to Poland.

Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia that were overrun and raped by both Germans and Russians and now under Russian control, so far as we can learn, have received no part of this relief although they are in dire need of it. Russia has placed her big paws on these little countries and she has drawn the curtain of secrecy around them and no report can be had.

Great Britain, which is interested in maintaining kingdoms in Italy and Greece, has made the most of the distribution of this relief to those favoring her ideals of government.

The immediate proposal now before us was introduced by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN], and that is, Shall this Nation refuse to grant relief to those countries that refuse to permit accredited American newspaper correspondents to enter those countries and report to our country and the world the conditions that they find in relation to the distribution of this relief?

We must borrow this money from the American people, and the American people are certainly entitled to know what disposition is being made of their money. Some of our colleagues think this is an unreasonable limitation. I observe in my home town, county, and State that public officials are not only required to make reports of the number of officials and others employed, their salaries, and the amounts expended, but their records are open to the newspapers and to the citizens generally. A free and untrammeled press is one of the very essential things to preserve freedom and to keep our Government clean and honest.

About 2 years ago, after we had sent billions of lend-lease to Russia, we were amazed when our Ambassador to Russia announced that there had been no publicity given to the Russian people as to the source of the bounty that they had been receiving from the American people. This caused our Ambassador to be withdrawn. The only offense he had committed was in insisting that the Russian press should let the people of Russia know what we were doing for them. Our Government has had information that Russia and some other countries have failed to disclose to the Russian people the relief money and benefits that we have been, under this present program, giving to the Russians and that the information has been kept from a lot of the smaller nations who are receiving millions of dollars.

I can see no reason for keeping these facts from the Russian people and other countries except they desire to use this relief to play power politics and control people of these respective countries through relief. I wonder if they have learned of the success that our Democrat friends have had politically in the use of relief money and benefits in this country.

We have also observed with sorrow that the British, aided by the Japs, have joined with the Dutch in keeping millions of the people of Java under subjection and Britain has joined with France, aided by the Japs, to keep the people of Indochina in subjection; and our boys have been kept in China and we are spending enormous sums of money there by reason of the civil strife between north and south China.

These disturbing situations are occurring in other countries that have been the recipients of the bounty of the American people. Yes; we want to aid the widows and orphans and the needy people; but it seems to me that in these wars

that have developed since VE-day and since VJ-day, many widows and orphans have been or are being made and cities and countries devastated, not by the Japs or Germans but by those who were associated with us in overturning the Japs and Germans and who are, in our opinion, violating the San Francisco Charter and our great desire to have peace with liberty and justice.

Under all of these circumstances, I do not feel justified in taking the bond and tax money of the American people and turning it into the hands of those who are not observing the San Francisco Charter and not cooperating in a great program of peace, liberty, and justice with the American people.

Four Years After Pearl Harbor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. BENDER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 7, 1945

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, 4 years ago today, our country was plunged into a war for which we were utterly unprepared, both physically and spiritually. Just how completely unprepared we were is even yet not fully known to the people, by and large. Every day, the Pearl Harbor investigating committee has been revealing shocking demonstrations of our unpreparedness. We were fortunate that the enemy himself did not realize the extent to which we had been injured on that early Sunday morning, 4 years ago.

If we have learned anything from the horror and misery of these war years, it is difficult to find convincing evidence of that learning in our national policies. The enemy has been beaten. In the process of beating him, we have invented a new weapon whose terrible possibilities frighten even the victors. No enemy can be permanently beaten in a world where a scientist, working in his laboratory, may discover a weapon capable of reversing the result overnight.

Out of this horrible war, there has emerged nothing comparable to the principles we set forth in 1918. Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points were a statement of fundamental beliefs which could be applied to the complex problems of 1918. The right of nations to self-determination furnished a guide to the treaty makers. What guides have we today? What moral doctrines are we relying upon in our treatment of the Indonesians, the Burmese, the Jewish refugees of middle Europe? How can a good world be created unless it is a moral world?

I am not one of those who believes that Great Britain and Soviet Russia are to be condemned while we excuse ourselves for every violation of basic human rights throughout the world. Today, in an almost literal sense, we in America are our brother's keeper. We cannot disclaim responsibility for the treatment of Hindus in India or Malayans in Singapore, because in a very real sense we have made more possible that treatment. The British Government maintains its empire today because Russian and American lives were lost to maintain it, and, having expended those lives, we in America have a right to be heard on the management of affairs everywhere that human beings are involved. The day when we might sit quietly by and say that the treatment of natives in colonial empires was a matter of "purely internal concern" is over. It is over because out of the discontents and hatreds of those millions of human beings there arises a menace to the future security of the entire world.

Here at home in our own country there are problems no less vital to the security of our own people 4 years after Pearl Harbor.

Only a few days ago one of our leading American newspapers asked the question: "Have we a consistent foreign policy?" I ask the question: "Have we a consistent foreign policy at all?" This very week Maj. Gen. Pat Hurley has been testifying before the Congress on the complete contradiction between what we have been saying in Washington about our policy in China and what our representatives on the spot are doing right there. Certainly there are thousands of Americans who would like to know exactly what our soldiers are still doing in India; they want to know just what there is to the story that soldiers returning home were removed from their transports in order to load them with ammunition and equipment for the British in Java.

These general questions are bad enough in themselves. But there is something much more difficult still to understand. To this very day there has been no clear stand taken by the present National Government on the program for the future of Germany. There is not a man in Washington who can tell you what our Government proposes to do with its particular occupation unit of Germany. Certainly you would believe that this one problem—the problem which is most basic to the entire future of Europe—would be a matter of complete agreement by this time. The Allied control machinery in Germany has virtually collapsed; the deindustrialization of the Reich is still in dispute; France is demanding the assurance of military security along the Rhine.

And yet in the face of all these major difficulties our President has recently announced that there is no present need for a conference of the so-called Big Three. He insists that these are matters which can be deferred. Apparently he hopes that the United Nations Organization which is to meet some time right after the 1st of January will seize the initiative and relieve our Government from responsibility for decisions.

I say this is little short of chaos.

This is nothing but abdication in the midst of a major crisis. We, as the most powerful nation in the history of the world economically, physically, and strategically, cannot abandon our role of leadership.

In Washington we have taken on a position of timidity when the hour calls for courage. We have refused to insist upon elementary human justice when the times will not tolerate continued injustice. The policy of appeasement certainly has been amply discredited by this time. Yet we go on playing the game of appeasement indefinitely on the theory that our destiny is somehow tied up with the strength of other groups who are now and always have been in opposition to the expansion of American interests.

For more than 100 years of our history, whenever the British lion roared, our State Department wagged its tail. Only during the Civil War did we recognize that the British Government was definitely hostile to the growing strength of our United States. For the most part, our diplomats took their lead from Downing Street. But it is certainly time for us to recognize the major changes which have taken place in world history since 1776.

Today our country is no longer a small debtor nation, with no important interests throughout the world. Today we are concerned about the Chinese civil war; we are dividing up the responsibilities of government in Korea with the Soviet Union; we run Japan on behalf of the Allies; we have vital interests in many Pacific islands; we are deeply concerned over the future of the Philippines; we are disturbed by the revolt against western rule in the Dutch East Indies; we are bothered by the need for demobilizing troops, including those of Russia, Britain, and our own in the German occupied areas; we are thinking hard about the recent outbreaks in Iran; we are sitting tight on about 50,000,000 barrels of oil in the Middle East, and the oil film is blinding our eyes to the human problems of Palestine; we are trying to figure out some way for Russian ships to get into the Mediterranean area without troubling both Turkey and Britain. These are issues which require an independent and vigorous foreign policy, a policy which is certainly nowhere in sight today.

What about problems at home?

All of us are very much concerned over the serious labor-management disputes that are holding back our reconversion to peacetime industry. I share that concern most deeply. I am certain that all of us are determined upon a course of action which will be fair to all concerned and in keeping with our traditions of free enterprise.

What are the facts behind the disputes? Are the arguments jurisdictional fights between various unions, battling for control, or are they genuine efforts to continue the high American standards of living which have made us a great nation?

It is very simple to lump all the many facts into one mass trial and hand down a blanket verdict. Unfortunately, the issues are not that simple.

Living costs are high today. Veterans returning home to find job offers paying $25 per week are not going to support their families on this kind of pay. Nor are workers laid off from war jobs where

79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 4649

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

DECEMBER 7 (legislative day, OCTOBER 29), 1945

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

AN ACT

To enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the joint resolution of March 28, 1944, entitled "Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization", is amended in the following respect:

(1) The first section is amended by striking out "$1,350,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$2,700,000,000".

1 (2) Section 9 is amended by striking out "1946"
2 and inserting in lieu thereof "1947".
3 (3) Add a new section 8 (a):
4 "8 (a). In adopting this joint resolution the Congress
5 does so with the following recommendations:
6 "A. That the United States member of the control com-
7 mittee of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Admin-
8 istration is hereby requested, by appropriate resolutions or
9 agreements, to secure favorable action by that committee or
10 by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administra-
11 tion Council to attain the following objectives:
12 "(1) That all trade agreements and all barter agree-
13 ments of a recipient country with other nations, together with
14 satisfactory information on all exports from, and imports into,
15 such country, whether for governmental or private account,
16 will be made available to the United Nations Relief and Re-
17 habilitation Administration.
18 "(2) That each recipient country shall supply accredited
19 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration per-
20 sonnel with all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and
21 safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United
22 Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement,
23 including all necessary inspections and investigations.
24 "(3) That the Administration, if it determines such a
25 course to be desirable, will be permitted, during the period

of its operations in a recipient country, to retain title to all motor-transport equipment supplied by the Administration and will also be permitted to route such equipment and to direct the use of the fuel and lubricants supplied by the Administration.

"B. That the President is hereby requested, through appropriate channels, to facilitate the admission to recipient countries of properly accredited members of the American press and radio in order that they be permitted to report without censorship on the utilization and distribution of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration supplies and services."

Passed the House of Representatives December 6, 1945.

Attest: SOUTH TRIMBLE,

Clerk.

79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 4649

AN ACT

To enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

DECEMBER 7 (legislative day, OCTOBER 29), 1945

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

Lib.
13.

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE 79th-1st, No. 221
Legislative Reports and Service Section

DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
(Issued December 14, 1945, for actions of Thursday, December 13, 1945)

(For staff of the Department only)

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HIGHLIGHTS: Both Houses agreed to reorganization-bill conference report; ready for President. House debated full-employment bill; Rep. Manasco discussed status of seasonal agriculture and canning employment; Rep. Lanham urged reduction of Federal personnel; Rep. Murray urged inclusion of agricultural employees and criticized CCC administration. Senate committee reported UNRRA-authorization bill. Senate debated Federal pay bill.

SENATE

1. REORGANIZATION BILL. Both Houses agreed to the conference report on this bill, H.R. 4129 (pp. 12117-25, 12144-6). (For provisions see Digest 220.) The Senate had received the report earlier in the day. This bill will now be sent to the President.

2. FEDERAL-PAY BILL. Continued debate on this bill, S. 1415 (pp. 12125-40). Sen. Downey, Calif., submitted, but later withdrew, an amendment which would repeal the pay raises provided in the Federal Pay Act of 1944 and provide for a 40% increase in the June 30, 1945, scale for that part not exceeding $1200 and for a 30% increase for that part over $1200 (pp. 12127-36). Sen. Byrd, Va., submitted amendments (for himself and Sens. Hickenlooper, Iowa, and Hart, Conn.) which provide for an increase in the June 30, 1945, scale as follows: 36% for that part not exceeding $1200; plus 18% for that part between $1200 and $4600; plus 9% for that part exceeding $4600 per annum (pp. 12137-40).

3. UNRRA AUTHORIZATION. The Foreign Relations Committee reported without amendment H.R.4649, the UNRRA-authorization bill (S.Rept. 850)(p. 12115). (For provisions see Digest 216.)

4. PUBLIC LANDS. Passed without amendment S. 1471, to provide for the transfer to the Tex. Rural Communities the property comprising the FSA Mexia Colony project in Limestone County, Tex. (p. 12140).

5. NOMINATION. The Banking and Currency Committee reported favorably the nomination of Lynn U. Stambaugh to be a member of the Export-Import Bank Board of Directors (p. 12141).

HOUSE

6. FULL-EMPLOYMENT BILL. Began debate on this bill, S. 380 (pp. 12146-208). Rep. Manasco, Ala., discussed the seasonal employment in agriculture and in the canning industry (p.12153). Rep. Lanham, Tex., urged reduction of Federal employment (pp. 12188-9). Rep. Murray, Wis., urged inclusion in this bill of rural, FSA, AAA, and PCA employees and criticized CCC administration (p.12192).

7. FEDERAL SEED ACT. Received this Department's proposed legislation to amend the Federal Seed Act so as to include sugar beets under the Act, to require records of vegetable seeds transported in interstate commerce, to require marking content of imported seed and provide penalties for violations, and to provide for expansion of the seed-testing programs. To Agriculture Committee. (p.12209.)

8. RECLAMATION. The Irrigation and Reclamation Committee reported without amendment H.R. 4932, to amend the Boulder Canyon Project Act so as to provide for settlement of veterans on reclamation lands (H.Rept. 1437) (p. 12209).

9. VETERANS; UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION. Received a United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers Union (N.Y.) petition opposing the effect on veterans of the prohibition against payment of unemployment compensation to persons involved in industrial disputes (p. 12210).

BILLS INTRODUCED

10. LUMBER EXPORTS; HOUSING. S. 1682, by Sen. Bushfield (S.Dak.), H.R. 4986, by Rep. Beall (Md.), H.R. 4987, by Rep. Bender (Ohio), H.R. 4988, by Rep. Cunningham (Iowa), H.R. 4989, by Rep. Gross (Pa.), H.R. 4990, by Rep. Henry (Wis.), H.R. 4991, by Rep. Jensen (Iowa), H.R. 4992, by Rep. Short (Mo.), and H.R. 4993, by Rep. Talle (Iowa), to prohibit the exportation of logs, lumber, and certain lumber products until the housing and other construction requirements for lumber are being currently met. To Senate Commerce and House Ways and Means Committees. (pp. 12116, 12210)

11. SURPLUS LUMBER. H. Res. 456, by Rep. Landis, Ind., providing for an investigation with respect to the handling and disposition of surplus lumber. To Rules Committee. (p. 12210.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

12. MARKETING; WAGES. Sen. Tunnell, Del., inserted Sen. Guffey's (Pa.) recent address before a farmers' conference at Altoona, Pa., advocating increased wages for low-income industrial groups as a means of expanding farm markets (p.A5893).

13. LABOR. Speech in the House by Rep. Robsion, Ky., supporting H.R. 32, the anti-racketeering bill, which he states will outlaw stopping of farm trucks enroute to market, destruction of farm products, and other unfair practices in labor disputes (p. A5896).

14. MINERALS. Rep. Morrison, La., inserted a recent American Magazine article by Eugene Holman (pres., Standard Oil Co., N.J.) "We Will Have Plenty of Oil," pointing out potential supplies of oil, coal, and natural gas (pp.A5903-4).

15. SURPLUS PROPERTY. Rep. Slaughter, Mo., inserted Mayor Gage's (Kansas City, Mo.) letter claiming that there is discrimination against local government agencies in the administration of the Surplus Property Act (p. A5905).

16. FOREIGN RELIEF. Rep. McCormack, Mass., inserted Archbishop Cushing's (Boston)

Please return to
LEGISLATIVE REPORTS AND SERVICE SECTION
Office of Budget and Finance

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 79th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 91 WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1945 No. 221

Senate

(*Legislative day of Monday, October 29, 1945*)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, for a hallowed moment we step aside from the crowded highway to seek the garden of the soul where Thou keepest tryst for us at the cool of the morning hour. Often when we think Thee far away Thou art by our side unrecognized.

In the overwhelming sense of Thy goodness, O God, may all our selfish desires and all our petty egotisms vanish away. Humble us and forgive us, that we may enter into unity with Thee and may become in some measure the instruments of Thy peace. Into Thy hands we commit our spirits in life and in death, which Thou hast told us is but the swinging gateway to a richer realm of vaster service. In the Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. HILL, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Wednesday, December 12, 1945, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF JOINT RESOLUTION

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on December 12, 1945, the President had approved and signed the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 51) granting permission to Charles Rex Marchant, Lorne E. Sasseen, and Jack Veniss Bassett to accept certain medals tendered them by the Government of Canada in the name of His Britannic Majesty King George VI.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its reading clerks, anounced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2737) for the relief of Clara Black.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 4129) to provide for reorganizing agencies of the Government, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 32) to amend the act entitled "An act to protect trade and commerce against interference by violence, threats, coercion, or intimidation," approved June 18, 1934, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

H. R. 2737. An act for the relief of the estate of Harry Leon Black;

H. R. 4407. An act reducing certain appropriations and contract authorizations available for the fiscal year 1946, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 266, Joint resolution making an additional appropriation for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have a correction made in the RECORD of yesterday. On page 12061, in the first column, a little more than halfway down, appears this language:

> That was a direct, overt, open, notorious effort to grant further preferential tariffs on goods transported in vessels coming up to our northeastern ports.

The word "on" as it appears in the RECORD should be "against." I ask that the correction be made.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The correction will be made.

PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate letters from the Chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice and the secretary of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, estimates of personnel requirements for their respective offices for the quarter ending March 31, 1946, which, with accompanying papers, were referred to the Committee on Civil Service.

PETITIONS

Petitions were laid before the Senate by the President pro tempore and referred as indicated:

Petitions of several citizens of the city of New York, praying for the enactment of Senate Joint Resolution 40, requesting the President to proclaim February 1 as National Freedom Day; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A petition of several citizens of New Orleans, La., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for peacetime universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. GREEN (for Mr. ANDREWS), from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds:

S. 1649. A bill to authorize the construction of a new Federal office building at Nashville, Tenn.; without amendment.

By Mr. CONNALLY, from the Committee on Foreign Relations:

H. R. 4649. A bill to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; without amendment (Rept. No. 856).

REPORTS ON DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

Mr. BARKLEY, from the Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers, to which were referred for examination and recommendation two lists of records transmitted to the Senate by the Archivist of the United States that appeared to have no permanent value or historical interest, submitted reports thereon pursuant to law.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. HAYDEN:

S. 1679. A bill to authorize additional compensation for work performed on a legal holi-

day by employees of the Government Printing Office; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado:

S. 1680. A bill to amend Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, to provide more liberal rates of increased pension for single amputations due to service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. WHEELER:

S. 1681. A bill to provide for adjustments in connection with the Crow irrigation project, Crow Indian Reservation, Mont.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BUSHFIELD:

S. 1682. A bill to prohibit the exportation of logs, lumber, and certain lumber products, until the housing and other construction requirements for lumber are being currently met; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. ELLENDER:

S. 1683. A bill for the relief of the estate of Mrs. Sufronia Andrus; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MORSE:

S. 1684. A bill to authorize the Federal Public Housing Commissioner to settle the claims for overtime compensation of certain persons who were employed in connection with the University Homes project; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H. R. 32) to amend the act entitled "An act to protect trade and commerce against interference by violence, threats, coercion, or intimidation," approved June 18, 1934, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SALE OF CERTAIN GOVERNMENT-OWNED MERCHANT VESSELS—AMENDMENTS

Mr. LANGER submitted amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 3603) to provide for the sale of surplus war-built vessels, and for other purposes, which were severally ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

INCREASE IN COMPENSATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES—AMENDMENTS

Mr. DOWNEY and Mr. MORSE each submitted an amendment, and Mr. BYRD (for himself, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, and Mr. HART) submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by them, respectively, to the bill (S. 1415) to increase the rates of compensation of officers and employees of the Federal Government, which were severally ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

RETURN OF SERVICEMEN AND CONDITIONS AMONG TROOPS ABROAD

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I have received a number of letters from servicemen overseas complaining about the delay in getting them home, and also commenting on conditions at the places where they are stationed. I should like to have some of these letters printed in the RECORD, and I ask unanimous consent that that be done.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

1303 A. A. F. BASE UNIT,
A. P. O. 884, P. M.,
New York, N. Y., November 25, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR WHEELER: I've always admired you for your intensely conscientious regard for the rights of Americans. Perhaps you can give me answers to two or more questions.

Recently, rioting has broken out over different parts of India; it is trouble that has been brewing for quite awhile between the English and Indians. Unfortunately, we Americans are classified as being British allies in this coming uprising.

A few days ago Americans were killed and a goodly number injured in Calcutta, and in the future this strife will spread. You will agree that any American life lost in such a useless manner is criminal. And yet there has been no real effort to evacuate this theater as soon as possible apparently.

On VJ-day some 227,000 troops were in the India-Burma theater. Now, some 3 months later, only 93,000 personnel have left. At this rate another 4 or 5 months will be consumed to repatriate us.

Is this trouble being hushed up in Washington? It seems to me that we are sitting on a keg of political dynamite which may explode any day.

Will you kindly justify our being so slowly withdrawn from this territory? Is it that we are to help the British?

Hoping you can give the answers to these, I remain.

Respectfully yours.

KALAIKUNDAH AIR BASE,
A. P. O. 493, C. B. I., INDIA,
November 29, 1945.

Hon. BURTON K. WHEELER,
United States Senator From Montana,
United States Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WHEELER: Perhaps I am not conforming strictly to the War Department's wishes by writing to you while I am still in uniform, but I believe that you should know a few facts concerning the Army's policy in redeploying troops to the United States from the India-Burma theater. Please do not regard this as a personal gripe, as there are thousands of GI's in this theater in the same predicament.

At present, I am assigned to a class IV unit, composed of China theater troops which have been declared as surplus by the War Department. By the orders of the War Department, we are to be redeployed to the United States via India. In the process of our redeployment to the States, we have been intercepted by the India-Burma theater and held at this air base for over a month, doing absolutely nothing, and we have prospects of staying even longer. This has been done for reasons unknown to us.

Our supposition is that we are being held here for the express purpose of closing the India-Burma theater. We hardly think it is a square deal that we should close another theater after closing our own.

During our redeployment to the States, our mail from home has been discontinued and returned to the States. Furthermore, we have been advised that we will not receive any mail until our eventual return to the States, because it would be too much trouble. Consequently, none of us have heard from our homes since the middle of last October. In event sickness or death occurred in our families, we would not find out about it for months.

Another point worthy of mention is the recent shipment of approximately 200 Indian students from Calcutta to the University of Chicago. We GI's would like to know why this shipping space on a troop transport, so valuable to us, was used to bring foreigners to our schools when so many of us GI Joes want to get back to American schools ourselves. It also seems odd, that at various times, ships sailing from Calcutta to the States have advertised in Calcutta newspapers for civilian passengers.

A recommendation endorsed by GI's in this theater is a bonus to be paid enlisted men, who served overseas, equivalent to the 5 cents a mile, and per diem subsistance paid all officers who came overseas. This sum was paid to officers to reimburse them for the money they were supposed to have paid out for traveling and living expenses incurred during the trip. However, such expenses were paid by the Navy, leaving the officers a net profit of approximately $1,000 each way to this theater.

I realize that I can expect no answer from you as no mail is delivered to us, but knowing your past record and the fine work which you have done, I know that you will do whatever is possible to remedy this situation.

Sincerely yours.

THREE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-THIRD PORT BATTALION,
APO 70, November 22, 1945.

Senator BURTON K. WHEELER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WHEELER: For some time I have debated whether or not to write to you. I realize that your mail is very heavy and that you might not be able to read this letter. But I am taking a chance and even adding clippings which give the sentiments of the men over here. Enclosed also is a clipping which features your interest in our predicament. Believe me, we need some help, and soon, over here.

Perhaps you recall that we have met on several occasions at meetings in Great Falls. My father is John L. Goff, of Valier, Mont., for whom you have already done a great deal. For this we are both grateful.

As to my own career—after completing medical school the Army called me away from my eye residency in Philadelphia and assigned me to a general hospital in the States. In August I was sent over here to the Philippines and at the present time I am assigned to a unit here at base M, San Fernando. My work consists of taking sick call every day for 1 hour, and that is all. Any good enlisted man could do this job, but, no, I do 1 hour's work daily and draw $325 a month. And there are hundreds of doctors like me who are just as miserable and as useless. Believe me, it's disgusting, when I could be in Montana doing a much-needed job in an area with a critical shortage of doctors. The medical men in this Army have been thoroughly mishandled. I am an eye doctor, and here I am doing nothing but first aid, while just a few miles away are three hospitals needing eye men. Damn such efficiency! And my case is only one of many.

My next bone of contention is this: When the ASTP program was organized in 1942 they would not give any aid to me, but damn well called me up when my medical school was finished, and thereby interrupting my training. Now the boys finishing ASTP get all the education, worth between $5,000 and $10,000, and, in addition, are given one point for every month in medical school. Thus, on completion of their training they have 36 points before doing any actual service with the armed forces. What a lousy stinking deal for the rest of us. Now, none of these men can go overseas to replace us because they have in excess of 30 points. I think that it is a damn injustice. But it is typical of Army inefficiency. Please see what you can do about this injustice.

Now something more general about our base. An army base supports, or should support, combat or other units. But this base supports nothing at present and merely exists for itself and for the convenience of the general who needs men under him in order to keep his nice, easy, lucrative job. There are, at this base, enough officers who want to stay in the Army to operate it efficiently—or at least what the Army calls efficiently. It's really a joke. All we do is have "beautification week," "clean-up week," or "good citizenship week," and the latest is the "best driver campaign." We build fences, remove and replace palm trees or perform some equally ridiculous mission. All this takes manpower and taxpayers' money and eventually it will all be waste. The pay-off is that the official bulletin recently requested an officer or enlisted man who was

Calendar No. 864

79th Congress, 1st Session | SENATE | Report No. 856

ENABLING THE UNITED STATES TO FURTHER PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

December 13 (legislative day, October 29), 1945.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. Connally, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 4649]

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment, and recommend that the bill do pass.

PROVISIONS OF BILL

The bill leaves unaltered the provisions of the original authorization act (act of Mar. 28, 1944; Public Law 267, 78th Cong.) except that (*a*) the amount authorized for the participation of the United States in the work of UNRRA is increased by $1,350,000,000, (*b*) the expiration date of the authorization is extended to June 30, 1947, and (*c*) a new section 8 (a) is added which reads as follows:

8 (a). In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following recommendations:

A. That the United States member of the control committee of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is hereby requested, by appropriate resolutions or agreements, to secure favorable action by that committee or by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council to attain the following objectives:

(1) That all trade agreements and all barter agreements of a recipient country with other nations, together with satisfactory information on all exports from, and imports into, such country, whether for governmental or private account, will be made available to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

(2) That each recipient country shall supply accredited United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel with all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement, including all necessary inspections and investigations.

(3) That the Administration, if it determines such a course to be desirable, will be permitted, during the period of its operations in a recipient country, to retain title to all motor-transport equipment supplied by the Administration and will also be permitted to route such equipment and to direct the use of the fuel and lubricants supplied by the Administration.

B. That the President is hereby requested, through appropriate channels, to facilitate the admission to recipient countries of properly accredited members of the American press and radio in order that they be permitted to report without censorship on the utilization and distribution of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration supplies and services.

HEARINGS

H. R. 4649 was passed by the House on December 6, 1945, by a vote of 327 to 39, and was sent to the Senate and referred to this committee on December 7. The committee had before it a record of the hearings before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, as well as the favorable report of that committee, and also conducted its own hearings on December 12 and 13.

During the hearings before this committee, an extensive inquiry was made into the use of its resources by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the methods of UNRRA's operations, and its arrangements with the receiving countries. Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson, the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, Director General of UNRRA, and members of their staffs were heard as witnesses in support of the resolution.

Acting Secretary Acheson advised the committee that at a meeting of the member nations who make up the UNRRA Council, last August, the Council decided that the original authorized contributions totaling approximately $1,883,000,000 (approximately equal to 1 percent of the national income of the uninvaded member nations in 1943) would not be sufficient to meet urgent relief and rehabilitation needs both in (*a*) those countries which were already receiving UNRRA supplies and services and (*b*) the additional countries in which the member nations had authorized UNRRA to operate. The Council therefore decided to recommend that each uninvaded member nation make a second contribution equal to 1 percent of its national income in 1943. The Council recognized that the relief and rehabilitation needs of the receiving nations were vastly in excess of what could be furnished, even with the recommended additional contribution, but after taking into account the available resources of the uninvaded nations, the Council decided to limit its request to a second 1-percent contribution and also resolved to terminate shipments to Europe at the end of 1946, and to the Far East at the end of March 1947.

Governor Lehman and the members of his staff testified on the scope of UNRRA's operations, the quantities of supplies that have been furnished, how long shipments can continue under existing appropriations, and the distribution to be made of the requested additional $1,350,000,000.

After hearing the witnesses and studying the documents, the committee concluded that it is essential to authorize a second 1-percent contribution to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

URGENCY OF ADDITIONAL 1-PERCENT CONTRIBUTION

The original 1-percent contribution authorized by the member nations totals approximately $1,883,000,000. Of that mount $1,836,000,000 has been made available to date, including the $550,000,000 which has just been appropriated by the Congress.

A total of $1,350,000,000 has been contributed or is in process of contribution by the United States. Of that amount, $24,812,189 is required for administrative expenses, mission operating expenses, and displaced persons operations. An additional $675,000,000 has been spent for shipments through November 30, 1945. UNRRA's shipping schedule calls for shipments of $288,000,000 of supplies procured out of United States funds in December, $280,000,000 in January, and $225,000,000 in February. Thus, unless additional funds are appropriated, UNRRA will not have sufficient money to meet more than half of its February shipping schedule.

The evidence presented to the committee shows that it takes from 4 to 8 weeks to procure most types of supplies and to load them on board ship. If the supply pipe line is not to run out in mid-February, additional funds must therefore be appropriated before the end of December.

The equivalent of $486,000,000 has been made available by countries other than the United States. Shipments aggregating $208,000,000 have been made out of those funds to November 30. UNRRA is scheduling additional shipments to be financed out of such funds amounting to $70,000,000 monthly in December, January, and February. After deducting an additional $48,000,000 to cover administrative expenses, mission operating expenses, and displaced-persons operations, it will be seen that less than $20,000,000 in non-United States funds will remain at the beginning of March 1945.

An immediate additional 1-percent contribution by the uninvaded member nations is, therefore, of the utmost urgency. Such an additional contribution has already been authorized by the United Kingdom and an additional contribution is in process in Canada.

Part of the additional 1-percent contribution will be used to continue UNRRA's existing operations in Greece, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Albania, China, and Italy. The remainder will be devoted to taking over the extensive relief operations which are now being carried on in Italy by the American, British, and Canadian Armies, and to furnish supplies and services to several new areas in which the UNRRA Council has authorized the Administration to operate. Those areas are Austria, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Formosa, and Korea.

CONCLUSION

The committee believes that continued participation by the United States in the work of UNRRA is essential. Without a new contribution by the United States the devastated areas of Europe and the Far East will fall prey to famine, disease, and, in the end, disorder and anarchy. We cannot afford to jeopardize our military victory by refusing this new contribution. The United States took the lead in organizing UNRRA; it must continue this leadership by making this new contribution speedily.

○

Calendar No. 864

79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 4649

[Report No. 856]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

DECEMBER 7 (legislative day, OCTOBER 29), 1945
Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

DECEMBER 13 (legislative day, OCTOBER 29), 1945
Reported by Mr. CONNALLY, without amendment

AN ACT

To enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the joint resolution of March 28, 1944, entitled "Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization", is amended in the following respect:

(1) The first section is amended by striking out "$1,350,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$2,700,000,000".

1 (2) Section 9 is amended by striking out "1946"
2 and inserting in lieu thereof "1947".
3 (3) Add a new section 8 (a):
4 "8 (a). In adopting this joint resolution the Congress
5 does so with the following recommendations:
6 "A. That the United States member of the control com-
7 mittee of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Ad-
8 ministration is hereby requested, by appropriate resolutions or
9 agreements, to secure favorable action by that committee or
10 by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administra-
11 tion Council to attain the following objectives:
12 "(1) That all trade agreements and all barter agree-
13 ments of a recipient country with other nations, together with
14 satisfactory information on all exports from, and imports into,
15 such country, whether for governmental or private account,
16 will be made available to the United Nations Relief and Re-
17 habilitation Administration.
18 "(2) That each recipient country shall supply accredited
19 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration per-
20 sonnel with all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and
21 safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United
22 Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement,
23 including all necessary inspections and investigations.
24 "(3) That the Administration, if it determines such a
25 course to be desirable, will be permitted, during the period

of its operations in a recipient country, to retain title to all motor-transport equipment supplied by the Administration and will also be permitted to route such equipment and to direct the use of the fuel and lubricants supplied by the Administration.

"B. That the President is hereby requested, through appropriate channels, to facilitate the admission to recipient countries of properly accredited members of the American press and radio in order that they be permitted to report without censorship on the utilization and distribution of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration supplies and services."

Passed the House of Representatives December 6, 1945.

Attest: SOUTH TRIMBLE,

Clerk.

Calendar No. 864

79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 4649

[Report No. 856]

AN ACT

To enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

DECEMBER 7 (legislative day, OCTOBER 29), 1945
Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

DECEMBER 13 (legislative day, OCTOBER 29), 1945
Reported without amendment

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17.

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Legislative Reports and Service Section

79th-1st, No. 224

DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

(Issued December 18, 1945, for actions of Monday, December 17, 1945)

(For staff of the Department only)

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HIGHLIGHTS: House conferees appointed on 1st deficiency and full-employment bills. House passed bill to permit postponement of crop reports. House committee reported bill to liquidate rural-rehabilitation projects. House received conference report on bill to liberalize GI loans. Senate debated Federal pay and UNRRA authorization bills. President approved UNRRA-appropriation measure.

HOUSE

1. FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1946. Reps. Cannon, Woodrum, Ludlow, Snyder, O'Neal, Rabaut, Johnson, Taber, Wigglesworth, Dirksen, and Engel were appointed conferees on this bill, H.R.4805 (p. 12385). Senate conferees were appointed Dec. 15.

2. FULL EMPLOYMENT BILL. Reps. Manasco, Cochran, Whittington, Hoffman, and Bender were appointed conferees on this bill, S. 380 (p. 12380). Senate conferees were appointed Dec. 15.

3. GI BILL AMENDMENTS. Received the second conference report on this bill, H.R. 3749 (pp. 12380-5). As reported the bill increases to 10 years the time within which applications may be made for loans and provides that such applications be approved in advance by the Veterans' Administration; limits amortization on real estate loans to 25 years, except in the case of farm realty which shall be 40 years; and eliminates requirement for review of proposed regulations by the Senate Finance and House World War Veterans' Legislation Committees. (For other items see Digest 197.)

4. COTTON STATISTICS. Passed without amendment H.R.4769, to permit postponement of crop reports when issue date falls on a non-work day (p. 12387).

5. RURAL REHABILITATION. The Agriculture Committee reported with amendments H.R. 2501, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to continue administration of and ultimately liquidate Federal rural rehabilitation projects (H.Rep.1453)(p. 12413).

6. FUR-BEARING ANIMALS. Passed over, on objection of Rep. Cole, N.Y., H.R. 2115, to transfer fur-bearing animal activities to this Department (p. 12389).

7. HOUSING; VETERANS. The Rules Committee reported a resolution for the consideration of S.J.Res. 122, to authorize additional appropriations to provide housing for veterans (p. 12385).

8. FORESTRY. Concurred in the Senate amendment to H.R.608, to exclude certain lands in Deschutes County, Oreg., from the provisions of R.S. 2319-37 so as to provide recreational areas (p. 12385). This bill will now be sent to the President.

9. PUBLIC LANDS. The Agriculture Committee reported without amendment H.R.4319, to transfer FSA land and property in Limestone County to Tex. (H.Rept. 1454) (p. 12413).

10. PERSONNEL. Passed as reported S. 405, to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act so as to provide that an employee may elect to receive full credit for his military service toward retirement (pp. 12389-90).

Passed over, at the request of Rep. Cole, N.Y., S. 102, to provide for counting military service of certain Legislative-Branch employees in determining eligibility for civil-service status under the Civil Service Classification Act (p. 12389).

Passed as reported S. 576, to eliminate the 1-year time limit within which incumbents of positions covered into the classified service may be recommended for classification (p. 12390).

Passed over, on objection of Rep. Barden, N.C., H.R. 1118, to amend the Hatch Act so as to authorize CSC to determine penalties for violation of such Act (p. 12390).

Received CSC's draft of proposed legislation to grant additional basic authority to CSC. To Civil Service Committee. (p. 12412.)

Received CSC's draft of proposed legislation to amend the "Act to prevent purchase and sale of public office." To Judiciary Committee. (p. 12413.)

11. UNO BILL. The Rules Committee reported a resolution for the consideration of this bill, S. 1580 (p. 12401). Rep. Stewart, Okla., spoke commending the SCS programs and their international importance (pp. 12405-7).

12. FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION. Received FTC's report on resale price maintenance. To Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. (p. 12412.)

13. SURPLUS PROPERTY. Received State Department's draft of proposed legislation to amend the Surplus Property Act to designate that Department as disposal agency for surplus property outside the continental U.S. To Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee. (p. 12412.)

14. CLAIMS. Passed over, on objection of Rep. Cole, N.Y., H.R. 181, to provide for adjustment of certain tort claims against the U.S. and confer jurisdiction in respect thereto on U.S. district courts (p. 12387).

15. RECLAMATION. Passed without amendment H.R. 1689, to authorize Interior to purchase improvements or pay damages for removal of improvements on U.S. lands on the Boise Reclamation Project (p. 12389).

SENATE

16. FEDERAL PAY BILL. Continued debate on this bill, S. 1415, to increase Federal salaries by 20% (pp. 12321-4, 12327-30). Sen. Downey, Calif., compared present Federal salaries with the increased cost of living.

17. UNRRA AUTHORIZATION. Began debate on H.R. 4649, to increase the appropriation authorization for UNRRA by $1,350,000,000. (pp. 12335-44).

Government to indulge in inflationary bank borrowing to lend money to Britain or anybody else, including the United States of America.

Here is a loan of $3,750,000,000 at 2 percent interest. But because there is a 5-year prologue without interest the actual rate over the whole period will be 1.62 percent a year. Our Government will have to borrow this money from the American people. It will have to pay at least 2½ percent for it. That is the interest rate on the present Victory Loan. It will borrow at 2½ percent and lend to the British at 1.62 percent. We will pay $93,750,000 a year interest and they, when they pay, will pay us $60,750,000 a year for the privilege of using the money. The Government will take a loss of $33,000,000 a year on the interest account. Of course, this will decrease gradually as the loan is paid off. But I predict it will never be reduced very much, if at all.

This is not all. We are told blithely that this agreement settles the lend-lease problem. But does it? It settles it for the British. But remember, our Government borrowed $25,000,000,000 to advance to England on lend-lease. Our Government pays at least 2 percent interest on the loan. England gets out of that, but this Government must go on taxing our people $500,000,000 a year to pay interest on the debt which we forgive.

Let me say, therefore, that we cannot make this loan without adding another severe burden to the fiscal problem of our Government, while on the side of Great Britain, I predict that she will never pay this loan any more than she has paid any other to us. Have we not had enough experience in this field? When we were lending her billions during the last world war, we were the very best fellows in the world. When the war ended, England owed us $4,000,000,000. She paid a miserable fraction of this, and then began to denounce us as old Uncle Shylock for even suggesting that she should pay on a very much reduced basis. Does anyone think that either we or our English friends have changed very much?

Then came this war, and the lend-lease proposal. No man in America dreamed that the sums poured out on lend-lease would ever reach such fantastic proportions. Nevertheless, we were told that while we would not ask repayment in dollars, we would get payments for a great deal of it in goods and trade concessions when the war ended. Now, for every dollar of lend-lease to England, and for the billions of installations and surplus property remaining in England, we are getting $532,000,000, which we are agreeing to spend in England for real estate and construction and educational programs.

We now have a proposal for another loan of $3,750,000,000. The English themselves have warned us that they take it only because they are desperate. They have practically told us that they could not stand a loan. They have—in words as plain as involved diplomatic double-talk can make it—told us they cannot pay such a loan. After the last war England was in a far more powerful economic condition than she is in today. Yet she could not pay us $4,000,000,000. Do Senators think that England, weakened as she is today, is better able to assume such an obligation than she was 25 years ago? She will never pay it. Under this arrangement, she is supposed to pay an average of $96,000,000 a year. Where is she going to get the $96,000,000? Her exports cannot provide it. They will be scarcely sufficient to pay for her imports from this country. And when England comes to us later and tells us she cannot pay, many persons in America will say that once again England is rooking us—but remember we are going into this with our eyes wide open. England cannot pay this money, and we are sowing the seeds of endless international friction, reviving old animosities, and setting in motion a flood and counterflood of bitter criticisms across the Atlantic Ocean between two nations which should be friends.

Just one more thought. For what purpose is Britain going to use this money? Some of it she is expected to spend here, and that is supposed to keep our factories going. The rest of it she will spend at home and in various parts of the world; but however she spends it, I remind the Senate that we are lending this, not to British industry but to the British Government.

Mr. President, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that in this world today there is a life-and-death struggle between two systems of government. One of them is our own—the capitalist economic system of private ownership operating under a free republican form of government. The other is a system of economic collectivism operating under a powerful and unlimited central government—either a dictatorship or moving toward dictatorship. The people of England have made their choice. They have decided that they are through with the old capitalism under which England grew powerful and great. I do not make any defense for those leaders of capitalism in either England or the United States who have committed so many offenses against their own system and who have blindly refused to see its abuses and to correct them. Here in this country, however, I think our choice is clearly indicated. It is to correct the mistakes and eradicate the abuses. In England the choice has been to get rid of the capitalist system and turn to an all-powerful political state which will control the economic life of the nation upon the most comprehensive scale.

I do not question the right of the English people to make this choice. It is their country to do with as they choose; but we cannot escape the fact that in the coming generation one of these systems of life and policy is going to succeed and the other will probably fail. Our just duty is to make our system strong and to use our energies, our wealth, and our devotion to preserve and perpetuate our great society of the free man. I think the English people have a right to take the same course with reference to their new venture in socialism, communism, or whatever one may wish to call it; but I do not think they have a right to ask us to pour out our resources to their Government in order to make its socialistic experiment a success. If they can make it a success, if they can produce that abundance and security of which men have always dreamed, we wish them well. The example of the English and the Russian experiments may lead the world in the same direction in the future. But, on the other hand, for our system of society there is only one hope, and that is that we shall make it a success—that it wil succeed upon its own strength—and that we shall let Russia nad England and every other socialistic experiment either succeed or fail upon its own merits. If our system succeeds and that of England and Russia fails, the world will come back to our way of life and to our ideals of government.

Certainly we have voted to cooperate with them. We have already provided for international financial cooperation through the Bretton Woods agreement, the Export-Import Bank, and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. Through the RFC we have already given them loans on a business basis.

I do not propose that we shall do anything to injure England along the course she has chosen. I believe that we should trade with her, visit with her, and behave generally as reasonable neighbors. If there are any private industries in England which are solvent and can qualify for loans upon the same basis as private industries in America, I would not oppose such loans; but I will oppose loans to the Government of England to make that Socialist government a success, particularly when I know that that government cannot repay the loans and that we cannot afford to make them, and that if we make them we will be giving a transfusion of blood into this Socialist body out of our own private enterprise body at a moment when we would do well to look to the health of our own country.

Mr. President, I have voted for cooperation with the other countries of the world. I voted to grant great powers to our Executive in those dealings, but I want our representatives truly to represent the interests of America and, above all, I want them to be honest with the American people.

FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I ask that the Senate now vote on the bill, without debate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill is before the Senate and is open to amendment.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Texas should make a full statement in regard to the bill and in regard to what the $1,350,000,000 will be used for and what countries will receive it.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. Speaker, when the Senator said that he looked serious, but then he smiled, as if to throw a doubt on his earnestness in the matter.

The Committee on Foreign Relations held public hearings on the bill for two entire days. I did not see the Senator from Ohio there, although he diligently appeared before the committee every day, so far as I now recall, when the committee considered the Palestine resolution. I regret that the Senator from Ohio could not spare any time from his attentions to the Palestine resolution, to favor the committee with his presence when it was considering the UNRRA bill.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. The Senator will remember that I appeared before the committee only at the invitation of the committee, and I was not invited to attend the committee's hearings on the UNRRA bill.

Mr. CONNALLY. We were glad to have the Senator there; but I do not recall that we felt that we had to invite the Senator to attend the hearings on a bill to which the public was invited. We did invite the Senator to attend the hearings on the Palestine resolution, because that meeting was secret; and the Senator accepted with alacrity and was there. But he did not do us that honor when we were considering the UNRRA bill; he did not attend the hearings on that bill.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. Did I correctly understand the Senator to say that the hearings were open to the public?

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not know that they were.

Mr. TAFT. No; my understanding is that they were executive hearings. I was not invited to be present.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator could have asked to be present, and we would have been glad to have him there and to hear him.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I expect to vote for the UNRRA bill, but I think the facts regarding it should be known to the Senate before it votes for the bill.

Mr. CONNALLY. If the Senator expects to vote for the bill without knowing the facts, I do not see why I should take time to explain the facts. If he is going to vote for the bill without knowing anything about it, why should I spend any time in attempting to enlighten him regarding it?

Mr. President, I may say that House bill 4649 provides for an additional $1,350,000,000 for the work of UNRRA. The bill amends the original joint resolution by striking out the figure "$1,350,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$2,700,000,000," making both allocations in the amount of $1,350,000,000.

As all Senators who have taken any interest in this matter know, this money is expended through the United Nations Organization. Former Governor Lehman, of New York, is president of the Organization—not the American president, but president, or Director, of the entire program.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Under the United Nations Organization, the participating nations subscribe proportionate amounts of money. I believe the United States subscribes approximately 70 percent of the total; is that corerct?

Mr. CONNALLY. That is correct.

Mr. REVERCOMB. When we make this appropriation, do we know that the other nations are going to subscribe their proportionate amounts, so as to meet their obligations under the UNRRA setup?

Mr. CONNALLY. I will say to the Senator that the principal other nations already either have made their appropriations or are in process of making them—Great Britain and the other principal nations. Of course, there are a number of small countries whose allocations are small, and all of them have not as yet made their appropriations. But I understand that Brazil, which contributes quite a substantial sum of money, is taking measures to appropriate its share of the money.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Are they making appropriations to meet the new appropriation which we are making?

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes; that is what I am talking about.

Mr. REVERCOMB. So when this appropriation is made by this country, the other nations will have made their corresponding appropriations, on the basis of their original allocations; is that correct?

Mr. CONNALLY. In the main, they have.

Mr. REVERCOMB. When the Senator says "In the main," does he mean the larger countries?

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes; I mean the larger countries. I am sending for the hearings now, so that I may give Senators the detailed figures, if they wish to have them.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. Have the Senate hearings been printed?

Mr. CONNALLY. They have, and I now present the Senator with a copy of them.

Mr. TAFT. I have had a copy of the House hearings, but I have not seen a copy of the Senate hearings.

Mr. CONNALLY. I beg pardon; let me say that I have sent for the stenographic copies, and I shall be glad to present one to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. TAFT. Then the Senator from Texas again is mistaken; for he said the hearings were printed, and now I understand the Senator to say that they have not been printed.

Mr. CONNALLY. No; they have not been. When I saw the volume, I withdrew the statement that they had been printed. I do not expect to attempt to catch the Senator from Ohio on such a trivial matter, nor do I expect him to raise a question as to one so lacking in importance.

Mr. President, there is no attempt to conceal. The UNRRA is a new organization which is confronted with the greatest difficulties in respect to hunger, suffering, and sacrifices in the war-torn countries. The Foreign Relations Committee went over the matter very thoroughly with Governor Lehman. He admitted that there were shortcomings, but he said they were striving to correct them. I do not doubt that there has been waste in many places, but I do not know how we are going to avoid such things in connection with a program of this kind. The UNRRA is a charitable organization. There is no doubt that there are impositions upon it. It has an employee list of 8,000 persons, who are scattered all over the world. It is now extending its activities to some countries which heretofore have not enjoyed the benefits conferred under the UNRRA program. It will begin a program in Italy, where it will spend approximately $300,000,000. Later on it will begin a program in China, where it will spend approximately $400,000,000. Those are simply samples of what I am undertaking to point out in answer to the Senator from Ohio.

Although the committee did not approve of a good many things which had been done and a good many things which had not been done by the UNRRA nevertheless, it was of the opinion that we were embarked upon the program and we could not withdraw from it—with the exception that the bill provides, and Governor Lehman and others agree that the program shall end in 1946, so far as Europe is concerned, and on March 31, 1947, insofar as Asia is concerned.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I should like to ask the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee a question. Are the other countries agreed as to the time limit; in other words, that the program shall close on the dates which we are fixing in this authorization bill?

Mr. CONNALLY. I cannot assure the Senator categorically of that, but my understanding is that they are agreed.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Is not the time now proposed a longer time than was originally intended?

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not know that any time limit was set originally; but most of us thought, when we voted for the first appropriation, that it would be all.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I ask the question because, as I remember, in a conversation with Governor Lehman more than a year ago, he said he felt that the major work of UNRRA would be completed with a year after the war. However, this authorization provides for a period beyond that time.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is quite true, I may say to the Senator from Massachusetts; and when the first authorization was passed I chided Governor Lehman on the statement which he was making to the Senator from Massachusetts. I said, "You say this is all you are going to need, but you will be back here next year with a request for another authorization." And faithful to that suggestion, he is back.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Will the Senator yield to permit me to ask another question?

Mr. CONNALLY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Would it be wise for us not to go so far as is proposed—into 1947—but to have the subject come up again next autumn, when we could look into the matter again?

Mr. CONNALLY. Next autumn would be very near the end of the program, very near the end of 1946.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I have in mind the 1947 date.

Mr. CONNALLY. That applies only to Asia. UNRRA has not yet commenced operations in Asia, and so it was felt that it would need those 3 months to wind up the program.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President——

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield first to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. TAFT. I wish to ask a further question. When we make this authorization, do we become obligated legally or in any other way to make appropriations beyond the $750,000,000 now already in course of appropriation?

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator from Ohio knows just as much about that as does the Senator from Texas. He knows what an authorization is, and what an appropriation is. He knows whether we are morally obligated. I do not think we are morally obligated, but I suppose the Senator thinks we are.

Mr. TAFT. I do not know. When the question of $550,000,000 arose in connection with the first authorization, it was said, as I remember, that we were morally obligated. Other nations had gone along and put up their whole 1 percent, or at least some of them did, and I supposed we must do the same. I wonder if we are again getting into a situation where we are practically appropriating the money instead of merely authorizing it?

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator knows, as a matter of fact, that when an authorization is made the supposition is carried with it that the money later will be appropriated.

Mr. TAFT. No; I was not and am not certain about it.

Mr. CONNALLY. There is no obilgation binding upon us. No one can compel us to appropriate the money. However, when we are dealing with other international bodies, if some other nation puts up money on the assumption that we will also appropriate, I think that an obligation is involved upon our part.

Mr. TAFT. The original act expressly disavows any obligation upon our part beyond what we appropriate, does it not?

Mr. CONNALLY. If there was such a disavowal, it would not be changed by the terms of this bill because in it that matter is not dealt with.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I should like to ask the chairman of the committee what the testimony showed before the committee as to when the prgoram is to start in China and in the Orient?

Mr. CONNALLY. No definite date has been agreed upon, but the organization has had representatives in China for a year looking into the situation and preparing for initiating its work in that region. I think they will start shortly after they obtain the money.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I am supporting the Senator's bill, because I am somewhat familiar with the problems existing in Europe and the need for relief this winter. I believe, however, that if we have undertaken certain obligations through UNRRA, even though there may have been a better way to perform the work which UNRRA will perform, we will have to follow through in the way we have started because it is not practical to set up an American organization to do the work. But I may state frankly that I have some question in my mind as to whether we are acting soundly in following through with the UNRRA program in China and whether it would not be a better policy for us to furnish relief to China through an American relief organization instead of becoming involved in relief associated in any way with international high politics. I think the problems involved have resulted in our not doing so efficient a job as we could have done with an American organization. So far as Europe is concerned we must go ahead in the way we have started because if we did not do so we would have a duplication of effort. But so far as China is concerned I question very much the policy of furnishing relief through UNRRA.

Mr. CONNALLY. I may say to the Senator that if the work were not done through UNRRA it would involve establishing another organization. We would then have two organizations, and would be constantly debating as to which one of the organizations should have the larger number of employees and the greater appropriation. I would favor an American relief organization in Europe disassociated from other nations, but inasmuch as we have the present organization I do not think it would be consistent to make a change in our policy in Asia.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I agree with the Senator that so far as Europe is concerned we are tied in with the present organization. We are contributing about 70 percent of the money, although each of the Nations sitting in the organization has an equal vote. Liberia or Guatemala, for example, has put up a few thousand dollars, and is sitting in the organization with a vote equal to that of the United States. As I have said, we are tied in with the present organization, but we are not in that position so far as the Orient is concerned.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator may—I hope he will not—offer an amendment to set up another organization. We are hoping that the appropriation will cover the situation everywhere.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, is it possible to put into the RECORD a statement of what countries will receive this money, and in what sums? I think it appeared somewhere in the hearings. At least, I was told so.

Mr. CONNALLY. A tentative statement to that effect was put into the record, but it cannot be definite and final for the reason that the Administrator himself does not know. I can give the Senator a statement with regard to the matter. Let us consider some of the countries to whom relief will be afforded. For example, let us take Yugoslavia. Does the Senator object to the continuance of operations in Yugoslavia?

Mr. TAFT. What I should like to know is how much Yugoslavia is to receive.

Mr. CONNALLY. I will try and furnish the Senator that information. I cannot dig it out at the moment. I do not suppose, however, that the Senator objects to helping Yugoslavia.

Mr. TAFT. Yugoslavia is a country which is entirely under the control of the interests which exclude American newspaper reporters and all American action of any kind. No American can get into Yugoslavia and see what is taking place there. I doubt very seriously, under those circumstances, whether we should extend relief to Yugoslavia.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let the Senator offer an amendment to strike out Yugoslavia and we shall be glad to have it considered. I suppose that the test of the Senator from Ohio is not whether a man's body is hungry and is about to starve, but instead, is what church the man belongs to, or what political party he may be a member of. I do not recognize such artificial standards. If a man is suffering from hunger, he should be fed.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. I should like to inquire about Poland.

Mr. CONNALLY. Poland is being treated in the best possible way. A great deal of money has been spent there.

Mr. LANGER. I was curious also about Austria and Germany.

Mr. CONNALLY. Operations will be started in Austria immediately, although Austria was an enemy country. When operations were started by UNRRA they did not feed anybody in an enemy country. But the council modified the regulations to the extent that UNRRA will begin a progrom of furnishing relief in Austria.

Mr. LANGER. And, I presume, sooner or later in Germany?

Mr. CONNALLY. I am sure that later, when the Army gets through feeding people in Germany—the Army is feeding people in Germany at the present time—UNRRA will start operations there. However, inasmuch as the Army is now feeding people in Germany we do not wish to have two agencies operating with the same object in view.

Mr. LANGER. So the appropriation for which we are voting includes Poland, Austria, and later it will include Germany?

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes. I should say, Mr. President, that some of the countries are not asking for anything. Norway, who suffered terribly and was conquered, is not asking for relief. Belgium is not asking for relief. Several other countries have not asked for any relief under UNRRA. Their attitude is a shining tribute to their fine outlook on world affairs.

Mr. LANGER. I thank the Senator.

Mr. TAFT. Did I understand the Senator to say that UNRRA is extending relief into Germany?

Mr. CONNALLY. No; I said that it probably would do so ultimately.

Mr. TAFT. Is it contemplated in the report on the bill? The report states that a part of the additional 1-percent contribution will be used to continue UNRRA's existing operations in Greece, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Albania, China, and Italy. The suggestion has been made that we extend operations further to include Austria, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Formosa, and Korea. Can the Senator tell us what is Byelorussia?

Mr. CONNALLY. Byelorussia is White Russia. It borders Poland and the Baltic provinces. I shall be glad to obtain the necessary information for the Senator. Mr. President, I ask that the revolving globe be brought into the Chamber. [Laughter.]

Mr. TAFT. Why must we extend relief to White Russia and to the Ukraine? Those countries are a part of the Soviet Union, are they not?

Mr. CONNALLY. That is true. We interrogated thoroughly the representatives of the UNRRA on that point. Of course, there is no compulsion upon us to carry this work on within those countries. We are not compelled to do so, but UNRRA is doing it on the ground that Byelorussia and the Ukraine were terribly devastated by the war, both by the Russians themselves in their scorched-earth policy as they retired before the invading Germans, and later by the Germans who swept in toward Stallingrad. They destroyed homes, killed women and children, and murdered members of the civilian population. Finally, with great heroism, the Russians rallied and drove the invader from their soil. However, as I have said, the two territories to which the Senator has referred are a part of Soviet Russia. We interrogated various officials as to why Russia herself, as a nation, could not meet the requirements of those two territories. The answer was that even Russia herself was not in possession of imports of food and certain articles sufficient in quantity to feed the people in those territories, and that she could not obtain the necessary material except through UNRRA. Byelorussia and the Ukraine made their applications. They are members of the United Nations.

That is the best answer I can give to the Senator from Ohio.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill is before the Senate and open to further amendment.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I have only a few things to say about UNRRA.

From the beginning, I opposed the original organization. I think we should have a national relief organization in which we would be free to pick out those seeking relief, in which we gave the relief, in which we got the credit, in which every cent would be spent by Americans in the interest of relief which we wished to give. I think that would be a far more efficient method. I think we could have done more for the same money, probably by 20 or 25 or 30 percent, than UNRRA ever has done or will do. As an administrative organization UNRRA is inefficient, it has five masters instead of one. It cannot do anything to which Russia objects, it cannot do anything to which England objects, it cannot do anything to which we object. It has to satisfy every one of these nations before it can go ahead. So we had the fiasco of proceeding to supply Italy for months on months when UNRRA should have taken over the job. It seems to me that was the only proper way to handle the matter.

If the senior Senator from Texas, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, had been on the job 6 months ago he would have seen that we were prepared to set up a national organization when the money originally appropriated ran out, if it did run out. It seems to me that we should now change the organization to a national organization. But I feel helpless. We are up against the proposition either of voting for relief or not voting for relief. I think this is a most inefficient way to handle it. I think it will result in extending relief, because of political reasons, to places which may not need relief.

I feel very strongly that we have not sufficient knowledge of conditions, because we have not been furnished any detailed information. Relief is to be offered on the basis of starving people. We do not even know how much is to go for food and how much for something else, for agricultural implements, or for lumber. I observed a statement in the press the other day to the effect that lumber for 100,000 housing units was going abroad, I do not know where, or even whether it was under UNRRA.

It seems to me we are pursuing the most inefficient and unsatisfactory method of handling this responsibility. When the money runs out, certainly I shall vote against the next UNRRA authorization. I think we should now make it clear to the foreign nations—and we can do so—that we are putting up only $750,000,000 out of $1,350,000,000, and that we may never put up the other $600,000,000. Let the other nations contribute only a little more than half their total allotment as we are now doing. If they contribute more, they may be deceived about our intentions. We are not obligated to go on with the $600,000,000 merely because we authorize the appropriation. I think it should be made clear to the nations that we may not appropriate the additional $600,000,000. We may choose to handle the matter in some other way, or we may regard the job as finished.

Incidentally, of course, we are not covering large sections of Germany, which are going to be in very much worse shape than some of the other countries. Stories from Germany show conditions there to be worse, in many respects, than in other countries, not so bad as in some of the countries, but worse than that in others.

If we create a situation in which millions of people starve in Germany and Japan, certainly we will look back upon our neglect with shame.

Mr. President, in my opinion Congress is not in a position to substitute another form of organization, so, with the greatest regret, I intend to vote for the appropriation. But I think the administration has lamentably failed in presenting an economically reasonable American plan for the distribution of relief.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I wish to make it clear that I shall vote for the appropriation relying upon the word of the distinguished senior Senator from Texas that Germany, Hungary, Austria, and Poland will get some of the money.

Mr. CONNALLY. No, Mr. President; the Senator from Texas did not say that. He said they probably would. I do not give my guarantee they will ever get a dime.

Mr. LANGER. I give notice that if I find they are not getting it, I shall introduce a bill whereby this Government will see to it that the suffering women and children of those four countries get a sufficient amount of food to enable them to sustain life.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, a great many Senators have been concerned about this UNRRA matter for some time. I presume most of the Members of the Senate are greatly in favor of the aid we are giving to displaced and unfortunate people in the occupied territories. But letters such as the one I have in my hand, a portion of which I shall read, are certainly disturbing indeed, and I think show the need for some drastic action, and serious consideration, before we blithely donate billion after billion without being assured that we get at least commensurate results for the sacrifices our action will eventually cost the American people.

I shall read a portion of a letter applicable to UNRRA which I received 3 days ago from an American Army officer in Europe. This man is about 50 years of age. He is a lawyer by profession, a very successful lawyer, a man of substantial judgment, who went into the service as a patriotic duty, and at considerable sacrifice to himself. He says this, among other things:

> This UNRRA is probably the most modern Cook's tour at public expense I have ever seen. They, from the top down, are for the most part a disorganized mob—not "Kitchener's mob" but "Lehman's mob." There are a relatively small percentage of most excellent, hard-working people. There are many with good impulses and a rather philanthropic outlook. But there is a god-awful percentage of them who are merely here for the buggy ride, and they have considerable social life, all they can stand.
>
> The chief trouble, in my judgment, is that it lacks any organization. This job of handling DP's could have been done a thousand percent better by the Army. I used several UNRRA teams and they did all right. UNRRA didn't even know where they were. But we took care of them and had an Army officer over them always. That was better all around. They didn't know anything about supplies and they had no transportation. That had been sold, loaned, or stolen in Paris, I see by today's paper.
>
> It is my opinion that probably 900 out of every $1,000 appropriated to UNRRA is absolutely squandered—unnecessarily wasted. That money could well be better given to some of these homeless devils than to provide travel, entertainment, and sustenance for UNRRA personnel.
>
> If we could have another Hoover relief setup it could do a much better job, and much

more easily here as the Army is along to help. They would not be working in hostile territory as in Russia.

But a large part of the remaining DP's are actually not properly so designated. Many came here prior to the war. Many came to Germany to escape the Russians—just as did the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians. Now they have no place to go.

Mr. President, that closes the paragraphs with reference to UNRRA; but I will say, in connection with those paragraphs, that the letter gives me a great deal more concern because I know this man. I know his background, I know his general attitude. He is not a Regular Army officer, he does not praise the Army organization there because of any lifetime loyalty to the Regular Army. In my opinion, his judgment is sound, and I am concerned when this man, whom I know, makes a measured and considered statement of this kind about the squandering of the money which the American people are sacrificing from their own reconversion, from their own needs, in a humanitarian effort to aid other people. I am concerned about his statement that about nine-tenths of the money is being squandered, in his judgment, by these officials who are disorganized, and who spend the money for private entertainment and private travel, and do not give it to the people who are hungry and starving, and who will die this winter if they are not afforded assistance.

Mr. President, I am for this UNRRA appropriation and for all the relief we can properly give these people, but I think there is a tremedous responsibility which, if not met, will amount to neglect on the part of those in charge, if we do not see that as nearly as possible a hundred cents from every dollar we give goes to the humanitarian purposes for which the people of this country are sacrificing, and for which they are willing to sacrifice in the future.

Mr. President, I think the confusion of UNRRA will some day be clearly shown to be a national and an Allied disgrace if it is not corrected.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I had not intended to say anything in the debate, because I am almost as critical of some phases of UNRRA as are some of the Senators who have preceded me. But let us not overlook the fact that there is a personnel in UNRRA which is highly dedicated to the faithful discharge of a high, humanitarian obligation.

I am particularly moved to testify because of the letter just read by the able Senator from Iowa, in which his correspondent expresses the fear that UNRRA funds are being dissipated in personnel expense and personnel travel and entertainment. I should like to call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the fact that the administrative expense of UNRRA is taken care of in a fund separate from the UNRRA fund itself. As compared with $1,350,000,000, which was our contribution to the first year's operation, the administrative expense was $24,812,189. In other words, even compared to our contribution alone, the administrative expense in UNRRA was less than 2 percent of our contribution, and that less than 2 percent figure I give the Senate is the total administrative obligation. So I say to the able Senator from Iowa that, so far as the particular charge which was brought to his attention is concerned, I very much doubt whether it is justified, except in the isolated instances which will be found in every institution of this magnitude. The administrative expense, I repeat, is less than $25,000,000 out of a fund which is approximately one and one-half billion dollars.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I may say to the Senator from Michigan that this is not the only such letter which has come to me. I have received a number of letters from different places in Europe where the UNRRA funds are being expended and activities are going on which contain somewhat similar statements of suspicion, of doubt, and of criticism. I have not undertaken to introduce them into the RECORD because I do not care to continue or to prolong a controversy on manifestly a humanitarian and a needed activity. I read this letter today because, first, of the supreme confidence I have in the man who wrote it, and, secondly, in the hope that in some small way the message of this man, who has been on the job for many months, in fact he has been over there for a year and a half in this particular activity, may bring us to our senses, so that we will establish some kind of reorganization which will bring the highest degree of efficiency into UNRRA. I believe UNRRA is not at the highest peak of efficiency so far as getting the foods which are purchasable by dollars and available by dollars, quickly and directly to the people who need it and should have it. I certainly should not want to continue or prolong this argument by placing in the RECORD a great number of letters dealing with the question of inefficiency, but I hope the letter I read will in some small measure help to straighten out the situation.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I hope the Senator does not for an instant believe that I am questioning the necessity which he emphasizes for maximum efficiency in making appropriations for UNRRA reach the maximum of humanitarian service. I quite agree with him that the more general the discussion of the problem can be the greater is the probability of the highest proportion of efficient and effective result. I simply felt that we could hardly be justified as a Senate in voting any additional UNRRA appropriation if I allowed the record to stand with the unchallenged suggestion that practically 90 percent of the appropriation is lost or misdirected or maladministered. I do not believe that to be so, and I have given the specific figures to demonstrate that it cannot be so in respect to administrative expense.

That certainly does not mean for an instant that there has not been maladministration, that there has not been waste, that there have not been instances, many of them, of far too much seepage between the donor and the donee. I doubt—and I am sure the Senator will agree with this statement—whether it would have been humanly posible to put together a human institution such as UNRRA in the midst of Europe's disorganization and disintegration, suddenly to serve with adequate sufficiency the needs of those war-torn areas where often there has been no semblance of legal Government remaining. Yet I agree with the Senator that every possible effort toward improvement must be made, so long as we are continuing this particular method of serving these relief necessities. I agree that there cannot be too much emphasis placed upon the necessity for improved administration and added assurance that relief will reach those for whom it is intended. Even though that be brought to a maximum peak, I will say to the Senator, I am convinced that this should be our last year of UNRRA, because I am convinced that beyond this particular period, if there is any necessity for additional services of this nature, it will be far better for us if we selectively handle the relief ourselves, under our own administration, and on whatever basis our judgment may recommend.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I am glad to hear the Senator make the last statement, especially because I feel that so much of the confusion and inefficiency and loss under UNRRA is directly traceable to the original conception of UNRRA and its original set-up—its original responsibility. It is entirely probable that it is too late now to change the set-up in the middle of this operation, and I would not advocate it at this time.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me inject myself again at that point. This is the situation, I think, in which the Senate finds itself—and I think that was the feeling in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: We are caught on the horns of a dilemma. Obviously, except as it has organized relief, particularly in central Europe, during this approaching winter and the following spring, the inevitable results will be that misery will be followed by chaos and chaos will be followed by anarchy or worse. It is impossible to substitute any other sort of service for this winter and early spring. We have not the time; we have not the facilities; we have not the organization. It is this or nothing, and it is essentially in that spirit in which I have been satisfied to close my eyes to some of the things I dislike—and I dislike them just as much as does any other Senator upon this floor—and to agree that for 1 year there is no alternative to proceeding under the existing formula.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. With reference to the Senator's statement that this could not be done by a new organization quickly enough, I will say that I was the secretary of the American Relief Administration after the last war——

Mr. VANDENBERG. Wait a moment. I think the Senator is misquoting me. I

said it could not be done with complete efficiency in the midst of the sudden situation which we confront.

Mr. TAFT. So far as Congress is concerned, I agree with the Senator that we have no choice because we cannot originate a new kind of an organization.

I sailed with Mr. Herbert Hoover from Boston the day after the armistice, on November 12. By the 1st of February we had operating relief organizations in Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, later on in Armenia, in Poland, and later on also in Lithuania. We built up the personnel of that organization in 3 months. It was not on such an elaborate scale as the present organization. Its overhead was one-tenth of what UNRRA's overhead is, but I think we did as effective a relief job in that winter after the First World War, which was very similar to this war, as could have been done. And I feel very confident that if the administration, foreseeing the need of this $1,350,000,000 3 months ago, had said "We will administer our own organization" it could have built up an American organization to administer relief. Now it may be too late. As I have said, I do not see much choice except to vote for the bill, because we in Congress cannot originate another kind of organization, but I think the administration could have done it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I emphatically agree that the type of service rendered in this field following World War I is a model which we might well have hoped to emulate, and I wish it had been done.

I desire to add a word in respect to the situation in which Congress finds itself when it has to audit accounts of this nature. I want to lay bare the utter impotence of any committee in Congress to deal adequately with the Senate's responsibility when an appropriation of this sort has to be authorized. It is absolutely impossible under the existing organization of the Senate system for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee confidently to pass upon whether the past expenditure has been properly or wisely made, or whether the new appropriation is justified. Until Congress arms itself with its own adequate and independent corps of investigators and auditors in respect to these expenditures we shall continue to be 95 percent at the mercy of the executive branch of the Government. What can the Senate Foreign Relations do when a problem of this sort is suddenly dumped upon the table? What can it do to explore the realities? All in the world it can do is to go on a fishing expedition here and there, by way of cross-examination, hoping to disclose some useful information.

When an appropriation of this size is made for a specific purpose, the Congress ought to have its own agents to follow the appropriation every hour of every day from the beginning of the year to the end. I know of no greater service that is waiting to be rendered, not only to the Senate but to the American people and the solvency of our public credit, than the report which I hope is coming from the joint congressional committee under the able chairmanship of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] in the very near future, which will make it possible for the first time for a committee of Congress adequately to confront the executive departments of the Government when the executive departments are either, on the one hand, attempting to justify what they have done or, on the other hand, attempting to justify that which they seek in the future.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. McCLELLAN. In that connection, I invite the attention of the Senate to a bill which I introduced, Senate bill 958, which has been reported. It is a bill to provide for a more effective inspection and supervision of the Congress with respect to the administration of the laws of the United States. It would establish a joint committee for that purpose and authorize it to be adequately staffed to inquire into such things from time to time, and continuously, so that the Congress might be informed as to how our laws are being administered and how funds are being expended.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I thank the Senator, and I congratulate him upon the proposal which he has submitted.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I shall yield in a moment. I merely wish to add in passing that I doubt if it will be sufficient to have a general staff for the purpose of general inquiry. In an undertaking of this magnitude, for example, I doubt whether we can ever adequately audit the ultimate report, either in terms of dollars and cents or in terms of service rendered, except as our specific agents, representing us alone and responsible exclusively to us, are following the appropriation from the hour it is made down to the hour when it is exhausted.

I apologize to the Senator from Nebraska for keeping him waiting. I now yield to him.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I wish to ask the distinguished Senator from Michigan a question. Before doing so I wish to make the observation that I was one of those who originally opposed the UNRRA set-up. I thank the distinguished Senator from Michigan for his remarks, because they are an absolute defense to the vote which I cast against UNRRA when the legislation was first passed. I only hope that the time will come when we may have our own independent organization, acting as such to expend funds for relief.

Getting down to the pending bill, whether we had our wishes with respect to the original organization or not, I believe that the only road we can now follow is the one described by the distinguished Senator from Michigan.

Did I correctly understand the distinguished Senator recently to make a statement on the floor of the Senate that before any more appropriations to UNRRA were made he felt that we should get behind the "iron curtain" and find out what was behind some of the foreign policy, and what was done with the food and other relief supplies, before we granted an appropriation?

Mr. VANDENBERG. No.

Mr. WHERRY. What did the Senator say?

Mr. VANDENBERG. On the contrary. So far as the impression which I evidently left with the Senator from Nebraska is concerned, my speech was a total failure. The plea which I was making at that moment was that it was not fair to withhold a crust of bread from a dying man to see whether a reporter was available to take a picture of it.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the Senator for the definition of that particular phase of his remarks, because I did not correctly understand him. I gained the impression from the distinguished Senator that the appropriation proposed at that time, which was approximately $550,000,000, should be granted for the very reason he now states; but I certainly gained the impression from him that the Foreign Relations Committee, and especially the distinguished Senator from Michigan, would insist that in connection with future appropriations we should get behind the "iron curtain" and gain the full knowledge that starving people actually got relief.

We now have before us a proposal for an appropriation of $1,350,000,000. I certainly gained from the distinguished Senator from Michigan the impression that we should insist upon inquiring into the needs of the petitioning countries, and that we should have something to say, through amendments to the legislation, as to whether we should get behind the iron curtain and make sure that materials we sent over there reached the people in the countries who actually needed them. Am I correct in that impression?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think my previous answer to the Senator evidently was not complete. I thought the Senator was inquiring only with respect to the first appropriation, to which my previous address related.

Certainly the net result of the "iron curtain" speech, if there was any net result identifying it, was the conviction that the iron curtain must be lifted in Europe before there can be the remotest hope of permanent international cooperation or the remotest possibility of international peace.

Mr. WHERRY. It was one of the finest speeches I have ever heard the Senator deliver in the Senate.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I thank the Senator. Furthermore, I am sure that the Senator is justified in saying that even though I felt that it was improper to attach a requirement to insist upon a free press before proceeding with our humanities, I urged that there should be every possible inquiry into the situation, so that we could have maximum information in respect to the administration and the integrity of the disposition of relief supplies.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the distinguished Senator for his observations, because he has stated exactly the way I

felt. That was my reaction at the time the Senator made the statement.

If the Senator will further yield, I wish to say that at the time the $550,000,000 appropriation was before us, if I correctly remember, all the amendments to the bill requiring observers and newspaper correspondents to be permitted to go into the petitioning countries were stricken by the Senate. Is that correct?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. WHERRY. That was in connection with the $550,000,000 appropriation?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I believe so.

Mr. WHERRY. The theory was that we had already made the commitment, and that therefore no strings should be attached, but that we should appropriate the $550,000,000 because of the emergency. I took the position of the distinguished Senator from Michigan in that appropriation.

The bill under consideration, which is House bill 4649, contains certain restrictions and limitations, as I read the bill. One of them is in subparagraph (2) on page 2. The language of the paragraph is as follows:

(2) That each recipient country shall supply accredited United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel with all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement, including all necessary inspections and investigations.

Did that language meet with the approval of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Completely.

Mr. WHERRY. Does the Senator feel that the kind of an investigation which we really should have can be made if the petitioning countries furnish the personnel and facilities? I invite the attention of the Senator to the fact that I had submitted an amendment which was almost identical with the provisions of subparagraph (2), with the exception of the last three lines. I should like to read the amendment, because I submitted it as an amendment to the $550,000,000 appropriation, for the very reason which the Senator from Michigan stated. However, he said that we had already made our commitments, and should not vote restrictions on a commitment already made. We are now making a new appropriation. The amendment which I intended to offer to the Senate was offered in the Committee on Appropriations, and I believe it was defeated by only 1 or 2 votes of the members present on that occasion. The amendment provided that—

such countries shall supply to accredited United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement, and in making all necessary inspections and investigations, including inspections and investigations by personnel other than nationals of such country for the purpose of obtaining information as to the need for and the use of the relief and aid being or to be furnished such country.

I understand that the language appearing in subparagraph 2, page 2, came over from the House; but I point out to the distinguished Senator that my amendment would provide that UNRRA personnel, other than the nationals of that particular country, would be required to do the very thing provided for in subparagraph (2) in the bill. Under the provisions of subparagraph (2) as it stands, the personnel could and I think would be taken from White Russia or the Ukraine, and we would have to be satisfied with their observations and investigations. Under those circumstances, I ask the Senator whether we would ever get behind the iron curtain, so as to find out whether the food, implements, and supplies were actually going to the place where they should go?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not think so under those circumstances.

Mr. WHERRY. I ask the distinguished Senator if the Foreign Relations Committee or he would be favorable to my amendment.

Mr. VANDENBERG. No; I believe that the bill should be passed as it comes to us from the House, because the limitations have been very carefully weighed and agreed upon. I am unable to conceive that subparagraph (2), beginning in line 18 on page 2 of the bill, could be administered in good faith unless external personnel dealt with the inspection and investigation in any particular foreign country.

Mr. WHERRY. If the Senator will further yield, before the Senate Small Business Committee we had considerable testimony on this question. One of the reasons why I offered the amendment was the fact that one of the administrators of UNRRA stated that in order to get food into White Russia and the Ukraine it would probably be necessary to use UNRRA personnel appointed by the Russian Government, and that UNRRA would have to rely upon their investigations and observations as to whether the food should be sent in, and whether it would reach the starving people about whom we have been talking.

Under subparagraph (2) we have no assurance as to what will become of the food once it reaches the Ukraine or White Russia. This amendment has nothing to do with the so-called freedom of the press amendment. I am stating that UNRRA personnel other than nationals from the petitioning countries ought to be the ones to go in and check up on the claims of the recipient on petitioning countries, and UNRRA personnel should trace the shipments to the very people who obtain relief.

They ought to check upon the food from the very hour we provide it until it reaches the mouths of the people who are starving. We have no assurance under the terms of this bill that that will be done. We must take the word of personnel of the petitioning countries. If I correctly understood the Senator's interpretation of what he stated about the so-called iron curtain, we would not get behind the iron curtain in the Ukraine and in White Russia so as to make sure that the starving people received the food. At least the personnel should be appointed outside the Ukraine or White Russia, whose representatives would give their own views and figures as to their needs. We have been talking about feeding starving people. What assurance is given the Senate that the food will ever reach the starving people of the Ukraine or of White Russia

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator is asking the Senator from Michigan, I will give the Senator from Nebraska no guaranties about anything that may happen at any time, anywhere, in connection with any possible subject, in Byelo-Russia or the Ukraine until the iron curtain is rolled up.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I agree entirely with the distinguished Senator from Michigan, for whom I have the most profound respect, in the statement he has just made.

So again I ask, what is the objection to the amendment I have offered, which provides that UNRRA personnel other than nationals from participating countries shall make the inspections and observations? My amendment does not provide that persons outside the UNRRA organization make the inspections. It merely provides that personnel of UNRRA, made up of personnel other than the nationals of the petitioning country, shall inspect and investigate, so that we may actually know the needs of such country and so that we may actually be sure that the food and implements and supplies go where they are needed.

I wish to point out further to the distinguished Senator that in the testimony before the committee it was stated that only 50 percent of the funds went for food and the other 50 percent went for implements. Some of the UNRRA shipments sent over last year included 35,000 tractors and 500 or 600 combines. I should like to ask the distinguished Senator what assurances we shall have, unless we have the check provided for in the amendment that inspection shall be made by UNRRA personnel from outside the petitioning country, that additional shipments of tractors will reach the people in White Russia or in the Ukraine who need them. Unless the amendment is adopted what assurance will we have that tractors will not be sent to some other place, to satisfy the desire or demand of the Russian Government? What assurance will we have that any supplies sent to countries dominated by Russia will reach starving and needy people?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I do not care to take any responsibility for identifying who shall receive the tractor or who shall receive the combine. UNRRA deals with the governments of the various countries. It has to hold the governments responsible for the net results.

In connection with the adding of two Russian Soviets to this year's list of recipients of UNRRA relief, the testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee at least pretends to show that a very careful inquiry was made to establish the necessity. Under the terms of the bill and under the assurances given us in

the testimony, the relief sent into those countries, as in the case of that sent into other countries, must be followed by adequate and satisfactory investigation and inspection. So far as I am concerned, I think the bill as drawn clearly indicates, without necessity for any further bill of particulars, the need for independent inspection and investigation.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator for his answer. If he feels that this paragraph amply provides for inspections, and that we shall be able to place the food in the hands of the dying people over there, then we have accomplished something. I cannot agree with him; we do not get behind the "iron curtain." I wish to say further that the testimony offered at the hearings just mentioned showed that the two countries I have been discussing had not permitted the personnel of UNRRA from other nations even to suggest an investigation or a check-up regarding their needs. Mr. President, it seems to me that we are defeating the very purposes for which we are making the appropriations when we do not insist that adequate investigations and inspections be made. We are the grantors; we are providing almost 75 percent of the funds to be used for these purposes. Why cannot we provide that a petitioning country shall permit an investigator or observer to enter it and check on these things, so as to make sure that the starving people—the ones who really need the assistance—receive it. Why cannot we include such a provision or requirement in the bill? What is the haste? What is the need for hurry?

We already have granted $550,000,000, and we already have appropriated another $750,000,000. If we are to guard the taxpayers' money, I think the Senate of the United States has a perfect right to insist that a petitioning country which is pleading that its people are starving shall permit the personnel of UNRRA from countries other than the petitioning country to enter that country, make a check, and see what is needed, and I think UNRRA has a perfect right to follow through, so as to see that the people who are starving and the people who wish to farm the land, the people who are ready and able to produce the agricultural crops, are the ones who receive the implements.

I think the amendment I have suggested can do a great measure of good. I only hope that subparagraph 2, as interpreted by the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan, will bring it to pass.

I certainly feel that when we appropriate $1,350,000,000 for starving people and people who expect to till the land, so as to become self-sustaining, we have a right to see to it that the food and implements go where they should go; and it seems to me that any country participating in the UNRRA agreement would be glad to see that such investigations are made.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. Let me say first that I agree with the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. LANGER. I think there is no doubt that some of the UNRRA material which was sent to Yugoslavia was immediately sent to another country. There is no doubt of that at all.

Mr. WHERRY. Certainly not.

Mr. LANGER. Let me say that in my office I have a very fine blanket which was donated by the American Red Cross. A friend of mine went to the basement of Selfridge's store, in London, and found that thousands of them could be purchased there. Right on the blanket is marked "Donated to the starving and freezing people * * * by the American Red Cross."

There is no question that something is wrong. Of course, as the Senator from Texas has said, the organization is new, and it is difficult to get it properly set up. But I agree with the Senator from Nebraska in the statement he has made in connection with offering his amendment, and I join him in offering it.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the distinguished Senator from North Dakota for his suggestion.

Mr. President, I wish to state further that in the testimony which was taken before the Small Business Committee it was stated—I do not say the statement is true—that 90 percent of the UNRRA supplies given to a certain country were sold in that country and the money was not paid back to UNRRA, but was placed in the treasury of that country. I am not saying that is authentic, but I will say that other persons testified that in case after case UNRRA supplies were sold and money for them was collected, and the country that received the supplies received the benefit of the money.

Senators assure us that they wish to feed starving people. I, too, wish to feed starving people. I wish to have that done just as much as does the distinguished senior Senator from Texas, and I do not wish to put any impediment in the UNRRA bill which is designed to have that result, even though I was against it in the first instance. But certainly, Mr. President, inasmuch as we contribute nearly 75 percent of the money, we have a right to say that all the food that is bought with the money contributed by the countries participating under the agreement shall go to the people who need it to sustain their lives, and that the money to be devoted to the purchase of implements shall be used to buy tractors and combines which will be used by the people who need them, rather than to have the money used by some of the governments as they please.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I wish to make a very brief statement in regard to the pending authorization bill. Congress has met every demand for funds made by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, because under the conditions there has been nothing else to do. Congress previously appropriated $1,350,000,000, covered by the first authorization. On Saturday, the Senate appropriated $750,000,000 in addition to the $1,350,000,000, even though the authorization for a second $1,350,000,000 had not been finally enacted.

Mr. President, I feel certain that all Members of both the Senate and the House of Representatives are keenly alive to the distress and starvation of the unfortunate people living in the war area in Europe. I certainly am, for I was one of a group of Senators who inspected that area shortly after the conclusion of the European war. However, we all know that an appropriation and expenditure of public funds to relieve the distressed and the starving will not accomplish the purposes desired unless the organization administering the expenditure of such vast sums is efficiently operated and unless the relief reaches those in actual need and dire distress.

The United States pays 72 percent of the total expenditures of this organization. It is my firm conviction that up to this date, UNRRA has been conducted in a most inefficient and wasteful manner. I appreciate that because of the very nature of the work it has undertaken, a certain amount of inefficiency is almost inevitable; but as one who has personally investigated the operations of UNRRA in Europe, and as chairman of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures, which made a further investigation during which Governor Lehman and other officials were examined, I believe that unless UNRRA is reorganized and placed on a more efficient basis, thousands and hundreds of thousands of people will die of starvation in Europe during the coming months, despite the enormous appropriations which the United States has made. I say this reluctantly, but I voice the opinion, I think, of practically every Member of the House of Representatives and Member of the Senate who has visited Europe and has had first-hand contact with the operations of UNRRA.

Mr. President, I publicly appeal to Governor Lehman, the head of the UNRRA, without delay to place the ablest and most patriotic businessmen he can secure at the head of the distribution of food, clothing, fuel, and other necessities for existence, to eliminate the inefficiency and the lack of coordinated leadership now existing, and to place his organization in the condition which is required if it is to provide efficiently the necessities of life to those who are in such great distress and such imminent danger of death from starvation and freezing.

Mr. TUNNELL. Mr. President, this afternoon I have listened to a great deal of criticism of UNRRA. I have a feeling that I am a member of a very inefficient committee, namely, the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The assumption of most Senators who have spoken is that the Foreign Relations Committee has not investigated anything concerning the matter which is now under consideration, and that Governor Lehman has not taken any pains to administer his office in a proper manner.

I am perfectly willing to admit that former President Hoover did a great job in handling relief in Belgium during the First World War.

Mr. TAFT. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. TUNNELL. I forgot to add the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT].

Mr. TAFT. I merely wanted to say that at that time Mr. Hoover and myself were a part of the Democratic administration in doing the work to which the Senator has referred, so there can be made no claim of political superiority of any kind.

Mr. TUNNELL. I hope I did not suggest that the work was done in any policital way. I was trying to throw out a bouquet to President Hoover. I now include the Senator from Ohio. I think that my offense perhaps was in not saying that it was not only President Hoover but his entire organization that did the great work which it did.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, was that at the time President Hoover was still open to receive the Democratic nomination for President?

Mr. TUNNELL. I do not know. I believe that at that time he was a candidate for the Democratic nomination.

Mr. TAFT. No; that is not true in any sense. He was Food Administrator, and American Relief Administrator, and was not a candidate for any office.

Mr. TUNNELL. I recall that he was a candidate for the Democratic nomination in four States.

Mr. TAFT. He may have been after President Wilson died. I do not know about that, but I am speaking of a time 2 years before President Wilson died, or at least a year before that time.

Mr. TUNNELL. Mr. President, in order to get on, we will all admit that Mr. Hoover was highly efficient in feeding starving people in Europe.

I wish to proceed directly to the matter which I started to discuss.

It appears that most of the criticism which we have heard has been coming from persons who are not members of the Foreign Relations Committee. For that I am very glad. The Foreign Relations Committee has exercised considerable pains in connection with this matter. I believe that the members of that committee have a pretty good idea about how the money has been and will be spent. I do not believe there is a situation such as many friends on the critical side of the subject seem to believe. I have no doubt that many things could be done in a better way than they have been done by Governor Lehman. Governor Lehman is only a human being. He has under his authority approximately 8,000 employees in UNRRA. If he were to do all the things which have been suggested, in my opinion he would necessarily require 108,000 employees. I believe that the actual distribution of food would require many more employees than he now has.

I do not entirely agree with those who have said they would favor an entirely American organization, notwithstanding the arguments which might be made in that regard. As I recall, about two-thirds of the money, or perhaps 70 percent of the total funds used by UNRRA, come from the United States. It is my recollection that the subscriptions have amounted to 1 percent of the income of the people of the various countries taking part in UNRRA for the year 1943. We are receiving at least some help from the remainder of the world.

I was very glad when it was shown that the man who had written to the Senator from Iowa thought he was right. That man was offering what he believed to be genuine criticism when he told of the cost of administration. From his statement it might be believed, if one thought that the man knew what he was talking about, that 90 percent of the funds of UNRRA were being wasted. The fact is, as shown by the Senator from Michigan, that only approximately 2 percent of the contribution of the United States is used in the total administration of UNRRA.

Mr. President, I think it is well for Senators to understand this: UNRRA is spending a large amount of money. A large number of people are in need of something with which to save them from starvation.

I remember that when Governor Lehman came before the Committee on Foreign Relations he stated that what was needed was something with which to relieve starvation and prevent pestilence after the Army had moved on. The Army took care of the situation so long as it was in a given territory. But as it moved out there had to be an organization provided to take on the work, and a civilian organization was, as he believed and as we believe, the proper kind of an organization to furnish for the purpose of relieving existing conditions.

It is not entirely the work of the United States that is being done in connection wtih countries that were liberated by the Allied armies. It is something in which the other members of the Allied Nations had an interest. And they are contributing large amounts of money. I regret that the idea has been expressed that it is a mistake for the United States to use money which is being contributed by our allies for this purpose. I do not believe that the waste which has been mentioned has been to any extent comparable with what has been stated.

As I understood Governor Lehman when he spoke before the Foreign Relations Committee, he said that he was going to have inspections made in all countries which are receiving aid. He said that he would require employees of the UNRRA to be present in order to see that the funds were expended as they should be. Furthermore, he said that if that were not done the expenditures would be discontinued.

During the course of the testimony and deliberations of the committee, it was finally determined that the head of UNRRA is an American, one who as its governor had had charge of a great State for several terms. He is now devoting his entire time, as I understand, to the work of administering UNRRA. I cannot believe that he is as inefficient as some of our friends seem to believe he is. Certainly, no evidence was presented before the Foreign Relations Committee which would in any way suggest that there has been any great degree of inefficiency in connection with the administration of UNRRA. However, inasmuch as UNRRA's work is being done in a large part of the world which was overrun by armies, where much of the life of the country was destroyed, and where business was wiped out, there is bound to be a lack of efficiency to the extent which one would expect in connection with the operation of some of our large business houses or large institutions, although sometimes we find that even they are not operated efficiently.

But after all is said and done, we come around to the very cause of the appropriation which we are asked to make. We are being appealed to to relieve starving peoples. The appeal comes to a people who are in a less straitened circumstance. The situation appeals to human beings, and it especially appeals to us. I am glad to say that members of the Foreign Relations Committee, so far as I heard them express themselves, agree that there can and will be increased efficiency in connection with the administration of UNRRA, and that the demand for aid at once is terriffic. We should give aid which will not begin a year from nor or 5 years from now, but will begin at once.

Mr. President, today I heard someone say that perhaps a large number of people in Germany will starve this winter. Many of them are starving today, it is claimed, but the fact is that there is an urgency, and, as Governor Lehman told us, he must know what he can do, he must be able to tell the people who are to get the particular benefits what they can get and when they can get them, if they are to do the most good.

Of course, there is the criticism that this relief is being distributed through other governments. I mentioned the fact that UNRRA believed it to be better to distribute through those who have an intimate knowledge of conditions in the countries in which the distribution is made.

It has been said on the floor of the Senate today that UNRRA sells things. I think it is admitted that material is turned over to the government of a country which may sell to those who can pay in their own countries, and the proceeds are used in a way that is considered satisfactory by UNRRA. So that there is some truth in the contention that there are sales. There are sales which are known to UNRRA. There are such things as farm machinery, and my understanding is that people can get them if they can pay the government, and the government is using the funds collected in administering relief and help.

I merely wanted to say a word showing that I believe UNRRA is doing a tremendous amount of good, comparable to what would be done by the United States if it had its own organization, and comparable to what any new organization would be likely to do under similar conditions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. O'MAHONEY in the chair). The question is on the third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to a third reading, and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. CONNALLY. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from Texas if section 2 is a restriction or a recommendation in this appropriation bill, which was not in the first one.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator knows the answer to that as well as does the Senator from Texas. What does he mean by section 2? Is he referring to

the language to the provision on page 2, subdivision (2), which reads:

(2) That each recipient country shall supply accredited United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel with all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement, including all necessary inspections and investigations.

Mr. WHERRY. I say, is not that a restriction in this bill which was not in the first appropriation we made for UNRRA?

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not know that it is a restriction.

Mr. WHERRY. I said a recommendation or a restriction. Let the Senator define it in any way he pleases. Is it a restriction, or limitation, or recommendation?

Mr. CONNALLY. It is merely a condition.

Mr. WHERRY. I accept the definition that it is a condition, and I ask the Senator whether it is not a condition which was not in the first appropriation for UNRRA.

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not know whether it was in the first bill or not.

Mr. WHERRY. I will tell the Senator that it was not in the first bill.

Mr. CONNALLY. Does the Senator complain of the provision?

Mr. WHERRY. No; I think it is a fine step in the right direction; and in view of the fact that we made it a condition, I ask the Senator whether he will accept a modification to strike out line 23, and after line 23, and insert the following:

And in making all necessary inspections and investigations, including inspections and investigations by personnel other than nationals of such country, for the purpose of obtaining information and the need for and use of the relief and aid being or to be furnished to such country.

The only difference is that I am asking that the Senator consider an amendment which provides that those who do the inspecting should be different from the personnel of the countries which petition. It seems to me that would help in the inspections, because the inspecitons would be made by nationals of other countries, rather than the nationals of the petitioning country.

Mr. CONNALLY. That would greatly complicate matters. It would add to the burdens of UNRRA. This subdivision represents a great advance over what we have now, and I hope the Senator will be satisfied with it. The bill has passed the House of Representatives and is now before the Senate. Any amendment will have to go to conference.

Mr. WHERRY. I would like, if I can, to vote for the appropriation. I am satisfied that when the amendment I offered in the Committee on Appropriations was considered the members felt kindly toward it. It was defeated by a vote of only one. I am quite satisfied it would make a better and more constructive piece of legislation out of the bill. The bill as it is drawn provides that the investigating personnel can be appointed from the recipient country, which amounts practically to no investigation at all. Under my amendment there would be an investigation by personnel of UNRRA other than those from the country petitioning for the relief. That would provide a double check as to where the food goes and where the implements go in giving the countries the relief that is so badly needed.

Mr. CONNALLY. UNRRA is not required to accept the nationals of the recipient countries. UNRRA could conduct its own investigation independently of them. But the requirement is that "each recipient country shall supply accredited United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel with all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement, including all necessary inspections and investigations."

How there could be any objection to that I cannot see. I hope the Senator will not delay us. We are about ready to vote. I hope he will not delay us with an amendment which I think would hamper the activities and facilities by which UNRRA will discharge its duties. The provision in the bill does not prevent UNRRA having its own inspections.

Mr. WHERRY. I am not going to offer the amendment. I had hoped the Senator would take it as a modification. I do not wish to hold up the vote at all. I am satisfied that if the Senator from Texas would accept the amendment, then the inspections to be made in White Russia and the Ukraine would be made in those areas by nationals of other countries, which would afford a double check on the materials and the food sent in. I think it would be a more workable plan, and I am satisfied that those who contribute would feel much better about where the appropriations for food would go in the petitioning countries. Otherwise we have no check whatever in any country under Russian control.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator for his cooperation.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, I should like to ask a question of the able Senator from Texas for information.

On the first page of the bill, line 7, it is provided as follows:

The first section is amended by striking out "$1,350,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$2,700,000,000."

Are we to understand that on this $2,700,000,000 the $1,350,000,000 we have already appropriated is a credit, and we are just making provision for the additional amount?

Mr. CONNALLY. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. The date is changed from 1946 to 1947, which carries it to June 30, 1947. Is that correct?

Mr. CONNALLY. That is the end of the fiscal year. The Senator is correct. The reason is that UNRRA wanted 3 months to administer the Chinese and Asia relief and liquidate the organization there. The European relief will end December 31, 1946.

Mr. WILLIS. If other funds were needed in 1947 beyond the $2,700,000,000, there would be a new authorization?

Mr. CONNALLY. UNRRA would have to come back to Congress for a new authorization

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass?

The bill H. R. 4649 was passed.

Mr. CONNALLY. I demanded the yeas and nays, and they were ordered.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. No; they were not ordered.

RESTORATION OF PALESTINE AS A HOMELAND FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 44.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. WAGNER. I understand the junior Senator from Connecticut has an amendment he desires to propose.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which lies on the desk, and I ask that it be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 4, beginning with the word "with", strike out all down to and including line 13 and insert in lieu thereof the following: "to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be opportunity for colonization, so that they may assist to reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall enjoy equal rights."

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the amendment which I have proposed deletes a considerable portion of Senate Concurrent Resolution 44, as reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations, and makes it somewhat similar to Senate Joint Resolution 112, which was introduced by the distinguished senior Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], and the distinguished senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT]. Before pointing out what seems to me to be the defect in Senate Concurrent Resolution 44 as it now stands, I wish to say that I have not been in communication in any way whatever with any Federal Department or any other organization—official or otherwise—and have discussed the subject in no way, shape, or form with any individual outside the Senate. What I have to say represents my own thought alone.

The phrase "good offices" as contained in the concurrent resolution and also in my own amendment is most important. Those are key words and agreement on their meaning is essential. According to the dictionary, "good offices" means a mild form of mediation. One contemporary authority states that "good offices" consists merely in either bringing representatives of the disputing parties together for discussion, perhaps under the presidency of the third party, or in passing between the disputants written proposals and counterproposals. In any case, he continues, the third party refrains from giving opinions or advice upon the substance of the question.

In Hackworth's Digest of International Law we find:

The term "good offices" concerns various kinds of action tending to call negotiations

Dec.
18.

[PUBLIC LAW 262—79TH CONGRESS]

[CHAPTER 580—1ST SESSION]

[H. R. 4649]

AN ACT

To enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the joint resolution of March 28, 1944, entitled "Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization", is amended in the following respect:

(1) The first section is amended by striking out "$1,350,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$2,700,000,000".

(2) Section 9 is amended by striking out "1946" and inserting in lieu thereof "1947".

(3) Add a new section 8 (a):

"8 (a). In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following recommendations:

"A. That the United States member of the control committee of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is hereby requested, by appropriate resolutions or agreements, to secure favorable action by that committee or by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council to attain the following objectives:

"(1) That all trade agreements and all barter agreements of a recipient country with other nations, together with satisfactory information on all exports from, and imports into, such country, whether for governmental or private account, will be made available to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

"(2) That each recipient country shall supply accredited United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel with all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement, including all necessary inspections and investigations.

"(3) That the Administration, if it determines such a course to be desirable, will be permitted, during the period of its operations in a recipient country, to retain title to all motor-transport equipment supplied by the Administration and will also be permitted to route such equipment and to direct the use of the fuel and lubricants supplied by the Administration.

"B. That the President is hereby requested, through appropriate channels, to facilitate the admission to recipient countries of properly accredited members of the American press and radio in order that they be permitted to report without censorship on the utilization and distribution of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration supplies and services."

Approved December 18, 1945.